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INDIA QUARTERLY

Volume III

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

MR. HORACE ALEXANDER, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, is Director of Studies at Woodbrook, and has studied the problems of minorities in Central and Eastern Europe during his many visits to the continent: 1925-39.

DR. A. APPADORAI, is author of *Dyarchy in Practice* and *Revision of Democracy*.

DR. S. C. CHATERJEA is Head of the Department of Geography, Patna College, Patna.

MR. P. S. NARASIMHAN was till recently Research Assistant in the International Labour Office, New Delhi.

DR. C. MAHADEVAN was Geologist, Hyderabad State; is now Professor of Geology and Head of the Department of Natural Sciences, Andhra University, Waltair.

MR. K. R. R. SASTRI is Reader in Law, Allahabad University; studied the conditions regarding Foreign Services during his recent visit to England and the U. S. A.

MR. C. KONDAPI has made a special study of the problems concerning Indians Overseas; his work entitled *Indians Overseas* (1838-1939) is under publication.

MRS. KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY made an extensive tour of China and is author of *In war-torn China*.

DR. NALINAKSHA SANYAL is Member, Policy Committee on Transport, Post-War Reconstruction Committee of the Government of India and author of *Indian Railways*.

MRS. MANORAMA SARABHAI has always taken a deep interest in public affairs.

PROF. M. L. DANTWALA is author of *Gandhism Reconsidered*.

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

MR. DAVID MITRANY is a member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, and author of *A Working Peace System* and *American Interpretations*.

MR. K. M. PANIKKAR is author of *The Future of South-East Asia* and *The Strategic Problems of the Indian Ocean*; is Prime Minister, Bikaner State.

MR. BURHAN DAJANI, the Arab Office, London.

BILL JACKSON is a keen student of Australian Problems and particularly of her post-war planning.

MR. AMAR LAHRI was attached to the Japanese Foreign Office from 1939 to 1942, and author of *Japanese Modernism* and *Aikado's Mission* and desk editor of *Contemporary Japan*.

MR. P. A. WADIA is author of *Gandhi--Dialogue in Interpretation, Our Economic Problem* and *Wealth of India*.

THE HON. MR. AYUB M. EDUN is a member of the Legislative Council of British Guiana, General President of the British Guiana Man Power Citizens Association and Editor of *The Labour Advocate*.

(MRS.) KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY has travelled widely through Japan on a lecture tour and is author of *Japan: Its Weakness and Strength*.

(MRS.) RENUKA RAY graduated from London School of Economics, was Social Secretary, All-India Women's Conference, Member, Central Board of Education and Central Legislative Assembly.

MR. R. KRISHNAMURTI was awarded the degree of M. Litt. and the Gokhale Prize by the Madras University for his thesis on 'India through slump and recovery 1929-37' and is Assistant Editor of *The Eastern Economist*.

MR. N. A. MAVLANKAR is Lecturer in Politics, Wellington College, Sangli.

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

MR. M. RAMASWAMY is an Advocate of the Mysore High Court and author of *The Law of the Indian Constitution and Distribution of Legislative Powers in the future Indian Federation*.

MR. K. M. PANIKKAR is author of the *Future of South East Asia* and *The Strategic Problems of the Indian Ocean*; is Prime Minister, Bikaner State.

MR. K. M. KANNAMPILLY was in Burma for a long time and made a special study of the Burmese political life.

MR. AMAR LAHURI was attached to the Japanese Foreign Office from 1939 to 1942 and author of *Japanese Modernism* and *Mikado's Mission* and desk editor of *Contemporary Japan*.

• MR. B. RAMAMURTHI is Statistician to the Labour Department of the Government of India.

• MR. P. S. RAMAGATHAN is Professor of Philosophy at Morris College, Nagpur.

(MRS.) KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY was one of the founders of the Congress Socialist Party and a leading publicist.

MR. M. MUJEEB is professor of History and Politics, Jamia-Millia Islamia Delhi and a keen student of Soviet Russia.

MR. N. V. SOVANI is on the Research staff of the Golwalker Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona.

MR. V. G. NAIR is Assistant Secretary, Sino-Indian Cultural Society in India, Shantiniketan.

MR. ALI ASGHAR HEKMET was formerly Minister of Education Iran and was an Observer to the Asian Relations Conference, New Delhi and Leader of the Iranian Cultural Mission to India.

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

- DR. P. S. LOKANATHAN represented India at the I. P. R. Conference at Hot Springs in 1945; is Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Asia and Far East.
- DR. AMARNATH JHA is Chairman, Public Services Commission, Government of the United Provinces. He was deputed by the Indian Government in 1945 to visit the military training institutes in England and America in connexion with the establishment of a Military Academy in India.
- DR. P. N. S. MANSERGH is Professor of British Commonwealth Relations, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London and author of *The Irish Free State: Its Government and Politics* (1934), *Ireland in the Age of Reform and Revolution* (1940) and *Britain and Ireland* (1941).
- MR. GEORGE GRASSMUCK was recently in Japan for a year; has made a scholarly study of the Japanese constitutional history and theory.
- PROF. HORACE ALEXANDER, is an English Quaker for over 20 years and Lecturer on International Affairs at the Queens College, Woodbrooke Birmingham and author of *India Since Cripps*; is a close friend of Mahatma Gandhi and a keen student of his philosophy and teachings.
- MR. P. R. S. MANI has made a close study of Indonesia as War correspondent in that country; is New Delhi correspondent of 'Antara,' an Indonesian news agency.
- (MRS.) KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY has travelled widely throughout Europe and is one of the leading Indian publicists.
- (MISS) V. A. MADHAVI, M.A., M.LITT., was a Research Scholar in the Madras University; is on the staff of 'The Hindu', Madras.
- (MRS.) SARASWATI KRISHNA RAO, M.A., is Lecturer in Economics, Indraprastha Girls' College, Delhi.
- MR. LANKA SATHYAM is Editor of *The Commonwealth*, New Delhi.
- MR. VELUVALI PRASAD is New Delhi Correspondent of *Swatantra* of Madras and *Central News of China* and General Editor of *Central Features*.
- MR. N. SRINIVASAN is Reader in Political Science, Andhra University, Waltair.
- MR. WASFI TELL is an official of the Arab Office, London.

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INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

By HORACE ALEXANDER

THE idea of the uniform national State is new: it has grown out of the development of political democracy in England and France. After the French Revolution of 1789 it was generally believed in France that those who accepted the liberating ideals of liberty, equality, fraternity, should assert themselves against the despots of Europe, and form national States, in Italy, in Germany and elsewhere. Such free nations would then federate together and peace and harmony would reign.

Two things in particular have prevented the fulfilment of this beautiful dream. In the first place, national sentiment has rarely spread to the masses of the people. Too often it has been a more or less artificial growth accepted with enthusiasm by the intelligentsia and the professional classes, cleverly played upon and exploited by military and other selfish groups, whose chief desire was to acquire political power for themselves. Secondly, in most parts of Central and Eastern Europe there is such a mixture of peoples, representing wave after wave of invasions, using many different languages, adhering to different religious faiths, giving allegiance to different historical traditions, that the task of dividing those parts of Europe into coherent national territories has defied, and must continue to defy, the skill of statesmen.

It is for this reason that Europe, during the nineteenth century, evolved a device for qualifying the doctrine of sovereign national States. Each new State that came to birth in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Europe has been called on to give to the concert of Europe or the League of Nations a guarantee that it would act fairly and tolerantly towards those religious, linguistic or racial minorities within its territory who felt themselves to be alien to the main national group in the State.

Thus, in 1814, at the end of the Napoleonic wars, the powers decided to join the Belgian Netherlands to Holland. For long the Belgian people had been under another sovereignty, many of them spoke French and they were nearly all Catholic by religion, while the Dutch are mostly Protestant. So King William of Holland was called on to promise to respect the language and religion of the Belgians. In the event, the Belgians were dissatisfied with the 1814 decision, and the union of the two peoples was dissolved in 1830. But a precedent had been set, and it was followed and developed later in the century.

Greece, Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria all broke away from the Ottoman Empire in the course of the nineteenth century. As a condition of their recognition by the Great Powers as sovereign States in 1878 they were called on to give guarantees of good treatment of their minorities, especially their religious minorities, whether Muslim or Jewish. Turkey gave similar guarantees for her Christian minorities. Most of these minority guarantees, however, remained practically a dead letter. There was no machinery for enforcing them.

The spark that lit the European conflagration of 1914 came from Southern Slavs who were dissatisfied with their position in the Austrian Empire. So, in 1919, when the Austrian Empire, owing to the rapid growth of national feeling, had broken to pieces; when, at the expense of the three great Empires, Russian, German and Austrian, new States were formed in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and on the Baltic coast, it was recognized that something more drastic must be done if these new States, each of them containing dissatisfied minorities, were not to be the seed-bed of new national conflicts.

Accordingly, between 1920 and 1923 sixteen special treaties were entered into, covering various States or more limited regions in East Central Europe and Asia Minor, intended to ensure just treatment for all inhabitants of those territories.

The treaties of 1878 had only prescribed fair conditions for all *citizens*. Rumania had accordingly refused to give citizenship status to any of her Jews. They were treated as aliens, with no rights whatever. To avoid a repetition of such evasions, the 1919 treaties prescribed certain fundamental rights for all *inhabitants* of the State concerned and other fuller rights, for *citizens*. Under these treaties all inhabitants, whether citizens or not, were 'assured full and complete protection of life and liberty'; they were to be 'entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practice is not inconsistent with public order or public morals.'

The following additional rights were guaranteed to all citizens of the several States, whatever their race, language or religion, namely, equality before the law, equal civil and political rights, equal rights in relation to public employment; there was to be no restriction on the use of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings. Adequate facilities were to be given to citizens belonging to a minority group to use their own language in courts of law. Members of minority groups were to enjoy the same treatment and security as the majority both in law and in fact. They were guaranteed equal rights to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, where they might use their own language and exercise their own religion.

Further, wherever a considerable part of the population belonged to a minority, the State itself was under obligation to provide minority schools or classes out of public funds; the official language of the State might be a compulsory subject of instruction, but the teaching must be in the minority tongue. Guarantees were further given to protect the Jews against suffering from disabilities through observing their Sabbath. Elections, for instance, were not to be held on a Saturday.

These, in brief, were the main obligations into which fifteen States entered for the protection of minorities in the whole or a part of their territory. But there was one additional stipulation, which was perhaps the most important of all. This was the declaration that the guaranteeing State 'agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles, so far as they affect persons be-

longing to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations.' They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. Moreover, any member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and the Council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances. Further, if any dispute should arise between the guaranteeing government and a member of the Council of the League, over the application of the treaty, such a dispute could be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague.

During the first year of its existence, the Council of the League took its obligations very seriously. First of all, it had to decide its rules of procedure. The Council noted that the Minority Treaties said nothing about any right of petition from the minorities themselves. But, it asserted, that right was in no sense excluded. This right, it was decided, would also attach to States that were not members of the Council of the League. When the Secretary-General of the League received a petition, he was to circulate it to the members of the Council, together with any comments the accused Government might wish to make. When the need for League intervention appeared urgent, more rapid action was provided. The President of the Council was empowered to summon a special meeting of the Council if he thought it necessary. 'This precaution will have the object of preventing any sudden act of oppression of minorities.'

Lord Cecil, in his book, *A Great Experiment*, gives a concise account of the League's procedure as it was developed during the first two years:

Any complaint received at Geneva of unfair treatment of a racial, linguistic or religious minority of the citizens of a State bound by the principles of the minority treaties was in the first place examined to see whether it raised a genuine grievance under the Minority Treaty provisions. If it did, it was said to be receivable and it was then referred to a special committee of three members of the Council appointed *ad hoc*.

It may be noted in passing that arrangements were made for assuring that these three Council members should not belong to States that were closely involved, one way or the other, with the issue at stake. Lord Cecil continued:

The petitioners were given an opportunity to submit any further facts or arguments in support of their petition. All the documents were then sent to the Government concerned for their observations; and the Committee made their recommendations and reported them to the Council.

Then Lord Cecil makes an interesting and important comment:

It will be noticed that the petitioners were not informed of the reply to their petition made by their Government. This always seemed to me unjust. It was defended on the ground that it was undesirable to treat a Government as an accused party, but the defence was unconvincing. Further, until the Report reached the Council everything was private, and petitioners were not even told the grounds on which the Committee of the Council had acted.

In other words, unless some members of the League Council brought the matter to the attention of the whole Council, where full minutes were always published, it was impossible to learn what happened to a petition. It very rarely happened that petitions did reach the full Council. Until 1929 no one even knew how many petitions had been received. In that year it was decided that a few bare facts should be given to the world. Year by year, statistics were published. Thus, in 1929-30, 57 petitions were received. But of these 26 were declared 'non-receivable.' In 1930-31, 204 were received, of which 131 were 'non-receivable.' In 1931-32 the respective numbers were 101 and 57; in 1932-33, 57 and 20. But what the complaints were, what the Governments said in reply, what further action the League Committees took, what the reasons were for such a large proportion being declared 'non-receivable'—all this is locked away in the secret files at Geneva. Under the circumstances, it seems amazing that the minorities thought it worth while to continue sending their petitions.

But it would be wrong to suggest that the whole elaborate machinery was a complete failure. To give a fair picture, in a few paragraphs, of the condition of minorities in Central and Eastern Europe between the wars, is impossible. But a few facts should be noted. First of all, the discontent, widespread all through the years, was not confined to minorities. Much of it was due to policies of gross and callous exploitation of the peasant masses by the ruling cliques, whose impact was almost as hard on Polish peasants in Poland, or on Rumanian peasants in Rumania, as on the minorities. The amount of deliberate discrimination against minorities was not, perhaps, so great as is sometimes imagined.

Where the old estates were broken up after 1920, more often than not, the chief landowners were Germans or Magyars, formerly overlords, now merely dissatisfied minorities. Their complaints that they were being discriminated against might only mean that they were protesting against an urgently needed social reform.

On the positive side, it should be recognized that in the more progressive States, notably Czechoslovakia, there was no lack of provision of minority schools: Germans and Magyars in that State had no serious ground for complaint of any lack of educational facilities. That the behaviour of some States was exemplary is demonstrated from the case of Finland. In Finland there is a large minority of Swedish speaking people. Yet it appears that none of the hundreds of petitions received at Geneva came from a minority group in Finland.

Perhaps these examples of good treatment make the contrast, of the bad treatment of the Ukrainians in East Galicia (Poland) or the Hungarians in Transylvania (Rumania) or the Jews in several countries, all the more glaring.

It is perhaps worth while to note some of the cases which, for one reason or another, did reach the League Council. One of the very first was an appeal from some German farmers who had been settled by the German Government before the War in territory given to Poland in 1920, who were threatened with eviction from their farms. A clause of the Minorities Treaty signed by

Poland guaranteed such settlers against eviction. This case came to the public sessions of the Council in 1921. This and some similar cases were dealt with from time to time during the succeeding four years. A considerable number of German farmers were in fact protected from eviction. This case is the more remarkable, as Poland was one of France's 'Satellite' States, very much under French protection and patronage in the early days; whereas the Germans were the defeated enemy. If this precedent had been followed, much good might have been done. But it was an isolated example of justice even to the enemy subjects. Even as it was, the Polish Government protested loud and long at being made the subject of public criticism. And the German minority continued to complain. The Hague Court had to be invoked before the Polish Government was willing to acquiesce in the Council's recommendations.

One other case became public in the first years, namely, the appeal of Hungarian Jews against a 'Numerus Clausus' in a Hungarian law on education. The Jews in Hungary, as in other countries, have shown themselves intellectually able and have crowded the learned professions. The Hungarian Government consequently passed a law restricting their number in the universities to their proportion in the population. This was held to be a violation of the Minority Treaties, and the Jewish complaint was upheld by the League Council. In this case, as Hungary was one of the vanquished States, the Council, dominated as it was in the early days by the victors, could not be expected to show much tenderness towards her. Yet the evidence seems to indicate that Jews were better off in Hungary after 1920 than in most of the surrounding countries—though that is not, perhaps, saying much.

The eviction of Hungarian farmers in Rumania, which was the subject of a petition discussed by the Council in 1925, and a similar petition in the years 1929-34, led to prolonged and fierce discussions. This was another case where reference was made to the Hague Court.

In this and other cases the accused Government resorted to delaying tactics. A similar case of wrongful eviction of farmers from their farms came before the Council in 1928; here it was Russian farmers in Lithuania who complained that they had been driven from their land and were in danger of starvation. The case dragged on for nearly two years, and then was finally dropped. Mr. C. A. Macartney, in his book, *National States and National Minorities*, caustically observes that by then it had presumably solved itself.

The 'pacification' of East Galicia by Poland came before the Council in 1928 and was the subject of discussion from then till 1930. It is not clear that the Council was able to do anything effective on behalf of the Ukrainian minority.

It is to be noted that a high proportion of the few cases that were brought to the attention of the Council of the League were concerned with land tenure. In a rural community these are, of course, questions of fundamental importance. But presumably questions of schools, language, official appointments and many others would have been included in the hundreds of petitions that are buried in the Geneva archives.

In spite of the fact that so little publicity was given to the minority petitions,

the Governments bound by the Treaties became more and more restive. From the early days of the League, suggestions were made from time to time that the obligations should be universalized. Germany was the only Great Power in Europe that was bound by a Minorities Treaty, and even that only for the Polish minority in the industrial district of Upper Silesia. Italy, which had acquired considerable territories containing German and Sloven inhabitants, was under no obligations. In 1914 the Italian Government had promised the Germans of South Tyrol that their German speech and culture would be fully respected; but after Mussolini came to power in Italy a policy of complete Italianization and brutal oppression was enforced against the Germans and the Slovenes. Italy could not be taken to task for this at Geneva.

As early as 1922 Professor Gilbert Murray persuaded the League Assembly to adopt a resolution declaring that every State ought to uphold at least as high a standard towards its minorities as was provided in the Treaties. If they had lived up to this good resolution, it would have been well; but some did not. Lord Cecil writes:

It was notorious that in some States not so subject (to minority obligations) the treatment of minorities was as bad as or worse than that obtaining in the Minority States. To every suggestion of reform it was replied that if minority rules were extended to all States there would be a case for making them more effective and consequently more burdensome. But while some States were left free from any control it was indefensible to increase the stringency of the control over others. There was no satisfactory answer to this contention except to extend minority control to all States—which I was never allowed by my Government to advocate.

Another proposal often discussed but never put into effect was that a permanent Minorities Commission should be established, so that a trained body of men with judicial or other appropriate qualifications would consider each petition as it came. Lord Cecil was one who advocated this plan. He writes:

The Committees of the Council varied with each case. Sometimes they were admirable. At others, their principal object was to get through their business and they tended too much to accept the advice given to them by the League Secretariat, which, though in many ways excellent, was, like all official bodies, inclined to pursue the line of least resistance. It would have been far better to have had a permanent quasi-judicial Committee which would have built up a code generally applicable.

One further quotation from Lord Cecil may be allowed, for it gives an admirable general summary of the problem and its difficulties.

The subject is an extremely difficult one. It is certainly very desirable to protect minorities not only from such atrocious persecution as the Jews have endured in Germany, but even from such lesser hardships as are liable to affect any racial minority which has not been completely assimilated to the majority. On the other hand, any attempt by an international body to interfere too much in the internal administration of any country not only causes deep resentment but may easily do more harm than good. The best guarantee of good government for a minority is the existence of complete inter-racial good-feeling, and if a minority is encouraged to make factious or unreal complaints

all hope of creating good feeling must be abandoned. On the whole I believe the minorities work carried on for many years at Geneva did good. It was a protection for the minorities against oppression and afforded to the national government an answer to ignorant or malevolent critics. Dr. Benes used always to tell me that he welcomed any appeal to Geneva by the minorities in his country. They in fact did appeal on several occasions and I believe that in no case did any condemnation of the Czech Government follow.

In spite of this, unfortunately it was the economic misery caused among the German miners and other workers in Czechoslovakia after the world depression of 1931-32 that gave Hitler the opportunity to use the Germans there to overthrow the Czechoslovak Republic in 1938. So, too, it was the alleged grievances of the German minority in Poland that gave Hitler his excuse for plunging the world into war in 1939.

With this warning in the recent background it may seem strange that no fresh proposal has been made for minority protection in the new treaty settlement. The new Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and the rest are apparently now free from these international obligations.

Perhaps, however, a more hopeful way forward may be found through the proposals to give the United Nations authority to call on all its members to uphold universal standards of right and justice. If a thorough statement of fundamental human rights in relation to religion, language, education, culture, economic and social well-being, is adopted by all members of the United Nations, it will be better than a series of treaties applicable to some States only, which those States inevitably regard as temporary limitations of their full sovereignty. Sovereignty itself is really an outworn conception. The world community has a right to scrutinise the behaviour of all its members. If one State becomes a neglected slum or a prison house, its neighbours are likely to be affected by the contagion. Fascism began in Italy, but it did not end there. So, too, with other forms of tyranny. Nor is it only fear of contamination that should arouse concern; nor yet the special interest one country may feel in its oppressed kinsmen on the other side of a political frontier. The Great Teachers of mankind have declared that all men are brothers, whatever their speech or colour. It is surely high time for this great truth to be taken seriously.

If the United Nations enact a measure of fundamental human rights, it must proceed to provide permanent and adequate machinery for its supervision. Otherwise we shall only be committed to another pious resolution under whose white wings racial and other tyrannies can grow up and flourish.

THE TASK BEFORE THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

By A. APPADORAI

(Continued from Vol. II, No. 3, p. 240)

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES

THE following passages in the Cabinet Delegation's Statement of 16 May, 1946 are relevant to a discussion of fundamental rights in the new Indian constitution:

Para 19 (IV)—A preliminary meeting (of the Constituent Assembly) will be held at which the general order of business will be decided, a Chairman and other officers elected, and an Advisory Committee (see paragraph 20 below) on rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas set up. . . .

Para 20—The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas will contain due representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of fundamental rights, clauses for protecting minorities, and a scheme for the administration of tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial, the Group or the Union constitutions.

Indian political opinion has always favoured the inclusion of fundamental rights in the constitution. We may point out, however, that the British acceptance of this view is a complete, though most welcome, departure from the position taken up by the Simon Commission in 1930 who wrote:

We are aware that such provisions have been inserted in many constitutions, notably in those of the European States formed after the war. Experience, however, has not shown them to be of any great practical value. Abstract declarations are useless, unless there exist the will and the means to make them effective.

The Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform not only endorsed this view but also gave additional arguments against such inclusion,¹ and in particular, the practical difficulty of ensuring them by legal action and persuading the Indian States to agree to them.

Their changed attitude, reflected in the Cabinet Delegation's Statement quoted earlier, can be explained easily: the constitution is now being made by Indians for India, and their view must hold the field.

II

CONSTITUTION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The Advisory Committee, it is suggested, may consist of some 30 to 40 persons elected by the Assembly including members and non-members. A smaller number would make it difficult to make the Committee representative

¹ *Report*, Vol. I, para 366.

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of all the interests who ought to have representation; a larger number would make it unwieldy, and would, almost certainly, extend the time for the formulation of a report beyond reasonable limits. The inclusion of non-members in the Committee needs no justification: it is implicit in the very purpose of the formation of the Committee which was to give the minorities—and particularly the smaller minorities like the Indian Christians and the Anglo-Indians and also Tribal representatives—better opportunity than they were likely to have in the Assembly for formulating measures for their protection. Besides, it provides an opportunity for the inclusion in the Committee of jurists and other scholars who have made a special study of the problem of fundamental rights and protection of minorities. Needless to add that as far as possible the non-members to represent minority interests should be chosen from a wide range—from representative associations and from as large a number of provinces as possible. This is an important consideration. The Scheduled Castes, for instance, have their loyalties divided between two important organizations—The All-India Depressed Classes League and the Scheduled Castes Federation and both should find representation. Similarly, the view-points of Muslims in Hindu-majority provinces and Hindus in Muslim-majority provinces should have adequate opportunity for expression.

The Committee is charged with perhaps the most responsible task that can be allotted to any similar body of persons: it has to outline a system of rights and duties to form the basis of a just and progressive social order. For that is, in substance, the meaning of a declaration of fundamental rights. It is a statement of those essential rules of social living which the community considers as the foundation of 'good' life for all and which every one, the individual no less than all governmental authorities are bound to follow and help to uphold. To illustrate: Chapter X of the U. S. S. R. constitution of 1936, taken together with some sections of Chapter I, gives a fair picture of the ideas of the Soviet people regarding the fundamentals of their social organization: citizens are guaranteed personal liberty, the inviolability of home and secrecy of correspondence, the right to work and fair wages and to maintenance in old age, sickness and loss of capacity to work, to rest and leisure, to education, to freedom of conscience, and to speech, press and assembly. Women are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, cultural, social and political life; equality is also guaranteed to all irrespective of their nationality or race. But other rights considered inimical to social harmony and progress are denied. Among the foremost of these are the rights of a citizen—allowed in most other States—to the ownership of the means and instruments of production and the right to the employment of another for his private profit.² Finally, some obligations are imposed on the citizen: to observe the laws, to serve in the army and defend the fatherland, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform public duties and to respect the rules of socialist intercourse.

² It is worth noting that one section (9) specifically permits the small private economy of individual peasants and handicraftsmen based on their personal labour.

The fundamental rights recognized by the constitution of Eire, Peru and Afghanistan in respect of economic life are an instructive contrast to the Soviet:

EIRE

43 (1) The State acknowledges that man, in virtue of his rational being, has the natural right, antecedent to positive law, to the private ownership of external goods.

(2) The State accordingly guarantees to pass no law attempting to abolish the right of private ownership or the general right to transfer, bequeath and inherit property.

(3) The State shall favour and, when necessary, supplement private initiative in industry and commerce.

PERU

29. Property whether material, intellectual, literary or artistic, is inviolable. No one shall be deprived of what belongs to him except for reasons of public utility legally proved and upon prior payment of the appraised value.

40. The State recognizes the freedom of commerce and industry.

AFGHANISTAN

15. In Afghanistan the movable and immovable property of every one is protected.

A declaration of this kind, whether in Soviet Russia or elsewhere, does not by itself ensure the enjoyment of the rights given and the performance of the duties imposed; *that* depends on a number of factors which govern the implementing of *any* rights: the general habit of obedience to law, and the efficiency of the governmental authorities on the one hand, and, more important, the alertness of the individual on the other. Indeed eternal vigilance is in the final analysis the only sure safeguard of all freedoms. The knowledge that the citizens are alert and will not meekly submit to unreasonable interference with their rights and that they will be prepared to fight for them, coupled with a wide-spread sense of tolerance, will alone help to prevent such interference. A declaration of rights is nevertheless valuable as an indication of what the community considers the fundamental rules of social life and organization and as a reminder of the fact that perpetual vigilance is essential in respect of those fundamentals if a way of life in accordance with them is to be preserved. Moreover, since these rights can be modified only by a special amending body, as distinguished from the ordinary legislature, the constitutional declaration of rights is a check on possible excesses by the *ordinary* governments.

III

The rights and duties to be included in the constitution must, we have said, be integrally related to a conception of a just social order: the objective of the constitution adopted by the Assembly, the discussions which took place on the subject, together with the views expressed by the members on the motion to appoint the Committee, give some guidance to its members regarding the

nature of the rights and duties they should consider for inclusion in the constitution.

The declaration of objectives states *inter alia* that the constitution should guarantee and secure to all the people of India justice—social, economic and political; equality of status, and of opportunity before the law; and freedom of thought, expression, belief, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality. It adds that adequate safeguards should be provided for minorities, backward areas and classes.

Clearly, the picture of the State to be is a democracy with justice, equality and freedom—for individuals as well as for groups—as its bases; and the fundamental rights included in the constitution should conform to that pattern. The list of rights in the next section is a very provisional draft presented as a basis for discussion. Not much comment is needed here; four explanatory notes would, however, help a clearer appreciation of it:

First, it is based on the postulate that without a large measure of social equality, political democracy cannot be real—for where one class considers itself superior to the rest and behaves as such, there is aristocracy or oligarchy in effect, not democracy. This sense of equality, where it exists, can be felt, though it is difficult to ascribe it to particular causes. You feel it, for instance, in France and America,³ but you do not feel it in England or in India. It is largely a resultant of economic arrangements described below, but also partly of wide-spread education and of the abolition of privileges or disabilities attaching to birth. Historically the evolution of society has been from status to contract and from contract to function, *i.e.*, from a condition in which birth determined the opportunities of the individual for growth to one in which the choice of the individual decided them; society moves on, rather slowly, to another in which the performance by the individual of a socially useful function should be the primary factor which determines his reward. Social equality also demands that women should have the same civic rights as men.⁴ The desire to achieve social equality explains a large number of Articles in the list: 1, 12, 25, 26, 35, 36, 37, and 38.

Second, the Declaration of objectives specifically refers to economic justice and equality of opportunity. The Articles in the list designed to achieve this end are: 9, 22, 23, 24, 29, 30, 31, 32, 38 and 39. Briefly, they seek to achieve relative, not absolute, equality—an organization of opportunities in such a manner that, in Laski's now familiar phrase, every one should have bread before some can have cake. They recognize the broad fact that with differences in man's ability and wants, inequalities in income are inescapable, but they seek to reduce their evil social consequences to measurable proportions. They permit the nationalization of public utilities and the imposition of controls on private enterprise with a view to securing the basic conditions of

³ The qualification must be made that this does not as yet apply to Negroes and the Whites.

⁴ This does not, however, prevent the imposition of restrictions on the employment of women in occupations calculated to affect their health or function of motherhood.

civilized life for all. They invite the peoples and Governments of provinces—and the Governments of Groups if any—to apply themselves to their great task—the provision of educational facilities to all and the reorganization of agriculture and industry so that the citizen's right to work (and in the absence of that to maintenance) and leisure can be a reality in a period of about fifteen years.

Third, the fact must be borne in mind, especially in the light of European experience, that a Declaration of rights is useful in proportion to the precision of the language used therein and the consequent possibility of its being implemented by law courts (with the least political bias) and the achievement of that precision is extremely difficult and a challenge to draftsmanship. (Phrases like the right to free speech, press and association and to property included in a constitutional document mean nothing except in relation to the exceptions and limitations made necessary by the duties which rights involve: there is no such thing as absolute rights.) But the effort is worthwhile. Where a right is obviously not justiciable, as, for instance, the right to work (at the present stage in India's economic development), it should be made explicit that while it is a moral right of the citizen and should be a directive of social policy⁵ it is not a justiciable issue.

And, lastly, on minorities. It will be noticed that para 20 of the Cabinet Mission's Statement quoted above refers to clauses for protecting minorities; it does not refer to rights of minorities as such. And rightly, for the fundamental rights apply to all citizens, majorities and minorities; what minorities need is protection against legislative and executive encroachment on their enjoyment of them. The clauses necessary for their protection must no doubt find a place in the constitution, but not in the section on fundamental rights. Two exceptions, however, to this general rule we have made in our list, *viz.*, (a) 9, 38 and 39, and (b) 27 and 28.

(a) Article 9 (2) permits the Union and State Governments to make provision for equitable representation of all sections of the population in public services provided there is no unfair discrimination against or undue patronage in favour of any section. It thereby seems to make equitable representation in public services by means of 'due' patronage as a fundamental right of every section of the population. Article 38 permits the provision of special educational and cultural facilities for those classes in the State who are specially backward. Article 39 gives preference to backward classes in the settlement, disposal and alienation of State land.

The idea of preferential treatment to sections and classes raises far-reaching social and political issues with which there is no space to deal here: it is sufficient to say that its *raison d'être* in India is the relative backwardness, economic and cultural, of certain of sections and classes of her population, and preferential treatment would seem to be necessary to enable them to face competition with

⁵ See Articles 22 and 23 of the list as modified by the present writer. See also Article 45 of the Constitution of Eire.

the relatively advanced majority.⁶

(b) Articles 27 and 28 are concerned with the right of linguistic minorities to the free development of their language and culture. The protection of this right was the subject of many treaties in Europe during 1919-23, and the inclusion of Articles relating to them in a constitution for India (where we have a dozen important languages spoken by large groups of people) needs no special justification.⁷

IV

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES⁸

1. All citizens irrespective of birth, rank, religion or sex are equal before the law and are entitled to full protection of personal liberty.

2. No citizen shall be arrested, except in the act of committing a crime, without warrant issued by a magistrate which ought to be shown at the time of arrest or at the latest within twenty-four hours thereafter. Opportunity shall be given without delay to make legal complaint against such arrest.

Upon complaint made by or on behalf of any person who is being unlawfully detained, the High Court and any and every judge thereof shall forthwith enquire into the same and may make an order requiring the person in whose custody such person shall be detained to produce the body of the person so detained before such court or judge without delay and to certify in writing as to the cause of the detention and such court or judge shall thereupon order the release of such person unless satisfied that he is being detained in accordance with the law, provided, however, that nothing in this article shall be invoked to prohibit, control or interfere with any act of the military forces of the Union during the existence of a state of war or armed rebellion.

3. No punishment may be inflicted in respect of any action unless the action was designated as punishable before it was committed.

4. No citizen may be handed over to a foreign power for prosecution or punishment.

5. The dwelling of the citizen is inviolable and shall not be forcibly entered except in accordance with law.

⁶ It is, however, a debatable question whether they should find a place in the section on fundamental rights or in the section on clauses for protecting minorities; the present writer would prefer the latter, as by assumption these clauses are meant only to be transitional, *i.e.*, till the concerned sections and classes are able to compete on fair terms with the rest.

⁷ It is, however, debatable, as in the case of clauses relating to preferential treatment, whether they should find a place in the section on fundamental rights or in the one on the protection of minorities and backward classes; the present writer would prefer the latter.

⁸ The list has been drawn up after a series of joint discussions by Mr. K. Santhanam, Mr. Krishna Kripalani and the present writer; thanks are due to Mr. K. Santhanam and Mr. Kripalani for allowing publication. The present writer has made some additions to the approved list especially in Articles 22 and 23 which are included within brackets. He has also indicated in foot notes his own point of view in regard to certain aspects of Articles 9, 27, 28, 38 and 39 which were not considered at the joint discussions. He would add that the order in which the rights are arranged requires modification—which he has not attempted here.

6. Every citizen has the right to express his ideas and opinions freely. This right may be limited only by law and solely in the interest of public safety or morality.

7. All citizens are free to assemble peaceably and unarmed and have the right to form associations. These rights may be limited only by law and solely in the interest of public safety and morality.

8. Every citizen has the right to keep and bear arms in accordance with regulations and reservations made by or under Union law.

9. (1) All citizens without distinction are equally eligible for public offices subject to the possession of qualifications prescribed by law or duly constituted authority.

(2) The Union and State Governments may make provision for equitable representation of all sections of the population in public services provided there is no unfair discrimination against or undue patronage in favour of any section.

10. Every citizen is free to choose and change his domicile or place of residence within the territories of the Union. This right may be restricted only by Union law.

11. Nationality in the Union is acquired and terminated in accordance with Union law. Every Indian resident in any state of the Union has the same rights and duties as the subject of that state.

12. No citizen shall be compelled to render personal service without due compensation and without his full consent except labour imposed as a penalty by judicial decree or by law for a public purpose.

13. Neither the Union nor any state of the Union shall establish, endow or patronize any religion or prohibit the free exercise thereof.

14. Every citizen shall have freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion subject to public order and morality.

15. Every religious organization shall be free to manage its own affairs, be the owner of or acquire movable or immovable property, administer or dispose of the same, possess or enjoy its revenues and endowments, and maintain institutions for religious, educational or charitable purposes. These rights shall be subject to such restrictions as may be prescribed by law in the interest of public order and morality.

16. The right to propagate religious doctrines and practices not inconsistent with public order and morality and to express views against any such doctrines or practices is guaranteed provided that it is generally in a manner not calculated to offend the reasonable susceptibility of persons belonging to any religion or sect.

17. Any person shall be free to change his religious persuasion provided that (a) no one who has not completed the age of 18 shall change his religion without the permission of his parent or guardian, and (b) no religious conversion shall be brought about by coercion, undue influence or the offering of material inducements.

18. Liberty of the Press is guaranteed subject to such restrictions as may

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be imposed by law in the interest of public order or morality or to meet a grave emergency.

19. The Press shall not be subject to censorship and shall not be subsidized. No security shall be demanded for the keeping of a Press or the publications of any book or other printed matter.

20. The privacy of correspondence is inviolable and may be infringed only in cases provided by law for the purpose of dealing with a grave emergency.

21. Every citizen has a right to compensation for damage caused by the officials of the Union or a State, whether civil or military, through official action not conforming to law or outside the scope of their duties. The Union or the State is responsible for the damage caused conjointly with the respective offending officials.

22. The principles of social policy set forth in this article and the next are intended for the guidance of the State Legislatures and Executives, and the application of them shall not be cognizable by any court. The citizen has a right to education.

It shall be the endeavour⁹ of every state of the Union to provide free and compulsory education for all its citizens up to the age of 14 within a period of not more than 10 years from the commencement of this constitution.

23. The citizen has the right to work, and to rest and leisure. It shall be the endeavour⁹ of every state of the Union to ensure for all its citizens within a period of not more than 15 years from the commencement of this constitution useful employment on fair wages and protection and assistance in case of old age, unemployment, sickness or accident, (and to regulate hours of employment in such a way as to ensure adequate leisure for the worker.)

24. Agricultural and industrial workers have the right to form unions to protect their interests.

25. No citizen of the Union shall be subject to any special disability or disqualification on the ground of sex. This shall not, however, prevent the imposition of restrictions on the employment of women in occupations calculated to affect their health or functions of motherhood.

26. No title other than a title indicating an office or an academic distinction shall be conferred on any citizen by the Union or any state. No citizen shall accept any title or decoration from a foreign state. All such titles and decorations existing at the commencement of the Union are hereby cancelled.

27. Members of a community within a state of the Union not speaking the language of the state may not be restricted by way of legislation or administration in the free development of their language and culture.

28. In towns and districts of any state where a considerable proportion of citizens speak a language other than the language of the state, facilities shall be provided within the limits laid down by law to enable the children of such citizens to receive instruction in their own mother tongue. Where any sums of public money are set aside for educational purposes in the state or municipal

⁹ In the approved draft, the word used was 'duty.'

budgets or otherwise, a due share in the allocation of such sums shall be accorded to such linguistic minorities.

Adequate arrangements shall be made in the courts so that no litigant shall suffer by his ignorance of the language used in the courts.¹⁰

29. Every citizen has the right to choose his business, profession or calling subject to conditions laid down by law for the conduct of such business, profession or calling. Children below the age of 14 shall not be employed in mines and factories.

30. The law shall decide what kinds of property and within what limits may be in the exclusive ownership of the state upon grounds of public utility and also what limitations may be imposed on the rights of citizens and of corporations recognized by law to exploit the land, waters, minerals and other natural resources.

31. Every state shall have the right to regulate, alter or abolish land tenures so as to ensure the productive use of the land and reasonable livelihood for the tiller of the soil.

32. Subject to the above two clauses, the right to property is guaranteed to all citizens, corporations and autonomous bodies and no such right shall be taken away without compensation prescribed by law.

33. It is the duty of every citizen to safeguard and protect public property and to prevent its misuse or misappropriation, not to evade the taxes lawfully imposed and to help in the prevention of such evasion.

34. It is the duty of every citizen of the Union to defend the Union and every part thereof and perform military or police duty when called upon to do so by law or constituted authority.

35. All laws, customs and usages existing at the commencement of this constitution which recognize untouchability or inferiority by birth of any citizen shall be deemed to have been repealed or abolished to the extent of such recognition.

36. No public authority including a civil or a criminal court shall, in carrying out the functions and duties entrusted to it by any law, recognize any law, custom or usage imposing a liability or disability on any person on the ground that he belongs to an inferior or impure caste or menial class.

37. Notwithstanding any custom or usage or prescription, all Hindus without any distinction of caste or denomination shall have right of access to and worship in all public Hindu temples, choultries, *dbarmasalas*, bathing ghats, and other religious places. Rules of personal purity and conduct prescribed for admission to and worship in these religious places shall in no way discriminate against or impose any disability on any person on the ground that he belongs to an impure or inferior caste or menial class.

38. It shall be the duty of every state of the Union to make a periodic list of all the classes in the state who are specially backward in education or social development, and provide special educational and cultural facilities for their

¹⁰ The present writer would add: This right may be regulated by Law in the interest of public safety.

speedy advancement. In the annual budget, a reasonable amount shall be set apart for this purpose and administered by a special authority whose appointment, powers and functions are defined by law. The provision of these facilities shall be in addition to those provided for the community in general to which these classes should have free and equal access.

39. In the settlement, disposal or alienation of land belonging to any state, the claims of backward classes shall be given preference as far as possible.

40. The aboriginal tribes living in the tribal areas of any state shall be entitled to special protection of their tribal system, their land, their customary life, health and education.

THE DAMODAR VALLEY PROJECT

By S. C. CHATERJEA

(1) THE PHYSICAL SETTING

THE Damodar rises from the eastern face of the narrow neck of highland which extends northward into the Palamau district from the higher western plateau of the Ranchi district. This neck of highland forms the watershed between the head waters of the Damodar on the east and the Auranga which drains to the north-west to join the North Koel which is a tributary of the Son. This watershed has very steep and precipitous escarpments from which flow down two streams—one from near Tori railway station on the Narkakana loop line and the other from some distance south of *Chandera* on the Ranchi-Daltonganj motor road. The river is here known also by the name Deonad. These escarpments rise to over 2,000 feet. After a course of about 25 miles within the Palamau district it enters the Hazaribagh district at the point of its confluence with *Garhi*. Here its bed is 1,326 feet above sea level. At *Ramgarh* after a distance of 38 miles its bed level is 1,030 feet. Near *Bermo* railway station, after a course of 35 miles, where it receives the *Bokaro* tributary its elevation is 713 feet. Thus the average fall of the river is approximately 9 feet per mile. The gradient diminishes from this point and the fall is 6.5 feet per mile upto its junction with the Jamunia. Thereafter the valley flattens out and the average fall is only 3 feet. Near the confluence with the Barakar—a powerful river and the most important tributary of the Damodar—the elevation of the valley floor is 330 feet. South-east of Raniganj the river valley becomes broad and shallow and the gradient very gentle so that henceforward the flow is sluggish during the dry season and the fall is about 1 foot per mile till its confluence with the Bhagirathi or Hooghly.

The total length of the river is about 336 miles of which 180 miles lie in Bihar. The valley has a west-east alignment in Bihar between the Hazaribagh plateau on the north and the Ranchi plateau in the south. It takes a turn towards the south-east after its confluence with the Barakar and continues

in the same general direction till Burdwan where it enters the deltaic stage. Some distance below Burdwan it takes an abrupt turn towards the south. In Bihar it flows through the districts of Hazaribagh and Manbhum after its origin in the Palamau district. It receives a number of tributaries in its course through the Chota Nagpur plateau, the chief of which are (a) the Garhi or Tamdera, (b) the Hahoro, (c) the Moramarha, (d) the Konar which joins the Bokaro, (e) the Jamunia and (f) the Borakar joining it from the north, and (g) the Naikari and (h) the Bhera from the south. The most important tributary of the Barakar is the Utri which flows past Giridih.

About 5 miles below Salimabad in the district of Burdwan the Damodar bifurcates into its deltaic distributaries—of these the Begua is a well-defined river while the left bank distributary is now a dead stream and is actually known as Kana (blind) Damodar. The Begua joins the Rupnarayan while the Damodar proper, which is less important here than its distributary the Begua, falls into the Hooghly.

The total area drained by the Damodar and its tributaries is 8,500 square miles. The areas separately drained by the upper Damodar, *viz.*, the section of the river lying above its confluence with the Barakar, the middle Damodar, *i.e.*, the section lying between the above confluence and Raniganj, the lower Damodar and the Barakar are shown below:—

(a) Upper Damodar—	4250	square miles.
(b) Middle Damodar—	500	„ „
(c) Lower Damodar—	1000	„ „
(d) Barakar	2750	„ „

For the greater part of its course the river flows through a hilly country covered in many places with dense forests and sparsely inhabited by primitive aboriginal folk. The scenic beauty of its rocky defiles, the deep gorges with pools of clear water, the occasional rapids and cataracts in its path, the quiet solitude of the neighbouring jungles which form a *shikari's* paradise, all combine to give it an unique grandeur which is surpassed or equalled only by the evil reputation it has earned by its disastrous floods.

The river flows across areas of both hard crystalline rocks and soft, easily erodable, sedimentary rocks of the coalfields. The influence of the resistance of rocks to erosion and valley forms is well seen in the Damodar basin, by the contrast between the characteristics of the sections lying within the coal measures and those within the crystallines. In the former the valley is wider and the gradient gentler while in the latter the valley is narrower and the flow is checked by many small cataracts and rapids. This is well seen in the vicinity of Rajrooppa, near the confluence of the Damodar with the Bhera, a famous and ancient place of pilgrimage. The river here flows through a deep and narrow meandering gorge. The junction of the Bhera is marked by a waterfall. A short distance to the west is the Ramgarh coal basin. Here the flow of the river is gentle and the valley is broad and flat but soon the valley becomes rugged and full of small cascades just before entering the gorge. Even in the dry season this section of the river looks menacing and

the wild natural beauty of the place adds to the grandeur. In flood time the entire valley is filled up and the meandering gorges and cataracts are all hidden from view.

It is the law of river erosion that in the middle course of mature streams there is no active down cutting. The stream merely transports the silt and the sand and deposits there at the mouth. During floods the transporting power of streams is increased enormously. A stream which normally is just able to transport a boulder weighing 5 pounds will be able to lift and transport boulders weighing 78,125 pounds if its velocity is only doubled. That is why in flood time rivers usually carry a large volume of sediments. If the banks are flooded part of the silt is deposited on the banks due to the diminution of velocity. With the passing of the flood the excess load is dropped in the channel. In this way, in course of time the bed of old rivers is built up and the banks are raised so that in the case of almost all the great rivers of the world flowing across plains the level of the channel bed is higher than the general level of the surrounding country a few miles away. This is also the case with the Ganges, the Po in Italy, the Heuang-Ho in China and the Mississippi in the United States. Floods do not occur in the hilly sections of rivers although the rainfall of this section is the ultimate cause of the flood. For in the hilly section the deep V-shaped valley with higher land on the borders can accommodate the extra volume of water, however furious the river may appear, but in the plain stage where the valley is shallow it cannot accommodate the surge of flood water augmented as it is by the contribution from the tributaries.

2. CAUSES OF THE GREATER LIABILITY TO FLOODING OF THE DAMODAR

Apart from the general principle explained above which makes almost all rivers with well-defined hilly, plain and deltaic stages liable to flood, there are a few special reasons for the greater liability of the Damodar to flooding. These are:

(a) The unplanned felling of the trees in the hills within the catchment for use by the aboriginal inhabitants in the making of huts, carts and solid wheels of carts (made of discs cut out of the trunk of the sal trees) adapted to rocky paths and for use as fuel. The recent increase in the use of charcoal-driven buses and lorries in different parts of Chota Nagpur has led to a greater use of timber. The opening of the coal mines in the Damodar Valley has also made a heavy demand on the sal forests as the logs are used as props in cavities made by the cutting of the coal.

It is wrong to suppose that the hills of the Damodar Valley are full of forests. That is far from the truth. The areas cleared of sal trees become full of brush jungles in course of a few years. There are large tracts with good forest cover and beautiful woods but the removal has been so unscientific, without precautions for soil erosion and replacement by new plantations, that not only has soil erosion increased but a valuable natural wealth, which by the way, can be replenished according to plan has been wasted for years.

(b) The opening of the numerous coal mines has necessitated the removal of forests and the heaps of loose debris of rocks thrown out of the open pits

in the Bokaro coalfield has caused further washing away of loose sand and clay.

(c) Soil erosion takes place more effectively near the foot of the hills and the slopes of the uplands known as *tannr*. The inhabitants are not tempted to bring these higher slopes under the plough as the soil is infertile and there is inadequate water-supply. The tributaries of the streams draining these slopes cause extensive gully erosion. The ever-extending gullies cut up the land and make it unfit for any human use. The fine soil of the top is washed away by sheet erosion. Large quantities of red earth are removed in this way every year. The uplands are used by the villagers for grazing and the close cropping by the goats removes the protective covering of grass.

What has been stated above is not only true of the Damodar but of all its highlands tributaries so that the river has to carry a heavy burden of silt-laden water during the rains.

During the floods the fine silt is churned up by the currents and is carried in suspension while the sandy fraction being heavier is carried more along the floor and is thus separated from the clay. After the flood is over the river bed in the middle position is choked with sand. The deposits of sand form spits, bars and shoals in the bed. These are locally known as '*chur*.' In normal time the current is split up by these obstructions into many channels. These tend to grow and reduce the capacity of the river to bear the extra water.

(d) The absence of natural lakes in the course of rivers or its tributaries which would have absorbed much of the flood water.

(e) The suddenness of heavy rainfall of short duration. This is discussed below.

3. RAINFALL, STREAM FLOW AND FLOODS

The average annual rainfall of the Damodar Valley is 46.5 inches. During a 33-year period from 1912 to 1944, the maximum was 64.27 inches and the minimum was 30.6 inches. The upper Damodar receives more rain than the middle and lower portions owing to its higher elevation. Most of the rain varying from 85% to 90% falls during the monsoon from June to October. Cyclonic storms are more frequent during July and August. The largest early August recorded storm was that of 6th to 14th August, 1913, which caused an average precipitation of 11.8 inches in the catchment area above Raniganj.

The average run-off of the Damodar basin may be taken at 40% to 50% of the precipitation. In agricultural areas with loamy soil there is a greater soaking and the run-off may be as low as 33%. In times of heavy rainfall, after the soil and the vegetation mantle is thoroughly soaked in water, the run-off is high. The run-off during the 1913 storm was estimated at 70%. Afforestation is hardly a remedy for the prevention of catastrophic floods caused by heavy rainfall in short periods. Records of stream flow are available continuously from July, 1933 onwards at the Anderson Weir at Rhondia in the Burdwan district. The Anderson Weir was constructed in 1930 to divert water to the Damodar main canal opened on the left bank of the river through the embankment to water a small tract. The average stream flow at Bhondia

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amounts to about 11,000 cusecs (cubic feet per second). The average flow during the rainy months is near about 30,000 cusecs, and for the rest of the year, the average is 1,600 cusecs. It must be remembered that during the greater part of the dry season the river has very little water and for some time in certain years it is almost dry in the hilly section.

The following table gives the flood discharge of seven storms at Raniganj:

<i>Period of rainfall</i>	<i>Period of flood</i>	<i>No. of hours of run-off</i>	<i>Mean rate of run-off during flood period</i>	<i>Highest rate (cusecs)</i>
28th to 31st Aug. 1908	31st Aug. to 1st Sep. 1908	135	(?)	357,000
5th to 10th Aug. 1913	6th to 14th August 1913	189	200,000	650,000
21st to 25th Sep. 1916	22nd to 28th Sep. 1916	138	137,000	393,000
1st to 5th Oct. 1916	2nd to 9th Oct. 1916..	156	100,000	237,000
29th July to 2nd. Aug. 1917	30th July to 4th Aug. 1917.. ..	144	170,000	285,000
30th Sep. to 7th Oct. 1917	1st to 12th Oct. 1917	258	145,000	385,000
29th to 31st Oct. 1917	30th Oct. to 1st Nov.	60	12,000	..

The peak flow during the period 1913 to recent times is thus 650,000 cusecs.

The chief cause of the periodic floods of the Damodar is the short period of intense rainfall which swells the volume of flow so much and so suddenly that the basin is incapable of carrying it.

4. METHODS USED TO CONTROL FLOODS IN THE PAST

The lower Damodar basin in Bengal is a densely populated agricultural region. Of the 5 million people living in the entire basin, more than half live in the lower and middle sections of the valley so that the average density of population is more than double here than in the upper basin lying in Bihar. The flood water was led through over-flow irrigation canals and the silt which it spread over the fields replenished the fertility of the soil. The Eden Canal was constructed in 1873-1881 as a sanitary canal to flush the river bed as also to supply drinking water, but very soon after its opening it began to be used as an irrigation canal. The Damodar canal which was constructed in 1926-1933 irrigates an extensive tract and also feeds the Eden canal. The total area irrigated at present is about 186,000 acres. But owing to the absence of reservoir storage, supply of water for the final swelling of the paddy crop in October is not available in years of deficient rainfall. The failure of late monsoon rains has caused repeated damage to standing crops, and certain parts of the Burdwan district, which do not enjoy a heavy rainfall, have suffered from chronic famine conditions. The distributaries of the Damodar in the delta region near the confluence with the Hooghly are gradually being silted up and a few channels have already become choked as for instance the Kana

Damodar. The Government of Bengal closed the outlet of the Kana Nadi in 1853 near Salimabad probably because a flood down this channel would threaten the safety of Calcutta. This was breached in 1856 and the flood water escaped through three old canals. The Kana Nadi was finally closed in 1863. The silting up of the rivers in south-west Bengal and the scientific distribution of the water through spill channels which are dead or dying and its accumulation in pools and swamps have made the country intensely malarious.

In addition to the construction of over-flow canals, the inhabitants had raised the embankment on the left bank of the river. Embankments were also constructed on the right bank but there was much less danger of the country to the south of the river getting flooded, through breaches in the right bank embankment, owing to its higher elevation and rocky undulating surface. During catastrophic floods the river had burst the embankments and scoured out new channels. At one time, before 1770, the Damodar flowed into Hooghly near the town of Kalna, 50 miles north of Calcutta, but after a flood and consequent overflow the river took a sharp southerly course and the main channel now meets the Rupnarayan above Kolaghat. Silt continues to be deposited in the channel, confined within the embankments, after every flood. The embankments have to be raised to cope with the flood water and as the river bed is higher than the adjoining country in most places, the danger of breaches of the embankment is on the increase as the embankment cannot resist the pressure of normal floods. A serious flood will not only spell disaster to the local inhabitants, destroy standing crops, but will dislocate the railway and road communications between Calcutta and upper India as happened after the 1943 flood. There is also a likelihood of the town of Burdwan and Calcutta being flooded, in times of extraordinary floods. In fact the course of the river might undergo a further change and if it takes up its old course and meets the Hooghly above Calcutta, say near Kalna, the danger to Calcutta will be very great as the partially silted and shallow-bottomed Hooghly will not be able to convey the flood waters from the Damodar.

The Government of Bengal realized the necessity of finding spill-channels to allow the flow of flood water in order to reduce the pressure on the left bank embankment. In 1838 the right embankment was removed to allow free spill of flood water into the adjoining, sparsely populated, undulating country, but owing to the annual deposition of silt the bank has been raised and the safety valve has now ceased to be of any use.

The spread of spill water over the countryside has another beneficial effect besides that of the distribution of fertilizing silt. The flushing of the pools of stagnant water and the spread of carp flies prevents malaria as the larvae are washed away by the flowing water and are eaten up by the flies. Silt-laden water itself has some effect in destroying the mosquito larvae. From these points of view the unscientific control of the river has led to an increase in the incidence of malaria. Dr. C. A. Bentley advocated the re-introduction of flood water in the area between the Damodar and the Hooghly. Sir William Willcocks made a similar plea in 1930 in his lectures which appeared in book

form under the title *Ancient System of Irrigation in Bengal*. Mr. C. Addams-Williams, Superintending Engineer, Government of Bengal also supported the idea in 1931 so that it eventually took shape in 1939 as the 'Damodar-Hooghly Flushing and Irrigation Scheme.' The purpose of the scheme is to flush out the insanitary cess-pools and swamps, and to send irrigation water along the old waterways. A barrage across the river is also included in the scheme to divert water into a feeder canal which will connect with the Eden Canal. A new irrigation canal will be opened on the right bank to irrigate the land between the Damodar and Dwarkeshwar rivers in the district of Bankura.

The last flood of July, 1943, was a minor one. The peak discharge was possibly below 35,000 cusecs (of the peak discharge of the 1913 flood which was 650,000 cusecs). Yet the countryside below Burdwan was flooded to a depth of 6 or 7 feet at many places and many villages were devastated. The traffic along the East Indian Railway had to be suspended between Burdwan and the station below from 18 July, 1943, to 8 October, 1943. The East Indian Railway had to suffer a loss of more than Rs. 53 lakhs from traffic diversion and the cost of repairs to road and railways, and construction of new culverts, bridges and waterways amounted to several times more.

5. THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE DAMODAR VALLEY

Apart from the resources of timber and various other forest products the Damodar Valley has hidden in its bosom the most important coal-fields of India which produce nearly 80 per cent of the Indian annual production of coal. The chief coal fields, in order of importance, are Jharia, Raniganj, Bokaro, North and South Karanpura and Ramgarh. The Giridih coal-field which contains the best coking coal with a low phosphorus content lies near the Usri river which is a tributary of the Barakar. Besides coal and the associated fire-clay deposits, there are large deposits of limestone and china-clay, the former having given rise to the cement factory at Khelari. The highlands near the source of the Damodar in Latehar sub-division of the Palamau district and in the western part of the Ranchi district from Lohardaga westward are capped with deposits of bauxite which is the chief source of aluminium. The Valley has not been thoroughly investigated for minerals but it is well known that there are workable deposits of mica, lead and silver ores, steatite, etc.

The sand deposits of the middle Damodar have supplied raw materials for mortar and are now used in sand stowing in the coal mines which consists in erecting pillars of compressed sand to support the roof of coal mines after extraction of the coal.

6. INDUSTRIES AND COMMUNICATION

A number of very important industries have grown up in the valley of the Damodar and its chief tributary, the Barakan, based upon the deposits of coal locked up within its stratified rocks and upon the local supplies of other raw materials.

These are:

- (a) The Iron and Steel works of the Indian Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., at Kulti near Barakar and at Burnpur near the Damodar Valley of Asansol. The Kulti works were originally started on the local supply of both power and iron ore from the Iron Stone Shales, but later it outgrew the local supply and iron ore is now imported from the Kolhar Estate in South Singhbhum.
- (b) The Kumardhubi Engineering Works and Fire Brick and Silica Works.
- (c) The Associated Cement Co.'s works at Khelari.
- (d) The Aluminium Corporation Works at Arupnagar.
- (e) The Bengal Paper Mills and Pottery Works at Raniganj.

A chemical fertilizer plant has been recently erected at Sindri in the Jharia coal-field and a coal carbonization plant in the same field is under development. There are a number of thermal power stations for the supply of electric power to the collieries, industries, railway workshops and public electric utilities. The total installed power amounts to about 137,100 kilowatts, 99% of which is derived from coal and 1% from diesel-oil engines. The lower and middle Damodar Valleys have the closest network of railways owing to their situation along the main line of communication between Calcutta and Upper India and to the development of the coal fields. The Grand Chord line of the East Indian Railway goes as far up the Valley as Gomoh whence a branch line proceeds along the Valley through the Bokaro and Karanpura coal-fields and meets again the Grand Chord line at Sone East Bank *via* Daltonganj. The railway station of Tori, from which the head waters of the Damodar may be easily approached, is on this railway.

7. PLAN FOR A UNIFIED DEVELOPMENT OF THE DAMODAR VALLEY AND THE CREATION OF A DAMODAR VALLEY AUTHORITY

The only practical remedy for the prevention of disastrous floods is to construct a number of storage reservoirs at suitable places in the upper Damodar and its tributaries. The lower and middle sections of the river are not physiographically suitable for the construction of large reservoirs. In the past proposals for construction of dams had met with considerable opposition from the coal-mining interests as they apprehended danger to the mines from perfoliation of water underground. The structure of the coalfield is now better known from the result of thorough geological surveys and this danger may be easily avoided. The sites suitable for dams are not many as the areas of coal-bearing stratified rocks do not offer deep valleys or proper gradients. All-round development would mean not only protection against floods but also generation of electricity, supply of irrigation water and possibilities of navigation by regulation of flow throughout the year. It was decided to provide against a maximum flood discharge of 1,000,000 cusecs which is 50% higher than the maximum recorded peak flow of 650,000 cusecs. The chief dam sites suggested by the Central Technical Power Board are located above the confluence of the Damodar and the Barakar rivers as the topography begins to be favourable from this point onwards. It is desirable to locate the dams as far

down the rivers as possible for the volume of water in the rivers increases down stream with consequent tendency to flooding. The following are the suggested sites:

(a) Malthon on the Barakar river six miles above its confluence with the Damodar.

(b) Sanolapur on the Damodar five miles above its confluence with the Barakar.

The extent of drainage area from below these sites to Rhondia is over 1000 square miles and as the peak flow from this drainage area alone is not more than 250,000 cusecs, no further protection is required in the lower valley in addition to the embankments.

But these two dams will not ensure an year-round flow of water necessary for irrigation and navigation. Other sites have, therefore, been recommended in both the Barakar and Damodar catchments. These are:

(a) Deolbari on the Barakar,

(b) Tilaiya on the Barakar,

(c) Aiyar on the Damodar,

(d) Bokaro on the Bokaro tributary of the Damodar, and

(e) Middle Konar site on the Konar tributary of the Damodar.

The four dams on the Damodar, Bokaro and Konar rivers will provide sufficient storage capacity for flow regulation of the Damodar river for all purposes.

In order to resuscitate the dying spill-channels of the lower Damodar a new barrage will be constructed near Silna which will divert water into the main canal for the Damodar-Hooghly flushing Scheme of the Government of Bengal and another canal for the irrigable area on the right bank. The aggregate controlled reservoir capacity provided by these dams would be about 4,700,000 acre-feet. This is sufficient for all multi-purposes and complete regulation of flow during a period of minimum run-off.

The total area which will be submerged by the water held up in the reservoirs is 10,575,000 acres. The reservoir lands should be cleared of all trees and shrubs. Roads and railways within the area to be inundated have to be relocated. Steps should be taken for the re-settlement of displaced population. The inhabitants being mostly aboriginal, a total change of environment is undesirable, as the community will find it extremely difficult to adjust itself to new conditions of economic life. Government should help the displaced people by proper advice and guidance in finding new sources of income and in settling in new lands. There are many under-populated tracts within the Chota Nagpur region.

The shore line of the reservoirs should be so prepared as to keep them clean for malaria control purposes. Steps should be taken to avoid formation of stagnant pools of water in undulating land during dry seasons when the reservoir level will recede.

8. IRRIGATION

It has already been stated that there is a dearth of water for the final growth of the paddy in October and there is no water available in the middle Damodar and part of lower Damodar for winter crops.

During the period November to May sufficient water could be released for the raising of potatoes, vegetables, cereals and fodder crops on a total irrigable area of about 760,000 acres. The water of the reservoir may be used for irrigation in parts of Chota Nagpur, but the question can only be considered after the level of water in the reservoirs available for intake purpose is known.

9. POWER

The total installed capacity within the Damodar Valley is approximately 137,000 kilowatts. The works cost at the thermal stations varies from 0.47 annas to 2.0 annas per kilowatt hour. In addition to the capacity installed within the Damodar Valley there is a total installed capacity of about 515,000 kilowatts within transmission distance of the Valley including Japla, Dalmianagar, Patna, Jamalpur, Calcutta area and Hooghly side, Kharagpur, Ghat-silla and Jamshedpur.

The total amount of power which is likely to be generated from the outfall of the eight dams is estimated at 65,000 continuous kilowatts of primary power, and an additional amount of seasonal power amounting to about 65,000 kilowatts. The seasonal power will find a market in the coal mines as the period of its availability coincides with the increased necessity of pumping water from the pits. The cost of hydro-electric power will not be more economical than the thermal power owing to the ease of getting fuel.

By a combination of the thermally generated electric energy with the hydro-electric energy the overall costs can be made economical and the entire hydro-electric energy could be utilized. The total capacity of thermal and hydro-electric installations will be about 300,000 kilowatts. As there are plans for further post-war development of industries the entire power will find a ready market. To generate this peak load (300,000 kilowatts) the total installed capacity should be 350,000 kilowatts. Of this the hydro-electric plants can produce 65,000 kilowatts during a dry period, and the remaining 115,000 kilowatts during this period may be produced by steam plants. (The total $65,000 + 115,000 = 180,000$ kilowatts represents 60% of the total installed which is obtainable at station switch boards). For this a thermal capacity of 150,000 kilowatts operating at base load during dry period will be sufficient. The remaining 200,000 kilowatts would be installed at hydro-electric plants. This will utilize all available energy during the wet period. The transmission lines can be linked with those proposed for the Rihand project in the Sone Valley, the south Bihar transmission lines and the generating stations at Jamshedpur and Calcutta.

The availability of cheap hydro-electric energy gives an impetus to the undertaking of certain electric-chemical and electro-metallurgical industries for there is both raw material and demand. The vast deposits of bauxite in the western part of the Ranchi plateau await cheap electric energy for its con-

version into aluminium. No other electro-metallurgical operation consumes so much electricity. To produce one ton of aluminium, energy equivalent to 16 tons of coal is required, or 13 units of electricity. India used to import 12,000 tons of aluminium per annum before the war. There is thus an assured market and the selection of site for this industry with reference to source of power and supply of raw materials requires investigation. In view of the limited coal reserves of India and the expected short life of the coal fields (not over 30 years), there is scope for large-scale development of hydro-electricity so that in future electrical energy may be employed in the extraction of iron as in Sweden and Brazil.

The production of synthetic ammonia and other fertilizers such as nitrates is an urgent necessity for the rehabilitation of Indian agriculture. The crying need of Indian agriculture is to raise the productivity of the soil and thereby the yield of crops. A large synthetic fertilizer plant has been started by the Government of India near Sindri in the Jheria coal-field which will utilize thermal energy.

In addition to the above, energy is needed for the manufacture of calcium carbide, glass etc.

10. NAVIGATION

At present the Damodar is not a navigable river up to its delta region in lower Bengal. The low level of water during winter and the strong currents during the monsoon alike prevent navigation. There are references, however, in the records of the Port Commissioner of Calcutta, to the transport of coal in barges from the Raniganj coal-field to Calcutta during the wet season in the days before the construction of the E. I. Ry. In the *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India* there are pictures of ruins of the old wharves such as near Ygara, in the Raniganj field. The competition of the railway, the opening of mines away from the river, the lack of other bulky commodities for export, the gradual silting up of the river—all combined to bring river transport to disuse. In view of the prospect of having a regulated flow in the river after the construction of the control dams, the question of making the river navigable by dredging from below the confluence with the Barakar to the Anderson Weir appears feasible. The channel should be of sufficient depth to make navigation possible for river craft with a draught of about 5 ft. A small navigation lock has to be provided in the Anderson Weir in order to make continuous navigation possible.

The total consumption of coal in the Calcutta area for all purposes is about 130,000 tons per month and the railway freight for this is Rs. 6 lakhs per month. With the development of agriculture in this decadent area surplus crops for export, besides the different industrial concerns such as the paper mills, pottery works, iron and steel works, aluminium works will avail of the cheaper navigation.

The raw materials of these industries, which are imported from down the valley, and the requirements of the large populations of the industrial area and the mines will provide return cargoes. A survey of the traffic and explora-

tion of the amount of dredging necessary seem justified in connexion with the multi-purpose development. Now that the railways have been taken over by the Government, the scheme is not likely to meet with opposition from the railway authorities. The recent shortage of coal supplies due to short supply of wagons would not have occurred if the river had been navigable.

The irrigation canals and the reservoirs will also supply fresh drinking water to the people of the interior. One of the main causes of the periodic epidemics of the people of villages is the absence of pure drinking water. Steps should, therefore, be taken to avoid pollution of the water of the reservoirs and the canals and the main river, and arrangements should be made for the disposal of sewage of the towns and purification of water discharged from the industrial plants.

Although the erosion of soil in the upper catchment is to a great extent responsible for the raising of the bed of the middle and lower Damodar with resulting floods it is not an unmixed evil. The top-most layer of soil which is washed away is the most fertile portion of the soil-profile as it is chemically altered and mixed with decayed vegetable matter and other organic remains. This is lost to the farmers of the upper catchment, but is spread over the flooded region and is partly carried to the sea. After the removal of the fine silt, loose and infertile sand is spread by the sheet flow of rain water over fertile agricultural fields and much damage is done to them in this way. Even apart from the question of prevention of silting, the problem of soil-conservation is very important for the welfare of the agricultural population and needs careful consideration.

A mechanism of opening sluice-gates in the dams during the period of maximum silt discharge or the periodic opening of the sluices when the level of water behind the dam stands very high, which will flush out the accumulated silt, will help to prevent silting up on the upper side of the dams. This has been done in the dams of the Ouse river in Great Britain.

Another problem is the difficulty which may arise of getting sand for stowing in the coal mines as the sand in the river will be under water throughout the year and the reservoirs will also cover up much of the sand deposits, and much sand will have to be removed from the river bed to deepen the channel and from the sites which will go under the reservoirs. In spite of this plenty of sand will be available in the upper reaches of the river where most sand is deposited due to the coarseness of sand grains. Moreover sand may be transferred in barges once the river is made navigable. The Karanpura coal-field is located above the site of any proposed dam and its sand supply will not be affected at all. So far as the other coal-fields are concerned sand will continue to be available from the unsubmerged parts of the valley and from hydraulic dredging. As dredging will be required for deepening the valley much sand will be raised which may be conveniently stock-piled. Periodic dredging will maintain its supply. The problem has to be examined in relation to individual fields or mines but there is a possibility of the rising of cost in getting supplies of sand.

11. PROBLEMS OF SILT CONTROL AND SAND SUPPLY FOR STOWING IN COAL MINES

On the basis of the present rate of transport of silt by the Damodar which is 1/300th of the volume of the entire monsoon flow, the reservoirs will be filled up in 100 years. The life of the reservoirs can be greatly prolonged by the control of soil erosion in the upper catchment and the application of technological knowledge to the construction of the dams and the dredging of the reservoirs.

The inhabitants of the upper catchment should be instructed in preventing soil erosion by contour-ploughing of agricultural land, trenching the bare hill slopes and uplands along contours to hold water regressing them and by plugging the openings of gullies. This should go hand in hand with reforestation and planned felling of standing timber.

12. CONCLUSION

According to the calculations made by the committee appointed by the Central Technical Power Board the total cost of the unified project appears to be about Rs. 48 crores determined as follows:

Reservoirs and Dams—4,700,000 acre-foot @ Rs. 60/-	
±per acre foot	Rs. 28·2 Crores
Diversion Weir, head works, irrigation and drainage Canals	Rs. 5 „
Power installations	Rs. 14·7 „
Allowing for the contingencies up to 15% the total will be ..	Rs. 55 „

The annual expenditure for maintenance will be as follows:—

Flood control	Rs. 54 lakhs
Irrigation	Rs. 52·5 „
Power	Rs. 210·4 „

The sources of revenue are the sale of cheap power (which works out at 24 anna per kilowatt hour as against 31 annas for thermal power) and the sale of irrigation water. Even if the revenues do not equal the recurring expenses and help the gradual repayment of the capital, the scheme is still justified by the insurance it will provide against flood and the prosperity it will bring to the people. But there is justification for expecting that with full development the scheme will be a source of income to the State in future. The scheme should be operated by a Government Agency and not by private interests to whom self-interest is more important than the national interests. With this end in view a Damodar Valley Authority should be created on the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority, with similar legal and executive authority, consisting of the representatives of the Central and the Provincial Governments concerned.

P. S. Since the above was written the Govt. of India have undertaken in collaboration with the Govt. of Bihar the construction of two dams—one at Tilaiya and the other at Konya for irrigation and hydro-electricity.

[The author is indebted to Mr. R. P. Singh, Lecturer in Geography, Patna College, for kindly drawing the map of the Damodar Basin.]

THE IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES OF SOUTH EAST ASIA

By P. S. NARASIMHAN

(In the following discussion South East Asia is taken to include Burma, British Malaya, the Netherlands East Indies, Siam and Indo-China)

I. INTRODUCTORY

Two sets of problems emanating from the population situation in the South East Asia region are likely to figure, in the future, among the factors leading to insecurity in the Pacific. Firstly, in Burma, in British Malaya, in the Netherlands East Indies, in Siam and in French Indo-China there is a considerable immigrant population which has acquired in the economy of these countries a hold out of all proportion to its numbers. These immigrant communities are, however, faced today by a resurgent nationalism and as the countries in the region achieve a measure of self-government the political and economic rights of the immigrant population will have to be defined afresh and this naturally is bound to cause considerable friction between the countries in the South East Asia region, such as Burma and British Malaya, on the one hand and the countries from which the immigrants have come, such as India, China, Great Britain, France and the Netherlands on the other. Secondly, almost throughout the region, but more especially in Indo-China and Java, population has tended to increase steadily during recent decades leading to an acute demographic problem. In the Netherlands East Indies, as in British Malaya, the introduction of modern methods of promoting public health has to a large extent cut down death rates from tropical diseases such as malaria, but the social forces which in modern Western society keep population in check have not been aroused. Thus, in Java, without industrialization of any kind the population doubled itself in the fifty years from 1890 to 1940 and the purely agrarian Java had to support in 1930 a much denser population *viz.*, 314.5 persons per sq. km. than the highly industrialized Netherlands (225.9 persons per sq. km.) or Great Britain (250.6 persons per sq. km.)¹ With such a steady increase in the population the struggle for existence has naturally become more acute, poverty and malnutrition have become chronic with regard to the great majority of the population, and almost throughout the South East Asia region the demographic situation demands a rapid development of large-scale industry. Such a development, however, may affect adversely the markets for the British, Dutch or French consumers' goods and may lead to a direct clash of interest between the dependent countries in the region, such as Burma, the Netherlands East Indies and French Indo-China on the one hand and the metropolitan countries, such as Great Britain, the Netherlands and France on the other. Obviously such a clash of interest might well prove a fruitful source of discontent and trouble. Also, in proportion as the countries in the region become more and more self-governing and as

¹ Amry Vandenbosch: *The Dutch East Indies*, (1944), p. 13.

the pressure of the population in the region on the means of subsistence intensifies, the immigration policy at present followed by Australia with her vast expanses of land space, is likely to cause increasing resentment which may well result in a sense of insecurity throughout the entire region.

With this background in mind we may now proceed to analyse the various problems arising from the presence in the South East Asia region of large immigrant communities.

2. IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

The various immigrant communities in the countries of South East Asia can be grouped under two broad heads:—the Asiatic and the European. We shall, however, be concerned in this article with the Asiatic immigrant communities only. These are in the main the Indians and the Chinese, the importance of the latter increasing as one moves farther away from India. Thus, in Ceylon, the Indians constitute the most important class of immigrants and the Chinese are almost totally absent. In Burma there is a considerable group of Chinese immigrants but Indian immigrants outnumber the Chinese by almost five to one. As one passes on to British Malaya, the Chinese outnumber the Indians and in countries farther away from India, such as Siam, Indo-China and the Netherlands East Indies the Indian immigrants almost completely disappear from the picture, with the Chinese appearing as the predominant immigrant community. Chinese immigration has, on the whole, been more aggressive than the Indian, and in British Malaya today the Chinese actually outnumber the indigenous population. In 1940, out of an estimated total population of 5.5 million, the Chinese numbered 2.4 million or 42.8 per cent, the Malays 2.3 million or 41.5 per cent and the Indians 0.75 million or 13.6 per cent.¹ The following figures reveal clearly the tendency of the proportion of the Chinese population to increase steadily at the expense of the Malayan.²

Year					Total Population of British Malaya	Chinese %	Malays %	Indians %
					Million			
1911	..	..	..	..	2.67	..	51	..
1921	..	..	..	..	3.36	35	49.2	14
1931	..	..	..	..	4.39	39	44.7	14.2
1940	...	..	..	..	5.50	42.8	41.5	13.6

The Netherlands East Indies and Siam also experienced the same tendency. Between 1920 and 1930 the total population of the Netherlands East Indies increased from 49.4 million to 60.4 million or by about 23.1 per cent. But during the same period the number of Chinese in the Netherlands East Indies rose from 809,647 to 1,233,856 or by 52.4 per cent.³ Similarly in Siam the

¹ *Report of the Agent of the Government of India: Indians in Malaya, 1940.*

² *Indians in Malaya, 1940.*

³ *The Dutch East Indies, p. 19.*

total population rose from 9.21 million in 1919 to 14.46 million in 1937—an increase of 53.5 per cent. The number of Chinese, however, rose by as much as 100 per cent, from 260,914 in 1919 to 524,062 in 1937.¹ A third Asiatic immigrant community is the Javanese, but emigration from Java has not been significant enough to affect the population pattern of either Java itself or the other countries of the South East Asia region. Thus in 1940 there were in British Malaya 2,358,335 Chinese, 748,829 Indians but only about 15,000 Javanese.

Unlike immigration from the Asiatic countries, European immigration into the countries of South East Asia has followed the flag. Thus the main European immigrant communities in the region are the British in Burma and Malaya, the Dutch in the Netherlands East Indies and the French in Indo-China. Though numerically much smaller than the Asiatic, the European immigrant communities have acquired a much stronger hold on the economic life of the countries in this region, as they own and manage most of the enterprises engaged in the production of the key products of South East Asia: rubber, tin, oil and, to a smaller extent, teak and sugar.

The following table indicates the total population of the various countries in the South East Asia region and its racial composition:

Country	Total population	Chinese	Indians	Other Asiatics	Europeans ²
Burma	16,824,000	193,954	1,017,825	..	30,441
British Malaya ..	5,517,000	2,358,335	748,829	..	31,197
Netherlands East Indies	71,734,000	1,233,856	30,000	84,000	242,372
Siam	15,718,000	524,062	5,000	..	..
French Indo-China	23,853,000	326,000	6,000	..	42,300

3. MIGRATION TRENDS

During the past seventy or eighty years there have been three main currents of population movements in the South East Asia region. The first is from heavily populated India to Ceylon, Burma and British Malaya and to a smaller extent to Siam, Indo-China and the Netherlands East Indies. Secondly, we find a steady flow of immigrants from the densely populated regions of China, south of the Yangtze, especially from the provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien, pouring into Siam, Indo-China, British Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies. The third current starts from thickly populated Java, but is relatively weak and spends itself out by the time it has reached British Malaya and French Indo-China. In addition to these three broad streams of inter-country migration, there are also two smaller currents of intra-country migration, which have

¹ K. P. Landon: *The Chinese in Thailand* (1941), p. 22.

² Includes besides Europeans persons of non-European origin, such as the Japanese, who enjoy the legal status of Europeans.

given rise to problems of their own, from the densely populated Tonking region of Indo-China to the sparsely populated Cambodia and Cochin China; and from Java to the relatively undeveloped outer provinces such as Sumatra, Celebes and Borneo. We can now discuss these currents of migration in detail.

Burma:—Most of the rice land of Lower Burma has been opened up only during the latter half of the nineteenth century and in the development of Burma as one of the world's leading rice exporters, Indian labour has played a considerable part. As late as 1891 the area under rice in Lower Burma was only 4,868,000 acres (as against over 12 million acres in 1930) and to overcome the local shortage of labour Indian immigration was encouraged officially. Nor does the local Burman population seem to have viewed this Indian immigration with anything but favour. Thus, the *Season and Crop Report of 1914* noted that even Burmese landlords preferred Indian tenants because 'they pay larger rents and do not give the landlord such an anxious time when the grain is threshing on the floor.' In the wake of the Indian labour followed the Indian banker and most of the working capital required for Burma's staple crop, *viz.*, rice, was provided by the Indian bankers. In spite of the steady increase in the population of Burma during recent years, even during the 'thirties, there was a regular seasonal outflow of labour from India during the harvesting season to help in the gathering of Burma's rice.

In the years following the world economic depression which set in 1929, the volume of Indian migration to Burma has tended to shrink. The most important contributory factors have been: (a) *The separation of Burma from India in 1937*. Before separation Burma formed politically part of India and movement of persons between the two countries was absolutely unrestricted. Since the separation Burma has naturally claimed the right to determine the composition of her population and to impose restrictions on immigration from India. (b) *Increasing economic and political pressure*:—The disastrous fall in the price of Burma's staple rice crop in the years following 1929 naturally landed the Burmese peasant in difficulty and led to large-scale transfers of land into the hands of the Indian moneylenders. Added to this was the rising tide of Burmese nationalism which showed itself in increasing resentment against Indian businesses in Burma. The inability of the Indian and the Burmese Governments to agree on the status and rights of Indians in Burma further tended to check the flow of immigrants from India. The resulting feeling of insecurity has naturally acted as a deterrent to further immigration from India.

While immigration from India has attracted a good deal of attention in Burma and led to considerable degree of resentment, Chinese immigration has passed almost unnoticed. Since the beginning of the twentieth century the number of Chinese in Burma has increased steadily, the immigrants usually entering Burma after a few months, or years, stay in the tin mines of the Straits Settlements. Thus the number of Chinese in Burma rose from 122,000 in 1911 to 193,594 in 1921 and subsequent to the opening of the

Burma Road shot up to above 225,000 in 1943.

British Malaya:—In the days following the opening of the Suez Canal when British Malaya developed rapidly as one of the world's chief producers of rubber and tin it also had to face the same problem as Burma—a shortage of local labour. The Malayan was by custom as well as choice a peasant or a fisherman and he was unwilling to leave his village to work in a plantation or a tin mine. The British planters and miners as well as the Government departments, therefore, were compelled to import labour from India and China.

Indian Immigration into British Malaya:—Migration from India on a large scale began in the eighteen eighties and consisted almost entirely of South Indian labourers who were brought in by the European sugar and coffee planters. Between 1880 and 1904 the number of arrivals from India per year averaged 20,000. Between 1911 and 1920 rubber planting in Malaya expanded rapidly and the average arrivals from India jumped up to 90,000 per year, while during 1920-30 and 1931-40 the average annual arrivals have been 88,775 and 76,449 respectively.

Indian immigration into British Malaya displays certain characteristic features. Firstly, a great majority of the immigrants consists of estate labourers from South India; these return to India at regular intervals, and the average period of an Indian coolie's stay in British Malaya has been estimated at about three years. During recent years, however, there has been a steady increase in the number of immigrants from North India and in the number of skilled and professional workers, such as doctors and lawyers, migrating to Malaya. Secondly, the volume of immigration from India into Malaya varies directly with the price of rubber and the economic prosperity of Malaya. Thus the number of assisted labourers,¹ who arrived in Malaya from South Indian ports, increased from 15,413 in 1921 to 149,414 in 1926, fell during the depression period to 17 in 1932 and 20 in 1933; jumped to 45,469 in 1934 with the world economic recovery, but declined to 3,754 in 1934 with a temporary setback to rubber, and shot up again to 54,849 in 1937. Malaya's rubber industry has thus been able to use South India as a pool from which labour can be drawn, or to which labour can be returned at will and to free itself from the burden of having to maintain an adequate labour force large enough to meet all contingencies. Thirdly, the recruitment of this labour is today well organized and controlled, and the Government of India has been able progressively to insist on the provision of a defined minimum standard of amenities and wages in the plantations employing Indian labour. Since 1923 the Government of India has maintained an Agent in British Malaya to look after the interests of the Indian estate labourers and in 1938 when the price of rubber rose but the Malayan planters were unwilling to raise wages, the Government of India actually banned the emigration of unskilled labour to British Malaya and the number of assisted South Indian labourers arriving there fell from 54,849 in 1937 to 287 in 1939. Lastly, recent years reveal a steady

¹ Labourers who are assisted to migrate into Malaya by the Indian Immigration Fund—a fund to which all planters in Malaya using Indian labour have to contribute.

rise in the proportion of unassisted Indians immigrating to British Malaya at their own expense. Thus in 1940, of a total of 15,320 Indians, who arrived in Malaya as deck passengers, only 1,314 were labourers. These non-labour immigrants are mainly persons engaged in trade, as shop assistants and clerical workers, and in miscellaneous petty occupations.

Chinese Immigration into British Malaya:—If Malaya's rubber estates have been developed by Indian labour, the Chinese immigrant has played a no less important part in the development of Malaya's tin. Immigration from China on a large scale began in the eighteen seventies and immigrants from the province of South China, especially Kwangtung and the island of Hainan, poured into the country under the triple stimuli of its potential wealth, the orderly government which followed in the wake of British occupation and official encouragement by the British Government.

Upto 1930 Chinese immigration into British Malaya was subject to no kind of restriction and in volume it greatly exceeded the Indian. Thus between 1921 and 1929 the average number of arrivals per year of Chinese in Singapore was 241,954 while the average annual arrivals from South India averaged only 88,775 (for the period between 1921 and 1930). Immigration from China in its peak year, *viz.*, 1927, amounted to 359,262 as against the peak figure of 174,795 for immigration from South India in 1926.

The calamitous fall in the prices of Malaya's tin and rubber during the Great Depression and the consequent wave of unemployment among the Chinese in Malaya led to a change in immigration policy in 1930. In August 1930, the Straits Settlements' Immigration Restriction Ordinance (this Ordinance had been promulgated as early as 1928) was enforced, a similar enactment was passed in the Federated Malaya States and direct immigration from the China ports to the Federated Malaya States was stopped altogether. A quota was fixed for the number of adult male labourers who could enter British Malaya from the China ports and Hongkong, and as the Depression deepened, the quota was reduced from the original 6016 per month to 1000 in July 1932 and the Government embarked upon a policy of repatriating destitute Chinese immigrants.¹ Conditions began to improve after 1934 owing to the introduction of control schemes for tin and rubber; the monthly quota was increased to 4000 in 1934 and in 1937, 239,106 Chinese immigrants entered British Malaya.

But it is doubtful whether Chinese immigration into British Malaya will in the future regain its pre-Depression levels. The demand for Chinese labour in Malaya would seem to have been permanently reduced by the enforcement of restriction schemes with regard to tin and rubber and the extensive use of labour saving machinery in tin mines. The Chinese provided as much as 77.6 per cent of the total number of miners in British Malaya and they have naturally been hit hard by the introduction of labour-saving methods. For instance in 1907 British Malaya produced 48,429 tons of tin and employed

¹ In 1932 control of immigration was further extended by the Aliens Ordinance promulgated during that year.

229,778 labourers in her tin mines while in 1929 the production has risen to 69,336 tons, but the labour employed was only 104,468.

In addition to the Indian and Chinese labourers there were about 15,608 Javanese labourers in British Malaya in 1937, most of them on the estates, but Javanese immigration has not affected in any significant way either the economy of British Malaya or that of Java.

The Netherlands East Indies:—The Netherlands East Indies with its densely populated Java was not naturally as largely dependent for its development upon imported labour as Burma or British Malaya. Immigration from China has, however, been fairly heavy during recent years and the number of Chinese in the country rose from 809,000 in 1920 to 1,234,000 in 1930.¹ The tin mines of Banka and Billiton and the large European estates on the East Coast of Sumatra have imported thousands of Chinese coolies under a contract system and Chinese traders constitute the bulk of the Asiatic trading community in the Netherlands East Indies. Again, as in British Malaya, Chinese immigration into the Netherlands East Indies also has been seriously affected by the Great Depression. Thus the number of aliens entering the country (exclusive of Government servants and tourists) during one year fell from 32,000 to 42,000 in the decade 1921-30 to 9,280 in 1933, and recovered to 28,000 in 1938. In 1937, the total number of immigrants who could enter the country during any one year was fixed by the *Volksraad* at 12,000 and with the exception of the Chinese and the Dutch the maximum number of immigrants of any one nationality was fixed at 800. During years of acute economic depression Chinese immigration has led to some concern in the Netherlands East Indies also, and in the 'thirties the Government imposed a tax of 150 florins on all immigrants, partly with a view to limiting the number of foreign Asiatic immigrants and protecting the indigenous population from too great an influx of labour and the small trading class. In 1932 an Indonesian member of the *Volksraad* introduced a resolution raising the immigration fee to 250 florins and only the fear of a retaliatory Chinese boycott of Java sugar prevented its adoption.

Siam:—In Siam, again, the Chinese constitute the most important immigrant community forming about 95 per cent of the total number of arrivals and departures at the port of Bangkok. During recent years a number of Straits-born Chinese have also tended to migrate into Siam from the South. As in British Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies, in Siam also the volume of Chinese immigration has tended to vary directly with the prosperity of tin and rubber as the following figures show:—

¹ Most of them came from the Provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien.

Total Arrivals and Departures at Bangkok¹

						Arrivals	Departures
1921-22	..	..	..	..	..	73,976	44,967
1927-28	..	..	..	..	..	139,612	60,791
1933-34	..	..	..	..	..	16,324	29,673
1934-35	..	..	..	..	..	25,041	28,254
1937-38	..	..	..	..	..	43,068	20,522

Chinese immigration into Siam was also affected fundamentally by the advent into power in 1932 in Siam of an intensely nationalist government which sought to bring under the control of its own nationals as much of the trade and industry of the country as possible. For the first time the Siamese Government adopted a positive policy in the field of immigration and by a succession of enactments and notifications between 1931 and 1939 Chinese immigration was brought under effective control. Chinese immigrants in Siam were required in 1932 to obtain certificates of residence on payment of a fairly high fee and ministerial regulations issued in 1932-33 empowered the authorities in charge of immigration to examine whether youthful immigrants could read and write. To prevent illicit immigration, a Registration of Aliens Act was enacted in 1936-37 requiring all aliens to obtain Certificates of Registration and to submit to the authorities photographs of themselves which had to be changed every five years. Finally the Immigration Act of 1937-38 made it a serious offence to smuggle aliens into Siam, enabled the Minister of the Interior to fix a quota for aliens of any particular nationality and raised the fee which each immigrant had to pay to 200 baht.²

Indo-China:—In the early days of the French occupation of Indo-China Chinese labourers were recruited for work on the plantations and in recent years the stream of immigration into Indo-China has been considerably affected by the unsettled conditions in China. In 1923 and 1924, 23,777 women and 41,963 men entered Indo-China; in 1934 and 1935 the comparable figures were 26,812 and 36,622. At the port of Saigon alone, between January 1 and October 1, 1938, 13,551 women and 16,844 men entered the country from China.³ As in the other countries of South East Asia, in Indo-China also the stream of Chinese immigration slowed down during the Great Depression and between 1933 and 1936 emigrants returning to China always outnumbered the new arrivals in the colony and the total number of Chinese in Indo-China fell from 402,000 in 1928 to 326,000 in 1936.

Summary of trends:—From the above survey of the currents of migration in South East Asia certain broad conclusions, which are likely to be of value in any enunciation of policy for the future, can be deduced.

First, in the development of the main export products of South East Asia, such as tin, rubber and oil, the indigenous population has played only a minor

¹ 95 per cent of these were Chinese. Separate figures for Chinese are not available—Source: *Statistical Year Book, 1936-37* (Bangkok: Central Service of Statistics).

² 1 baht is equivalent to about \$ 0.45.

³ Charles Robegnam: *The Economic Development of Indo-China*.

part. In almost every case the country's resources have been developed by British, French or Dutch capital and Indian, Chinese or Javanese labour. The Indian and Chinese immigrant communities have entered the countries of South East Asia as junior partners of the European planters and miners, often at the express invitation of the Governments concerned. By thus using imported Chinese or Indian labour the cost of the rubber and tin of South East Asia has been kept at a low level. The planters and miners of the South East Asia region have been able to stabilize their incomes by repatriating the Indian and Chinese labour to India and China respectively in times of depression, thus shifting to the immigrant labour force with little or no staying power most of the risks of depression and falling prices.

Secondly, in the wake of the Indian or Chinese labour has followed the Indian or the Chinese moneylender and trader. Almost throughout the region the metropolitan Powers have encouraged the Chinese trader as a kind of intermediary between the small native producer and buyer and the large European-owned import and export houses. The British in Malaya, the Dutch in the East Indies and the French in Indo-China have found that the Chinese is a good trader, is able to mix more easily with the local population, and that the distribution of imported products and the collection of local products for export can be done cheaper by the Chinese traders than by European business houses. The European planter or miner, however, has not as much use for the Indian or Chinese trader as he has for Indian or Chinese labourer, and, it is obvious that in the event of a conflict with the rising nationalism in the countries of South East Asia, he could use with profit the growing resentment against the Indian or Chinese usurer and trader to strengthen his own position.

Third, though originally most of the Chinese and Indian immigrants in the South East Asia countries were only transient groups with no permanent interest in the countries of their adoption, during the past two or three decades more and more Indians and Chinese have permanently settled down in the countries of their adoption and have, for all practical purposes, become part of the local population. This is revealed clearly by two developments, *viz.*, the steady increase in the number of immigrants who take their wives with them and the steady rise in the proportion of the Indians and Chinese born in the South East Asia countries. In the decade between 1920 and 1930 in British Malaya as well as in the Netherlands Indies, the disparity between the number of male and female immigrants was steadily corrected and in the years subsequent to 1920 there was a marked increase in the number of Chinese female immigrants in Siam. The following figures are in this connexion interesting:

British Malaya

(No. of Females per 1000 Males)

Year						Among Indians	Among Chinese
1911	..	..	..	..	..	308	247
1921	..	..	..	..	..	405	384
1931	..	..	..	..	..	482	436

Netherlands East Indies

(Number of Females per 1000 Males)

Year					Natives	Europeans	Chinese	Other Asiatics
1920					1020.9	786.2	562.0	701.7
1930					1029.8	878.5	646.2	812.3

Similarly, in 1931, nearly 50 per cent of the more than one million Indians in Burma were Burma-born and in the decade 1920-30 there was a steady increase in the proportion of Malaya-born Indians and Chinese in all parts of British Malaya.

Figures of Malaya-Born Indians and Chinese

				Indians		Chinese	
				1921	1931	1921	1931
				%	%	%	%
Federated Malay States				11	22	17	29
Straits Settlements				18	23	29	38
Total British Malaya				12.4	21	22	31

Last, during recent years the stream of migration from India and China seems to have dried up to a considerable extent. Several factors have combined to promote this development. The Great Depression and the severe fall in rubber and tin prices has been followed by the introduction of restriction schemes which has considerably reduced the demand for labour in rubber plantations and tin mines. Also in British Malaya as well as in the Netherlands East Indies there is today a considerable Indian and Chinese labour force permanently settled down there and this provides the planter and tin miner with a considerable reservoir of labour from which he can draw at will. The need for further immigrants, therefore, has been reduced. Another contributory cause has been the development of a healthy national consciousness in India and China which has forced their Governments to insist on better treatment of their nationals in foreign countries. Thus, the Government of India imposed a ban on the emigration of unskilled labour to Malaya in 1938 when the Malayan Government cut down the minimum wages granted to estate labourers; and the Franco-Chinese Treaty of 1930 which came into force in 1935 guaranteed the Chinese in Indo-China the same rights of immigration and travel in Indo-China and the same basis of taxation and fees as the foreigners of most-favoured nations. Finally with the growing pressure of the population on the soil, the intensification of the economic depression, and the rapid spread of nationalism, the local populations in Burma, British Malaya, Siam and the Netherlands East Indies have shown more and more resentment towards alien immigrants. It is worth noting that the Indian in Burma and the Chinese in the rest of South East Asia more clearly impinge on the respective local populations than the European concerns which have secured for themselves the lion's share of the gains from South East Asia's rubber, tin, oil, teak and rice. Local feeling has, therefore, shown itself more clearly against the junior partner, *viz.*, the Indian and the Chinese than against the senior partner, *viz.*, the European immigrant community.

MINERALS IN WORLD POLITICS

By C. MAHADEVAN

INTRODUCTION

RIGHT from the time of early man when the use of gold, copper, tin, and iron for ornamental or armamental and domestic purposes, came to be known minerals formed an important cause of tribal and national rivalries, jealousies and wars. The history of the European nations since the Renaissance, and more especially from the fifteenth century onwards, pivots on colonial expansion and territorial aggrandizement for monopoly of raw materials and for markets for the finished products. With the complexity of the modern civilization and its concomitant industrial expansion during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this international rivalry for favourable positions has taken ugly shape and dimensions and has been responsible for the last two global wars, and the preceding international feuds. Beneath the dross of ideological slogans and high-sounding professions, every nation engaged in global wars, which was the willing party to the conflict, was moved by nothing worse or better than mere commercial ambition. To some extent, it was a fight between the 'haves' and 'the have nots' and between the 'haves' and the 'have mores.' If you tell the common man that the sole object of the war is for the commercial expansion of the country, which to him is merely an academic question in terms of the capitalistic class or of a favoured few, you cannot make him get into emotional hysteria; on the other hand stories of unspeakable tortures to fellow human beings and of the danger of such fate overtaking him, make an appeal both to his sentiment and to his instinct of self-preservation. The world (which is still dominated by scheming and corrupt politicians, avaricious combines and cartels and anti-social exploiters and blood-suckers to whom the whole of humanity is merely a pawn in their game of self-aggrandizement) has to re-discover its soul in the foundations of moral laws, fraternity, mutual goodwill and rational co-operation. The mass awakening which is witnessed all over the world may perhaps serve to achieve such an objective, if its leadership is of the right type. We have conquered space. We are unravelling the innermost secrets of nature, and gaining mastery over its enormous potential power and energy. Unless we make a corresponding advance on the moral side, all this material progress of humanity will ultimately end in its total annihilation. As raw materials (and more especially mineral raw materials) have been the major cause for the two global wars of this century, it is the purpose of this paper to review the part played by the minerals in world politics with a view to an intelligent solution of this problem.

THE MODERN INDUSTRIAL ERA

Leaving the period subsequent to 1935 as abnormal on account of the race for armaments amongst the various nations, we shall consider the world mineral position prior to that period as data for discussion. The phenomenal rise

in industrialization resulting from growing discoveries in pure and applied sciences put an unusual strain on the world's mineral resources and brought a large number of minerals under the 'basic' category. Thus, it is computed that the amount of minerals mined and consumed during this century far exceeds the total consumption for the whole of the period preceding the twentieth century. The gold produced during the last quarter of a century far exceeds the quantity for four hundred years preceding it. In the U. S. A. alone, the fortnightly output of iron ore is computed to be equivalent to the volume of the great Pyramid of Egypt. The world production of copper in the year 1929 alone was estimated to be twice as much as for all the period upto the twentieth century. The harnessing of water as a potent source of energy (which is the result of that land-mark in the progress of science, namely Faraday's discovery of the principle of dynamo) has added a perennial supply of power. In an advanced country like the U. S. A., minerals constitute about two-thirds of the railway tonnage. More than 25% of the world's sea-borne trade pertains to mineral raw materials. At the present time, nearly a hundred minerals come under the category of *basic* or *strategic* group. We may consider here briefly the present sources from which the world industries are sustained.

IRON AND COAL

Iron ore which is the commonest and best known of the minerals, though distributed all over the world, is mainly drawn from the Lake Superior region and Alabama in the U.S.A., north-Eastern France, Luxemburg, the British Isles, parts of Sweden and northern Spain. These account for about three-fourths of the world's output. In most of these areas, coal is available and over 90% of the world's steel comes from the U.S.A., England, the Ruhr region and France. They are so well established both with regard to their natural resources and organizational efficiency that it would be well-nigh impossible to compete seriously with their monopoly in open world markets. With regard to coal, the U.S.A., Great Britain and Germany produce two-thirds of the world's output. The U.S.A. claims to have half the world's estimated reserves in coal. The potentialities of China are surmised to be vast but await development.

PETROLEUM

With regard to petroleum, the U.S.A. again enjoys a favoured position. In the second half of the third decade of the century, this country produced 69% of the world's supply, Russia, Mexico, Venezuela, Persia, the Dutch Indies, and Colombia, all together accounting for about 25%. It is now feared that the oil reserves in the U.S.A. are nearing depletion and one can understand her anxiety during the war to negotiate with the Middle Eastern countries for a commercial treaty and the construction of a pipeline to the sea coast. Discerning oil geologists are of the opinion that the potentialities of oil in Iran and Iraq are almost unlimited and hardly tapped. The rivalry between Russia and Great Britain in Persia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and of the great interest that the U.S.A. is taking in the

politics of this country in relation to Russia and Great Britain can easily be appreciated against this background. Students of the modern history of the Middle East and more especially of Persia are aware that if Persia retained her nominal independence in the past it was due to the two Great Powers—Britain and Russia—coveting that country simultaneously, and therefore each preventing the other from having a finger in the pie. Situations similar to those reported at the present time of Russia and Great Britain engaging themselves in military and political manoeuvres in Persia and each asking the other to withdraw have happened so often during the last fifty years. It is not known yet publicly to what extent the U.S.A. has entered into commercial treaty with the Middle Eastern States for oil monopoly. But indications were not wanting even during the war that this must be considerable, as British interests had to enter a mild protest during the war about such moves. This was at a time when Great Britain could not afford to offend her ally across the Atlantic and had to keep her in humour!

COPPER AND FERRO-ALLOYS

Coming now to copper, which is another important basic mineral for industries, the U.S.A. produces over 55%. About 20% is produced from Chile and Peru. It is expected that Rhodesia, the Congo, and Canada will soon take leading positions.

Minerals of the ferro-alloy group such as manganese, chromium, tungsten, nickel, and vanadium play an important part in industrial development. Of these India and Russia produce the major part of manganese, the Gold Coast and Brazil also making a respectable contribution. Chromite comes from Rhodesia, India, New Caledonia and Turkey. Nickel is almost exclusively obtained from Canada. 80% of the world's tungsten is produced by China and Malaya and about 50% of the world's vanadium comes from Peru. With regard to tin—another very important mineral in industry—over 85% of the world's production is obtained from the Malaya States, Bolivia and Dutch East Indies. Despite a Labour Government in power in Great Britain, it is not difficult to understand Britain's anxiety to sustain the colonial rule of the Straits Settlements and Indonesia by herself and the Dutch who have common commercial interests and world monopoly in rubber and these minerals. Very early in this century, an imperialist named A. T. Mahan made in his book *Problem of Asia* the following preposterous claim which has been and still appears to be the guiding principle of the western nations in relation to 'the backward countries of the East!'

The claim of an indigenous population to retain indefinitely control of territory depends not upon a natural right, but upon political fitness shown in the political work of governing, administering and developing, in such manner as to insure the natural right of the world at large that resources should not be left idle but be utilized for the general good. Failure to do this justifies, in principle, compulsion from outside; the position to be demonstrated, in the parti-

cular instance, is that the necessary time and the fitting opportunity have arrived.

GOLD AND SILVER

With regard to gold, two-thirds of the world's production is in the hands of Britain; over half of the world's gold is from the Union of South Africa. The colour problem in the Union of South Africa and the exclusion of Asiatics from Australia raise issues not merely of social adjustment. Equality in such monopolistic areas where the economic structure of two racially differing elements are in conflict, is for the privileged race an unthinkable proposition. Ideas of equality, fraternity and justice cease to have any influence on their outlook and behaviour under these circumstances. Were it viewed against this background, the South African problem becomes at least intelligible, if it cannot find acceptance on moral grounds.

As regards silver, the U.S.A. and Mexico produce between themselves over two-thirds of the total world's output.

LEAD AND ZINC

The U. S. A. produces about 40% of the world's lead, Mexico Australia, and Spain contribute about 30%, Germany, Canada, Belgium and Burma add also their quota to this output. The U.S.A. is again the largest single unit in the production of zinc accounting for about 40% of the world's output. But other countries like Belgium, Poland, Germany, France and Canada contribute just as much together.

POTASH AND NITRITE

With regard to potash, the Stassfurt deposits of Germany and of Alsace in France meet the world's demand. Chile is almost entirely the source for nitre. The importance of these in fertilisers and other chemical industries is too well-known to require dilation here.

Sulphur is practically the monopoly of the U.S.A. with Italy, Japan and Chile following closely this country.

The special efforts of Germany in pre-war days to impose her influence by propaganda and trade on the South American Republics and U.S.A.'s efforts to counteract this by her pan-American campaign were mere attempts by two world Powers to monopolize the rich mineral raw materials from these backward countries.

ALUMINIUM

With regard to aluminium, even though India has practically the largest deposits, other ~~units~~ of the world such as France, Yugoslavia, the United States and British and Dutch Guiana contribute the ore for the industry.

MONAZITE AND ILMENITE

Monazite is one of the strategic minerals on account of its being a source of thorium and cerium (for Atomic bombs and for tracer bullets). Most of the world's supply is from India (Travancore) where it occurs as beach sands in association with another important industrial mineral, ilmenite, which is

the source of titanium. Over 75% of the world's consumption of titanium is met from Travancore in India. It is interesting to note that the Travancore Government have recently stopped export of these minerals in their raw state—a measure not contemplated by the Indian Government with regard to any of her raw materials.

MICA

Mica is one of the most important minerals in modern industries and over 80% of this mineral is annually exported in raw state from India to foreign countries, specially the U.S.A. and Great Britain. During the war, the Joint Mica Mission which is predominantly an Anglo-American body—practically commandeered the whole of the Indian production at controlled prices. Under the stress of war necessity, India was compelled to sell all the mica to the Joint Mica Mission at but a little profit. The mines were strained to produce at their maximum capacity, and at this time, it may be stated that all surface and shallow deposits have been exhausted. The net result of this controlled war transaction is to leave India, the chief mica producer, in a helpless state with regard to the future possibility of the starting of mica industries in this country. There is no doubt that the U.S.A. and Great Britain bought not only their war requirements, but secured considerable stocks for post-war needs from their favoured position in India. It is believed that not less than ten million pounds of trimmed mica and splittings have gone out of India during the years of war.

The above brief outline indicates that the centres of production are confined to certain favoured zones. The international political rivalries of the advanced nations or positions of vantage are thus seen to pivot round backward areas rich in mineral resources.

CONTROL AND MONOPOLY OF MINERAL INDUSTRIES

During this century there has been a tendency for specialization and monopoly in the world mineral industries by a few advanced nations. Thus the U.S.A. led world production of oil and copper and has sought not only to work these deposits within her own political boundaries but to capture and control other important centres in this commodity. In a similar way Great Britain held its sway over tin industry and Germany over potash industry. A substantial portion of the mineral production migrates outside the areas of production and moves across international boundaries. This requires during times of peace what has now become an international slogan 'the freedom of the seas'. During the war just the opposite, namely, the control of the seas is desired. In terms of mineral industries we are not able to appreciate the importance of the competition for spheres of influence in oceanic areas. The Atlantic Charter and the Pacific Charter have thus their fundamental basis in two of the important metallogenetic provinces, well-known to the geologists.

One of the causes of international friction is the monopolistic tendencies of certain combines representing some national interests. Thus, nickel,

vanadium, aluminium, potash, asbestos, mercury, diamond, bismuth, sulphur, nitre, monazite and ilmenite are practically controlled by a few cartels. Copper, iron, lead, petroleum, tin and manganese are in the hands of a few powerful combines. National and international cartels have been formed for the control of steel, zinc, copper, pig iron, ferro-manganese, diamonds, magnesia and nitrates. The United States of America and Great Britain control over three-fourths of the mineral production and the reserves. The mutual distrust between these two countries as well as their combined fear of some of the nations like the U.S.S.R., Germany, Italy and Japan before the last war explain the trends of international politics during the past decade. With the elimination of Japan, Germany and Italy from the scene, a triangular contest between the victorious Powers namely the U.S.A., Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. has begun in right earnest. The mutual recriminations between these Powers in the world's Security Council and the outpourings of their propaganda machinery are only the echoes of this conflict. All the great professions and promises made under the exigencies of war, such as the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms, Equal Access to Raw Materials and the like were probably never meant to be kept and would never be kept in the existing economic and political structure. The exploitation of weaker and less advanced nations is possible in one of two ways, namely, the rule of force or the command of world trade. Great Britain and the U.S.A. have recourse to both these, according to the local conditions. Russia is a disturbing element in their ambitions and monopolies not only on account of her military strength but due to her vast natural mineral wealth and her economic system which enables her to take the maximum advantage of her resources. Her phenomenal progress in science and industries has become a factor to be reckoned with. It is not clear yet if she has given up her old policy of aiming at changing the world economic structure to one of territorial ambition. With regard to her policy towards Persia, Turkey and China, there may be some truth in her claim that she is there to see that the other two nations do not gain further concessions and monopoly. Only time can prove the truth of her professions.

We may ask ourselves the question here as to how the mineral industries in the world are controlled. This may be by the direct ownership of mineral reserves or their indirect control through the ownership of smelters, refineries and transportation lines, or through cartels. A well-known method of control goes by the name of vertical trust. Here both the raw material and the finished product belong to the same combines. We may instance the case of iron, bauxite and copper interests sustaining their own respective steel, aluminium and brass industries. Subsidiary minerals necessary for the industries such as coal, limestone, and ferro-alloy minerals for steel, cryolite for aluminium industries and zinc for bronze, also come under the control of the corresponding combines. It is possible to understand in the light of the above as to why the Big Three (with France trying to force herself on them as an unwelcome intruder and China out of the picture and lost in her domestic problem which is but a creation of the two world Powers) have decided to have their final say in the world security

organization. The unreality of the whole picture of the so-called world organization and world Security Council must be patent to all individuals with commonsense. There have been attempts by the League of Nations during the interval between the two World Wars to tackle this problem, but it was a foregone conclusion that countries like Great Britain and U.S.A. would never in practice agree to the elimination of their monopoly in the world's mineral industry, even if it meant general prosperity to vast sections of humanity, and the removal of the main causes of world conflicts.

Sooner or later, when there is the recognition of the realistic fact that humanity forms a single unit and the days of isolated nationalism are numbered, there may be a happy change towards the international control of minerals, and an international mineral policy. The first requisite for this purpose is the disappearance of the division of the countries of the world into backward and forward groups. Political emancipation of subject countries with freedom to develop fully according to the national genius is indispensable for this purpose. Unrest and political upheavals in all the dependent nations are symptomatic of the coming change. The 'advanced nations', fully alive to the impossibility of exercising political control over awakened mass consciousness, are trying to make the best of the bargain. Taking advantage of their favoured economic and industrial positions, these ruling countries are trying to secure trade monopolies and commercial treaties with the countries with whom they have political and economic ties. Organizations such as the International Commodity Stabilization Corporation, the Commodity Credit Corporation of the Department of Agriculture, the Foreign Economic Administration, the Metal Reserve Company, or the United States Commercial Corporation—all sponsored by the United States of America, and similar bodies of Great Britain such as the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, the Middle East Supply Centre, the North African Economic Board and joint organizations such as the Anglo-American Caribbean Commission, the Inter-American Development Commission and the United Nations Relief and the Rehabilitation Agreement are some of the bodies which have been set up, mostly during the war, by these countries to tackle the problem of raw materials, trade and industries in the post-war era. Unlike the pre-war organizations which did not bother much about the sentimental aspects of the backward areas, all the above mentioned organizations claim co-prosperity objectives for their operations. To combat the awakened political consciousness of the backward nations, these organizations have made a scientific approach to this problem and their activities need a most careful watching by all interested nations to see that political subjection is not replaced by the more dangerous, though an apparently less harmful, economic dependency. In our country, on the threshold of a new era, the best brains have to be marshalled to carefully and scientifically study our economic and industrial problems in their proper relation to the world situation. If these are left into the hands of opportunists, weak and inefficient persons who may be giving us sentimental palliatives of high patriotic professions, while deliberately or unwittingly sacrificing national interests, we shall be lost at this

critical period in our national history.

INDIA'S POSITION

We may here review the trends in mineral industries in our country, and their future in relation to the rest of the world. Enough has been said in the preceding paragraphs to emphasize the interdependence of nations in mineral distribution and the concentration of such industries in the main amongst a few favoured nations. Minerals differ from other natural products in that they are irreplaceable; the wastage in their exploitation and use are factors which cannot be viewed with indifference, nor can the so-called weak nations afford to be used as milch-cow by the so-called advanced nations. Our political freedom will be nothing at all to us if it is to end with some semblance of political power without strength and ability to control our economic structure. The mere possession of some raw materials in abundance is not enough to warrant the optimistic hope that we shall industrialize and stand competition in our own markets. In spite of our possessing some of the richest iron deposits in the world, coking coal, chromite, and manganese in its proximity, and abundant cheap labour, the iron, and steel industries of India had to be protected by tariff to withstand the competition in our own country from foreign imports. In the case of copper, a small industry could hold up its head against foreign imports by a similar tariff protection. On paper it is easy to work out schemes apparently sound and economical. India is not entirely independent of foreign imports to sustain her national and economic structure. Protective tariffs are always an eyesore to interested foreign nations and retaliatory measures may sometimes be adopted by some of the affected countries, hitting us hard. We have to realize, besides, that protective tariffs often place a premium on inefficiency; there is besides, no inducement to scientific planning or rationalization in industries. Whereas every infant industry is entitled for protection in its early stages against unfair competition, no industry is worth its salt that cannot stand on its own legs within a reasonable period. The only way to achieve this is by the State ownership and State control of all basic and large-scale industries. There should be no hesitation to scrap out old and out-of-date machinery and to replace them by up-to-date and economic ones even if it costs a heavy initial outlay. This is too much to expect from the commercial community of India as they are constituted at present. Private enterprise, declaring fat dividends in prosperous years and asking for State help during periods of depression, cannot cope with the task of moving fast with the times in industrial development. It is well to remember that the textile industry of India was saved by the sentiment of patriotism and the powerful boycott advocated by Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress. We cannot call forth for such sacrifice and response for all our industries and for all times.

India possesses in abundance, or sufficient for her industries, chromite, gold, graphite, gypsum, iron ore, refractories, mica, monazite, ilmenite, bauxite and coal. She may hope for self-sufficiency in steel, aluminium, electrical goods, refractory, paint, ceramic and glass industries. She is dependent on

imports for copper, diamonds, nitrates, potash, silver, tin and lead. If we consider Burma as part of India we may probably be able to cope with industries requiring lead, tungsten and zinc. Even in such of the industries where her mineral resources are far in excess of her requirements, such as, for instance iron, steel and aluminium industries, she will have to face serious competition, even within her borders, from efficient and well-organized world combines. It will be the task of the future government to critically review our position in relation to the rest of the world before inaugurating large industrial schemes. As far as possible, our effort should be towards self-sufficiency. It is better to be a contented and peace-loving nation and depending for our prosperity on our own efforts and resources than to get lost in the whirlpool of world power politics. If such is our objective, our poverty can be eliminated, and the people allowed to lead a happy and prosperous life.

TRAINING FOR FOREIGN SERVICE

By K. R. R. SASTRY

FOREIGN Service is the profession which proposes as its objective the promotion and protection of a nation's overseas (and overland) interests arising from normal international relations. These relations may be economic or political—they may be public or private. The principal activities resulting from these relations are export and import trade, international shipping, international banking, international law and foreign relations, diplomacy and consular service.

Foreign Service is not the profession for a man of mediocre talents. It requires highly trained men and women of more than usual ability and discrimination.

In England, the home of a long tradition of diplomacy, her public schools and universities have met the demands of Foreign Service. Entry into the foreign office in England is through a Civil Service examination testing proficiency in Mathematics, General Knowledge, English and foreign language. Interview by a foreign office board has an important place in the scheme of selection of the personnel.

Training is given in the foreign office for entrants in the administrative side, economic and statistical section and political side. The foreign office has a library and research section. The Diplomatic and Administrative branches in the foreign service have been fused into one since 1943. Under this reform of the Foreign Service all future entrants would join a combined Foreign Service. The distinction between the Foreign office and the Diplomatic Service, the Commercial Diplomatic service and the Consular Service disappeared and the three branches were amalgamated in the New Foreign Service (vide Reports for the Reform of the Foreign Service—CMD 6420, 1943, and Foreign Service Act 1943. (6 & 7 Geo. VI. Ch. 35).

The Schuster Committee in 1936 reported that 'the time had not yet arrived when women could be employed either in the Diplomatic or in the Consular Service with advantage to the State or with profit to women.'

Another Committee of seven with Sir Ernest Gowers as Chairman re-examined the question and reported on 18 January 1946 that 'women should be equally eligible with men for admission to the Foreign Service.' This was subject to one qualification that the 'innovation would be gradual.'

RECRUITMENT FOR DIPLOMATIC POSTS IN U. S. A.

Until recent times, American ambassadors and ministers had been chosen from civil life usually without previous diplomatic experience. Political service and wealth had good chances.

Since the development of the career service, a number of appointments have been made from among those who have been members of the Foreign Service or connected with the Department of State.

Of the fifty-seven diplomatic officers in 1935 twenty-six were without any previous diplomatic experience; twenty-six had such experience and five were those who had retained their status as foreign service officers.

Until 1924 the Consular and permanent diplomatic services were separate. Admission to each was by examination. The examinees for admission to the diplomatic service had to answer one or two modern languages, international law, history of U. S. A. and diplomatic usage. The Consular examination though similar did not require diplomatic usage but emphasized political and commercial geography. Salaries in the diplomatic branch ranged from 2500 to 4000 dollars per annum. Salaries in the Consular service were higher, rising to 8000 dollars.

Under the Roger's Act of 1924 the two services were merged for personal purposes into the Foreign Service of the United States. One examination is held, the examination consists of two parts; a written test held in various cities under the supervision of the Civil Service Commission and an oral interview before the board of examiners in Washington.

The written examination includes:

1. International maritime and commercial law.
2. Arithmetic as used in statistics calculations, exchange and simple accounting.
3. Modern languages (French, Spanish or German).
4. Elementary Economics.
5. American history, Government and institutions.
6. History of Europe, Latin American and the Far East since 1766.

Candidates are also examined in political economy and English composition.

The oral examination is designed to ascertain the physical, mental and temperamental qualifications of the candidates for the proper performance of their duties.

A candidate passing the examination is placed upon an eligible list. He is appointed as and when vacancies occur. After appointment the officer is given a course of instruction in the foreign service officer's training school. The officer may later be assigned to either a diplomatic or a consular post.

Under the Roger's Act (1924) as amended in 1931 there are eight classes of officers with salaries ranging from 3,500 dollars to 10,000 dollars per annum.

COLLEGES OF DIPLOMACY IN U. S. A.

On the other side of the Atlantic in U.S.A. undergraduate and graduate courses in foreign service have flourished to meet these growing demands. A few such schools visited by this author may here be studied.

There is an undergraduate course in foreign service at the George Town University School of Foreign Service at Washington. The College was raised to the rank of a University by Congress on 1 May, 1815. The Graduate School at the same place offers advanced studies in astronomy, biochemistry, economics, history, international relations, mathematics, philosophy, physics, political science and seismology.

The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Metford near Harvard was instituted in 1933 on the basis of a special bequest by a New York lawyer, Austin Barclay Fletcher, for the advanced study of law and relations of nations. It combines into one consistent and unified programme the fields of:

- (a) International Law (including Commercial and Maritime Law).
- (b) International Organization.
- (c) Diplomacy.
- (d) International Politics.
- (e) International Economic Relations (including International Finance)
- and,*
- (f) Modern Foreign Languages.

This School, attached to Harvard University, has an outstanding faculty of specialists in their several fields; experts from outside are brought to the school as special lecturers and participants in Seminars.

Assistance and collaboration are sought of officers of appropriate departments of the United States Government, of executives of leading business, e.g., banking and business firms, public utility companies and other public and private agencies.

As the result of an endowment of two million dollars in 1935 from Mr. Lucius N. Littamer, the graduate school of Public Administration has been working at Harvard. A special Commission was appointed by President Conant to make definite recommendations concerning the organization of the new school. The Consultative Committee recommended the study and analysis of actual problems of administration in their legal, political, economic or technical aspects. A primary objective of this school is to find men of real intellectual distinction and to bring them together in an atmosphere of research and broad enquiry conducive to better understanding of the long-range significance of their public duties.

The School of Advanced International Studies at Washington was established in 1943 as a graduate school of international affairs under the auspices of the Foreign Service Educational foundation, a private corporation, established in the district of Columbia in 1943. It was organized as a means of contributing to the need of thoroughly trained specialists in the international field. The activities of the school have been designed for men and women of intellectual maturity and serious purpose. Graduates of colleges and universities, staff members of business and commercial corporations and officers of the armed service and civilian departments and agencies of the federal government are eligible for participation. Provision is also made for higher degrees as Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy.

WANTED A SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES IN INDIA

While the modus of providing for the opening of such a school of advanced international studies in India has to be referred to a *small competent Consultative Committee*, a few observations arising out of the visits to these remarkable institutions in U. S. A. may here be made:—

(A) Foreign Service in its various branches requires *highly trained men and women*. The field of diplomacy 'has become so vast and so encumbered with financial and economic brushwood that it is physically impossible for a single human being to master all the intricacies of every situation.' (J. D. Gregory).

(B) An atmosphere of research and broad enquiry is necessary for a keen understanding of public duties of a nation's foreign representatives.

(C) An up-to-date valuable Library, a building to locate the school and social amenities for these men and women of special calibre are essential.

(D) Purposive collaboration of specialised knowledge and experience in the art of administration is necessary.

(E) Mere study of ancient or medieval works on the science of government and memoirs of diplomats *will not* suffice in the modern atomic age.

(F) Descent alone without talent is not enough for posts involving discrimination and responsibility.

Mere accumulation of subject-matter will never do. Noble aspirations alone without hardwork can never get things done.

Centuries of *hard experience* of a world-wide character have given a lead to the British in their tradition of diplomacy. The historical background, the course of development of the constitution and the nature of the country with huge rivers and variety of races in U. S. A. have many valuable lessons to India, on the eve of developing into an United States of India. One such lies in the course of training given in U. S. A. to specialists for foreign service.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

A SURVEY OF DEVELOPMENTS IN 1946¹

By C. KONDAPI

THE year under review is marked by certain outstanding successes—the energetic action by the Indian Government by way of imposition of economic sanctions, recall of their High Commissioner and reference of the South African issue to the international forum of the United Nations and its successful outcome, the great social reform movement for temple entry and abolition of toddy drink in Malaya, the successful visits of Pandit Nehru and the Kunzru-Kodanda Rao delegation to Malaya, and of the Sir Maharaj Singh Deputation to East Africa, and the passing of the Indian Naturalization Bill by the U. S. Senate. There is at the same time another side: the Sisyphean economic agony undergone particularly by Indian labour and the political persecution of those who joined the Indian National Army in Malaya and Burma, the tribulations of the *Knaivesmere Estate* labour in Ceylon and the Indian nationals stranded in Shanghai, Indo-China and Siam, the obnoxious 'Ghetto' Act in South Africa and the Immigration Restriction Bill in East Africa, the reactionary franchise and constitutional proposals in Ceylon, Malaya, British Guiana and Mauritius, the continued miserable condition of Indian labour in Jamaica—these reflect the darker aspect of the condition of our nationals abroad.

SOUTH AFRICA

On 21 January 46, F. M. Smuts announced in the Union Parliament that his Government would introduce a Bill for the purpose of prohibiting the acquisition and occupation of fixed property by Indians in Natal except in certain exempted areas. This surprised Indians in South Africa and the Indian Government for they 'had been given to understand that in the Natal Housing Ordinance a solution of the Indian problem had been found and that the Pegging Act would be allowed to lapse after the expiry of its present term, viz., 31 March 1946.' So the Government of India instructed their High Commissioner to urge the Union Government to postpone the proposed legislation and arrange, in accordance with the only recommendation made by the Third Broome Commission in its Interim Report, to meet at a Round Table Conference a representative delegation of Indians to explore an alternative solution. F. M. Smuts, however, rejected the suggestion on the ground that it was 'a matter of essentially domestic policy for the Union.' On 15 March 46 the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill was introduced in the Union House of Assembly to replace the Pegging Act and it became law on 3 June as the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. The Act not only extends the temporary provisions of the Pegging Act, 1943 to the whole of Natal province on a permanent basis but introduces a totally new principle of racial segregation by providing separate areas. In regard to Natal, as a result of its land tenure

¹ See for the position on 31 December 1945, *India Quarterly* Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 47-58.

provisions, there would be no restrictions on transfer of fixed property between Asiatics and non-Asiatics in areas specified in the Schedule to the Act (areas to be known as 'exempted areas') while in other areas transfers of fixed property between non-Asiatics and Asiatics both for occupation and acquisition are subject to a permit granted by the Minister for the Interior. In regard to the Transvaal the effect of the land restriction provisions is the retention of the interim Act (1939) position except that trade licences which did not, till the passing of the Act, require the Minister's permit have been subjected to the licensing laws. A joint Land Tenure Advisory Board consisting of two Europeans and two Indian members with a European Chairman was empowered to grant permits in certain 'controlled areas.' As regards provisions relating to Indian representation, communal franchise is granted to Indians who are (a) Union Nationals over 21 years (b) have passed the sixth standard or equivalent and (c) either have an annual income of £ 84 or own immovable property of the minimum value of £ 250. Indians will be represented by two European members in the Senate and 3 European members in the House of Assembly. They could return two Indian members to the Natal Provincial Council but none to the Transvaal Provincial Council. The whole Act is an astute move on the part of Smuts to placate both the Nationalist anti-Liberals and the Labour and Liberal forces in the Union Parliament.

Indians were horrified at this new threat, for firstly, while the Pegging Act applied only to Durban, the new 'Ghetto' Act extended its scope to the whole of Natal and even Transvaal; secondly, while the former Act applied only to residential land in urban areas, the latter applies to all kinds of land including agricultural land both in urban and rural areas, thus extending permanently the provisions of the Pegging Act to all kinds of land, urban and rural, throughout Natal and the Transvaal; thirdly while hitherto the legislation was aimed at occupation, now it is extended to acquisition as well. Thus, by laying the axe on Indians' elementary right to inherit, acquire and occupy property anywhere they like, the Act buried the basic Indian rights enjoyed for over 80 years and condemned them to economic servitude. As regards the franchise provisions, the Act offers communal franchise after inflicting on them a statutory racial stigma (Europeans to represent Indians in both Houses of Union Parliament) which no franchise could alter. Why after all the racial strife engendered by communal franchise in Kenya and Fiji, again impose it on a minority in the face of its unreserved opposition. There is also the clear recommendation of the Soulbury Commission for its abolition in Ceylon.

Communal franchise exists in India on the demand of the Muslim minority for its protection though progressive public opinion is opposed to it. But when the Indian minority is opposed to it, why this gratuitous infliction on them? Was it the best that a British Natal, with all its British constitutional traditions and ideals, could offer to the helpless Indian community disfranchised half a century ago and now sought to be enfranchised after two ghastly world wars in the name of democracy and freedom? Was it not the same franchise as was given to the Natives under the Native Representation Act, 1936 which

completed their political degradation? If the European objection, as stated by Smuts, was only to Indian residential proximity, it could have been met by Gentlemen's agreements similar to those in Port Shepstone and Glencoe under which Indians voluntarily agreed not to acquire and occupy property in certain areas without any necessity for this Draconian Act. This Act is the culmination of the South African racial aggression against Indians. It dictates an Indian settlement on European terms. It tears the two Capetown Agreements to tatters.

On 2 March 46 a South African Indian Congress deputation arrived in India to enlist the support of the Indian people and Government. On 12 March Dr. Khare, Member for Commonwealth Relations, announced the decision of the Government of India to take counter measures against South Africa. On 16 April, the Government of India announced that in case the 'Ghetto' Bill passed into law, they would take steps to take up the issue to the U. N. O. When the Bill became law on 3 June, the Government of India announced on 11 June the termination of the Indo-South African Trade Agreement and recall of their High Commissioner in accordance with Indian public opinion. On 13 June Indians launched a Passive Resistance movement against the Act and a party of Indian women from Transvaal entered Natal without a permit. On 24 June, the Government of India filed a formal complaint with the U. N. O. stating that the Ghetto Act constituted the culmination of racial discrimination against Indians in South Africa and declaring that a situation had arisen likely to impair the friendly relations between two—India and South Africa—members of the U. N. O. She requested the Secretary-General to the U. N. O. to place the complaint before the General Assembly which was expected to meet on 23 October 46.

The Passive Resistance campaign continued in full blast in the form of peaceful occupation of land in non-exempted areas in civil disobedience of the provisions of the Act. The Passive resisters were arrested under the Riotous Assembly Act. The movement stirred the moral conscience of the world and some natives and a European Bishop joined it and courted imprisonment though they had been treated in a way far from humane. By 24 October 46, 1229 Indian Satyagrahis had been sentenced. In the meantime a rift arose in the Natal Indian Congress as a result of a small section advocating again the method of Round Table Conference to square up matters with the Smuts Government. This move was resented by the bulk of the Indian community; the general opinion was that Indians could participate in any such conference only after the Ghetto Act had been repealed. On 1 November 46 Pandit Nehru declared in the Assembly that the whole activity of the Government of India ever since the campaign began 'has been one of giving moral support to that movement.'

The Indian delegation to the U. N. O. led by Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit had to face several handicaps inherent in the composition of the General Assembly, the ideology of the leading Powers therein and the currents and cross-currents of power politics which swayed its deliberations. Nevertheless

the delegation scored a signal triumph¹ in the General Assembly—which passed on 8 December 46 by 32 votes to 15 the French-Mexican resolution expressing the opinion that the treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with international obligations under the agreements concluded between the Governments of India and South Africa and the relevant provisions of the U. N. O. Charter and requested the two Governments to report at the next session of the General Assembly measures adopted to this effect. The decision of the U. N. O. is as much a complete vindication of the stand taken by Indians in defence of their interests in South Africa as of the basic principles of the U. N. O. •

EAST AFRICA

The most important event in regard to the East African territories is the publication of the Immigration Restriction Bill on 27 April 1946. The Bill aims at making permanent the immigration restrictions imposed under cover of shortage of food and housing accommodation and as a temporary war measure. The Bills which have been introduced in all the four territories of Kenya, Zanzibar, Uganda and Tanganyika are almost the same in substance. They base the control on the local employment situation by providing that the immigration permit may be refused if it is sought for any post which a suitably qualified resident can occupy. They stipulate exorbitant amounts as capital to entitle them to admission—requiring £ 800, £ 1,000, £ 2,500 and £ 10,000 of persons desiring to take to farming, mining, business and manufacturing respectively. This is besides the unfettered discretion given to the Commissioner of Lands and Mines and other officials to certify whether they are qualified to so engage or not. When the Government of India made representations against these rigorous restrictions in flagrant violation of earlier assurances given to the Indian Government, the Colonial Office assured the Government of India that full opportunity would be given to them to examine these proposals and to place before His Majesty's Government any suggestion they might make to safeguard the Indian interests. The Governor of Kenya gave an assurance* that such restrictions would not be put into effect till October 1946 as the Indian community had asked for time to seek the advice of the Government of India and the Indian National Congress.

The Government of India deputed Sir Maharaj Singh, K. Sarwar Hasan and C. S. Jha to East Africa to examine whether there was any necessity for legislation on the proposed lines and the extent to which such legislation would affect Indian interests. The Report of the Deputation was published on 23 December 46. The Deputation expressed the opinion that all the four Bills had been drafted and published after joint consultation and with the same object. They found no evidence of excessive or unregulated immigration in the past nor evidence that immigration had been responsible in the past for unemployment. On the contrary the recent subsidization of immigration of 500 British farmers into Kenya and the retention of over 2,000 European re-

*For details see 'General Assembly of the United Nations' under 'India and the World.'

fugees, they argued, were a proof positive of Government's recognition of the value of and need for further immigration. The large development plans on the anvil require increased man-power, finance initiative and enterprise and afford scope for further immigration. As regards the Bills the Deputation has stated that although non-racial and non-discriminatory in form, they will actually affect Indian immigration adversely to a far greater extent than European immigration and will almost close the door against any further Indian admission. They have finally pleaded that the restrictions on immigration already existing, might, if required, be tightened up 'to regulate the flow of immigration to the absorptive capacity of these territories' subject to the condition that they would affect all immigrant races equally both in law and practice. In any case, the question of domicile should not be mixed up with that of immigration, they added.

CEYLON

The *Knavesmere Estate* incident of May 46 was a significant development in Ceylon. Earlier on 12 February the entire Indian population observed a complete *Hartal* to register their protest against the denial to them of equal rights of franchise and citizenship in the British Government's White Paper proposals for constitutional reform which left their fate hanging in the balance.

The *Knavesmere Estate* episode may be briefly told. Knavesmere was a privately-owned rubber and tea estate entirely worked by about 500 Indian labourers. The Government acquired it for co-operative farming and village expansion under their Land Development Scheme. Many of the Indian workers had been there for years ranging from 5 to 30. At the time of purchase, Indians had been told that they could continue working as usual, but suddenly notice was issued that they should vacate the estate by 30 April 46. The proposed scheme for co-operative estate had not even been officially published with the result that the Indian workers came to know of the Government plans only when they were served the quit notice. It appears that even these plans provide no legal sanction for such wholesale exclusion of resident Indian workers. They were, however, informed that alternative employment would be found for them on other estates. The Ceylon Indian Congress represented that if the Government agreed to extend allotments to Indians on the basis of 5 years residence on the estate, the rest of the Indian labourers would be advised to vacate the estate lines. They proved statistically that, on this basis, allotments had to be made only to '80' out of '125' families leaving '195' more allotments, i.e., 2/3 of land on the estate, to Sinhalese peasants. By now the Government realized that the *en masse* notice was illegal and so served fresh individual notices asking them to leave the estate on 31 May 46, threatening them with criminal prosecution, in case of default, for trespass on the estate. The portentous fact that not even one Indian labourer had been considered to be entitled to continue on the land filled them with apprehension of possible wholesale evictions from the other estates as well. The Congress requested the Government not to proceed with the prosecutions so as to facilitate negotiations for an amicable settlement. The Government refused to respond

and instituted criminal prosecution of 365 men, women and children and refused rations from the estate shops. This led to a strike by 40,000 Indian workers in the Killain valley. On 18 June 90,000 labourers in the Hattan area went on strike. The strikes continued till 9 July when they were given up on the advice of the Indian National Congress to enable negotiations by the Indian leaders and the Government.

The viewpoint of the Ceylon Government was that these labourers were offered alternative employment while no such offer was being made in the case of labourers of other estates, that there would be no land for allotment to the Sinhalese peasants if the case of Indian workers for allotments on the estate was considered and that the Indian labourer was not the Ceylon Government's responsibility, the only thing that it would do being to find repatriation passage for him when he was found as an unemployed vagrant. Indians pleaded that they had been on the estates for a number of years, and pointed to the prevailing practice of discharging first the labourer that came last in times of depression or retrenchment. The *en masse* eviction struck them with fear that, in the absence of villages for Indian labourers to settle in, large sections of them might be forced to become vagrants in the streets of Ceylon to be repatriated to India. They remonstrated that instead of uprooting them from their homes and transplanting them elsewhere, the Government should settle the Sinhalese on the lands reserved for Indians. In this connexion they pointed to Mr. Senanayake's admission that three-fifths of the land in Ceylon had been lying uncultivated and uninhabited. The criminal prosecution of even old men, women and children on the estate, in spite of Pandit Nehru's request that the Government should defer action to allow time for consultation, confirmed their fears. The Government of India, through their Representative, Mr. Aney, protested against this attitude. After five months the estate dispute was settled. Under the terms of settlement, the Indian labourers were to complete evacuation of the estate by 26 October 46 in favour of the Sinhalese peasants to whom allotments had been made. The Government on its part was besides withdrawing the prosecutions launched against them, to arrange through the Acting Governor for pardon for those already convicted or undergoing imprisonment and to provide transport for the men to alternative places of employment arranged for by the Government. Accordingly 210 workers were granted pardon by the Acting Governor. One sequel to this incident was the preparation of an ordinance by the Government to evict estate labourers who, after the expiry of their contract of service, continued to remain in possession of the estate line rooms. The object was to provide a simple and expeditious machinery to deal with incidents like the *Knavesmere Estate*.

The whole incident was a result of the absence of a constitutional recognition of Indian franchise and citizenship rights in the new Constitution and the application of the domicile test in making allotments on estates under the Village Expansion Ordinance. The uncertainty in regard to their constitutional future has deepened with every step taken to implement the new Constitution. On 16 May 46 the Colonial Secretary announced the new constitutional proposals based almost entirely on the Soulbury Commission Report.

On 24 May the Governor of Ceylon appointed a Delimitation Commission. On 1 July Indians submitted their case before the Commission for multiple constituencies to return at least 12 Indians to the new House of Representatives as envisaged in the Soulbury Report. But it was reported that under the Commission's proposals, only 7 Indians could be returned from 89 electoral districts that had been delimited. Only equal franchise and citizenship rights to all Indians and recognition of Indian labour as part of the permanent population of the country on quinquennial residential test and declaration of intention to settle permanently in Ceylon will ensure the future of Indians in Ceylon.

BURMA

Indians in Burma, as in Malaya, underwent untold suffering. Indian labour, always at an economic disadvantage, fell a particular victim to the inflationary spiral and lack of the elementary needs of life like food, clothing, housing and medical assistance. Broad day-light dacoities accentuated the situation. Thousands flocked in vain at the ports for repatriation. The Relief and Rehabilitation Committee of the Burma Government could only attend to a few of the 4,000 applications made as long back as July 1945. The classification of repatriates into white, grey and black completed the agony. The Indian Agent's protest against the classification made no appreciable material change in the arrangements.

As in Malaya, several Indian civilians who joined the Indian National Army had to face political harassment. It was reported that there were 1,200 Indians in the Rangoon Central Jail alone in February 46. The treatment that they received in the prison was far from humane. At the end, however, wiser counsels prevailed and most of them were released.

From the material standpoint, the Indian merchants suffered most because of the control of imports by a Civil Supplies Board constituted by the Burma Government, which mostly designated Europeans as import quota holders. When a few Indians were granted import licences in regard to certain minor imports, this grant roused the Burmese indignation on their almost total exclusion and preference accorded to Indians. The Burma Agricultural Projects Board discriminated against the Indian rice merchants in the first instance by allotting only 36 per cent of the Burma rice purchase and export trade to Indians while their pre-war share was over 65%. The Indian view-point was that the Burmese share should be proportionately deduced from both the Indian and the British allotments.

On 12 March 46 it was announced that the Burma Executive Council had disapproved the U Tin Tut—Banerjee Draft Immigration Agreement and the question of negotiating a new agreement would be considered later. Though a comprehensive agreement is yet to be negotiated, the Government of India have in November 1946 laid down special conditions for the recruitment of skilled labourers in India for service in Burma. The Protectors of Emigrants at Indian ports have been instructed to permit emigration only on the basis of a written contract normally for a two-year period and of a pay not less than

Rs. 46 and such cost of living allowance as may be sanctioned by the Government of Burma. The Protectors will insist on a security deposit except in special cases. The terms of the agreement between the employer and the worker will provide for the termination of the contract by either party after reasonable notice and for the free repatriation to India of the worker and his dependents.

The question of compensation for war damage has been exercising the mind of the Indian community. The War Damages Claims Commission is expected to start work immediately and Indians have been asked to fill up the claims forms which will be issued from 2 January 47. The Commission reserves the right to refuse any applications received after 31 March 47. No indication has been given as to the extent of compensation likely to be paid. Indians are somewhat sceptical about securing a fair deal from the Commission. They are asking for extension of time for filing claims in respect of war damage or granting exemption to those applicants who are unable to file claims within the extended time.

In regard to the return of the Indian evacuees to Burma, Indians want that the term 'evacuees' should apply also to those who came to India prior to 1941 with the intention of returning to Burma but were prevented from doing so by the outbreak of war with Japan. Consequently they urge the Government to extend time for the issue of the identity cards to Burma evacuees.

The Interim Government of Burma declared its intention to deny electoral rights to those who are not of Burmese nationality. The fact of absence of any definition of 'Burmese nationality' and of the Nationality Act in Burma now has cast a cloud of uncertainty over the question of electoral rights of Indians. Many Indians are agitated over this uncertainty for they were born and have been brought up in Burma, have made it their home and thrown in their lot with the Burmese people. They have approached the Government for a clarification of the expression 'Burmese nationality.'

Other questions agitating the mind of Indians in Burma relate to adequate repatriation facilities for Indians wishing to visit India, and proper facilities for the return of Indian labour to Burma, extension of time by at least two years for filing cases in respect of civil claims in Burma civil courts, refund of land tax, grant of subsidies to Indian businessmen to start their business in Burma, discrimination in facilities for timber exports from Burma, high shipping rates between India and Burma, restriction on export of finer counts of hand-loom goods to Burma, appointment of an Indian Trade Commissioner to Burma and expansion of the office of the Representative of the Indian Government in Burma with three departments of Labour, Commerce and Immigration with Indian officers at the top.

The Government of India have appointed Dr. M. A. Rauf, who was a practising Barrister in Rangoon and served as a Member of the Braund Inquiry Committee in 1938-39. The fact that he enjoys the confidence of Premier Aung San is expected to stand Indians in Burma in good stead.

MALAYA

The visit of the Kunzru-Kodanda Rao deputation on behalf of the Government of India and later of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on behalf of the Indian National Congress, the British constitutional proposals for Malaya and the formation of the Malayan Indian Congress were the important events in Malaya.

Early in January Pandit Kunzru and Mr. Kodanda Rao visited Malaya and spent nearly a month visiting the various towns, estates, relief camps, jails, I. N. A. camps and meeting the Indian labourers and leaders and the British military officials. They found Indians in a miserable plight due to low wages and inflated prices, shortage of cloth and medical relief and low ration of rice which was the staple Indian food and above all the political persecution by the British Military Administration (B. M. A.) There was an all-round clamour for repatriation to India. The distress deepened owing to the increase of steamer fare from Rs. 32 to Rs. 84 from Singapore to Madras and paucity of shipping facilities. In February, the Government of India despatched a panel of Indian lawyers to defend the Indian leaders prosecuted by the B. M. A. A Medical Mission was also despatched to afford medical relief. The visit of Pandit Nehru in March toned up the morale of the prostrate Indian community and brought cheer into its life. The Indian Relief Committee which he established to give economic relief did splendid service. The Congress Medical Mission inspired the confidence of the Indians there who availed themselves fully of its services.

The Colonial Secretary declared in the Commons on 16 October 46 that the recovery of the rubber industry in Malaya had been more rapid than was expected. Yet the wages of Indian labour remained very low, the B. M. A. paying the Indian male workers 70 cents, female workers 50 cents and children 40 cents. The prices rose 8 to 10 times over the pre-war level while the wages rose only by about 1 to 3. Pandit Kunzru suggested to the B. M. A. that the Indian workers on the rubber estates should be repatriated to India at the expense of the Indian Immigration Fund and that both the Indian and Malayan Governments should urge the Allied Shipping Board to secure shipping facilities. After heading the Indian Government, Pandit Nehru relieved much of the economic distress by sanctioning Rs. 10 lakhs for relief work and by chartering a ship for the sole purpose of repatriating the Indians so inclined. From February 1946 over 18,000 Indians have been repatriated.

One hopeful feature about the Indian position was that there was great awakening among them. The Malayan Indian Congress has launched upon campaigns for the abolition of toddy drink and gave evidence before the Government's Toddy Investigation Committee urging the abolition of toddy shops on the estates, and of provision for *Samsu* and vigorous action against distillers of illicit *Samsu*. They also organized picketing of the liquor shops. They held a conference of the representatives of Temple Management Committees from all parts of Malaya on 16 November 46 to focus atten-

tion on the necessity for temple entry by all and obliteration of caste distinctions in regard to burial grounds and crematoriums among the Hindus. The most hopeful feature, however, was the emergency of composite trade unions consisting of the Indian, Chinese and Malayan labour. Indians are perturbed over the veil of secrecy surrounding the negotiations with the Government of India to secure lifting of the ban on the emigration of Indian labour to Malaya.

In the political sphere Indians are naturally incensed at the British attitude in not consulting the Indian opinion on the constitutional proposals for the future of Malaya. Sir Harold Mac Michael, representative of the British Crown, concluded fresh treaties with the Malay Sultans when the leaders of the Central Indian Association, which represented the Indian opinion, were in prison. The Malaya White Paper providing for a Malayan Union only offered to the non-Malaya domiciles of the country including Indians a vague citizenship hedged in by conditions whose implications were not clear. The attitude of the subsequent 12-men working committee representing the official side, the Sultans and the United Malay National Organization representing the feudal aristocracy which was appointed to reconsider the Constitution from the standpoint of the discontented Sultans worked in secrecy without consulting Indian opinion nor that of the other sections of the people. The Malayan Indian Congress is giving a lead by organizing in the near future an inter-communal conference to forge a united front against the proposals. On 24 December 46 the new constitutional proposals for a Malayan Federation were published which show just formal alterations in the original proposals leaving the fundamental structure as before. The Indian demand is for a Constitution based on democratic reference to the people and extending to them equal franchise rights.

SIAM, INDO-CHINA AND SHANGHAI

The Government of India deputed Mr. Aney to Siam and Indo-China to inquire into the conditions of Indians stranded there. They placed Rs. 1 lakh at the disposal of the delegate in Siam of the International Red Cross Committee for the relief of Indian labourers who had been employed by the Japanese on the Burma-Siam Railway. They also deputed Mr. K. P. S. Menon to Shanghai to arrange relief and make arrangements for their repatriation from Shanghai and other places in China and sanctioned Rs. 3 lakhs for this purpose. Mr. Menon established an advisory committee of representative Indian residents to organize and supervise the necessary relief. But in all these cases much relief could not be given owing to the paltry sums sanctioned for the purpose. Though the amounts sanctioned were a lakh and more, it proved nothing in relation to the thousands who needed relief. About 200 Indians desiring to return to this country have been repatriated from Indo-China. 72 others had applied for repatriation at the end of the year. One difficulty which the Indians in Indo-China have been experiencing relates to the Indian remittances to their dependents in India which had to stop from June 1940 for want of facilities. The French authorities rejected the Indian suggestion for release

of Rs. 2 lakhs out of the frozen assets of the Bank of Indo-China in India to balance remittances upto Rs. 25,000 per month from Indians in Indo-China. Pandit Nehru announced in the Assembly on 15 November 46 that negotiations were in progress to facilitate Indian remittances in advance of the conclusion of a debt settlement agreement between India and France.

MAURITIUS

Indian labour on the sugar plantations has made little headway in regard to the insecurity of their sub-leases of land and the exorbitant rents charged for them. During the year under review the European landlords or lessees of crown lands were charging as much as Rs. 300 per acre annually or half the produce. The Indian tenant-farmers have been completely dependent on the European middlemen both for capital and the final disposal of sugar. The whole process of production and sale of sugar involves considerable loss to the Indian farmer. For every ton of sugarcane supplied, the miller, it is reported, obtains 120 to 130 kilos of sugar and the middleman receives 80 kilos while the farmer receives only 67-70 kilos. And finally when he sells it to the European sugar syndicate, he has to pay the usual brokerage to the European broker. The failure to implement the Ridley recommendations made in 1940 has facilitated the perpetuation of these deplorable conditions.

These economic troubles increased due to lack of the food they have been used to. An Indian Member of the Mauritius Legislative Council came to this country to urge the Government of India for 2,000 tons of pulses to help restore the balance of diet for Indians there.

The new constitutional proposals for Mauritius provide for a Legislative Council with 19 elected members out of 39 instead of the present 10 of 27. Female suffrage has been introduced though there is no male adult suffrage. The proposals afford no political rights to the small farmers, workers and traders. They affect Indians most for 275,900 out of a total population of 4,15,000 are Indians, the bulk of them constituting small farmers, workers and traders. The proposals are riddled with many a catalyser to rig up the rich and reactionary elements. Indians have expressed their opposition to the special representation of workers on the ground that it would prove dangerous to the future of trade unionism in the island.

BRITISH GUIANA, TRINIDAD AND JAMAICA

The Franchise Ordinance and the Rice Farmers Security Ordinance were the important events in British Guiana. Under the provisions of the Franchise Ordinance, a voter to the Legislative Council is required to possess a monthly income of \$ 10 or an annual income of \$ 120 coupled with six months residence in his division and the passing of a literacy test in English, Hindi or Urdu. There are other property, land and lease qualifications. The illiteracy of more than 50 per cent of the Indian population is handicapping Indians in respect of the literacy test. The Rice Farmers Security Ordinance regulates the relations among the rice farmers who are almost entirely Indians, landlords, millers and the Rice Marketing Board. During the same year

under review elections took place for the Sugar Estates Joint Committees for a two-year term. The Committees consist of the representatives of the workers and the management represented by the British Guiana Sugar Producers Association. The decisions of these Committees are binding on both the workers and the management and in case of differences, they are referred to the headquarters of both the parties. Another event of note was a motion in the Legislative Council relating to the proposal for a federation of the West Indies, but the motion was deferred as a result of strong general opposition. A cleavage appeared in Indian opinion in regard to this issue, the entire working class opposing it and some of the prominent Indians supporting it. An Indian Marriage and Divorce Bill was on the anvil at the close of the year. It provides for the registration of Maulvis and Pandits as Muslim and Hindu marriage officers and for the legal recognition of such Muslim and Hindu marriages.

In regard to Trinidad, a split occurred in the general labour which confused the whole situation in the country. Dearness allowance was granted to labour during the year. Elections took place under the new Constitution and the Indian community returned its representatives to the Legislative Council.

Regarding Jamaica except for the appointment for the first time of Indian Justices of the Peace and of an Indian Interpreter to help Indians involved in litigation, the position continues to be the same saga of suffering and humiliation, desperate to the extreme. There is a clear case for help by the Government of India to the 21,000 poverty-stricken Indians of this neglected country.

U. S. A.

The Indian Naturalization Bill which was passed by the U. S. House of Representatives on 10 October 45 was also passed by the Senate on 14 June and after President Truman's assent on 2 July 46, became law. The Act provides for, besides the naturalization of some 4,000 Indians already living in U. S., an annual immigration quota of 100 Indians on the same basis as the quota of 107 allowed to the Chinese. It was reported that about 700 applications for U. S. citizenship had been received by the American Consulate at Karachi and similarly by those at Delhi Bombay and Calcutta. As only 100 Indians can be admitted to U. S. citizenship every year, the various consulates in India propose to consider the applications in the order of the priority of registration.

Representatives from Malaya, East Africa, British Guiana and Fiji attended the Meerut session of the Indian National Congress in November and conveyed the greetings of their respective countries to the Mother country. They met Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and acquainted him with their problems and needs. It must be recorded that in the midst of the diverse perils they have been confronted with, the one factor which is putting cheer in their lives is the fortunate fact that there is now a national Government in India, who are keenly aware of their interests and eager to do their best for them.

31 December 1946.

INDIA AND THE WORLD

THE PARIS CONFERENCE 1946

29 JULY 1946—15 OCTOBER 1946

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

29 July 1946. The Paris Conference of 1946 opened with 1,500 delegates from 17 nations joining those of the Big Four to give their verdict on the results of the eleven months efforts by Britain, France, U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. to draft agreed peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. The Indian Delegation consisted of Sir S. E. Runganadhan (Leader), Sir Khyzir Hyat Khan, Sir Joseph Bhore and Sir N. R. Pillai (Members), Mr. A. V. Pai (Chief Adviser), Sir Navrojee Wadia (Legal Adviser), Maj.-General Stuart and Col. Khayauddin (Military Advisers), Mr. K. C. Roy, Mr. R. S. Mani, Mr. C. Trevleyan and Mr. M. R. Ahuja (Secretaries).

14 August 1946. The Indian delegation arranged its representatives on the Conference Committees as follows: General Committee—Sir Runganadhan, Sir Joseph Bhore and Mani. Territorial Committees: Italy—Sir Runganadhan, Sir Joseph Bhore, Sir Khyzir, Mani and Roy. Bulgaria—Sir Runganadhan, Sir Navrojee, Trevleyan and Roy. Rumania—Sir Runganadhan, Sir Navrojee, Trevleyan and Roy. Hungary—Sir Khyzir, Roy and Mani. Finland—Sir Khyzir, Roy and Mani. Economic Committees: Italy—Sir Joseph Bhore, Sir Pillai and Ahuja. Balkans—Sir Pillai and Ahuja. Military Committee: Sir Khyzir, Maj.-General Stuart and Col. Khayauddin. Legal Committee: Sir Joseph Bhore and Sir Navrojee.

30 July 1946. Alternative Clauses in the draft treaties on which the Big Four Foreign Ministers had not been able to agree were published.

31 July 1946. Complete texts of the draft treaties with the satellite powers of Germany were published.

29 August 1946. The Big Four Foreign Ministers reached an agreement on the methods for facilitating the handling of amendments. Their deputies were to scrutinize them to find out if any would command the general support of the members of the Council of Foreign Ministers. In the event of any continuing disagreement the members of the Council were to support the agreed articles of the treaties but could vote freely on matters *not covered by the agreed articles of the treaties*.

6 September 1946. Direct negotiations between the Austrian and Italian representatives resulted in complete agreement on the future status of the German-speaking population of South Tyrol on the basis of a high degree of local regional autonomy to them both legislative and executive.

23 September 1946. The Big Four declared that final disposal of the territories concerned would be made by the four Powers in the light of the wishes and the welfare of local inhabitants and after considering the view of 'other interested Governments.'

PLENARY SESSION (OPENING)

30 July 1946. Opening the general debate, Byrnes declared: 'However

difficult may be the path of international co-operation, the United States is determined not to return to the policy of isolation.'

31 July 1946. Addressing the Conference, Molotov declared that the Soviet Union was opposed to attempts to exert pressure on the economic life, sovereignty and national dignity on ex-satellites of Germany.

7 August 1946. Sir Runganadhan voiced the strong Indian feeling against the continuance of any form of colonial exploitation and India's unwillingness to make any demands which would prevent impoverished countries from making a reasonable economic recovery. He pleaded for earliest possible establishment of self-government in the Italian colonies.

9 August 1946. India also voted with 14 other countries for the adoption of the paragraph in the procedure rules covering the entire voting procedure. This para included the British compromise amendment providing for conference recommendations adopted by both two-thirds and simple majority to be forwarded to the Big Four Foreign Ministers.

10 August 1946. The Italian Premier Gasperi referred to the punitive nature of the draft treaty and declared that what worried Italy was not the text of the treaty but its spirit.

13 August 1946. The Ethiopian delegate demanded that Eritrea should be put under Ethiopia.

14 August 1946. Hungary demanded inquiries by the Conference if her direct talks with Rumania and Czechoslovakia should fail regarding (i) Transylvania, the northern part of which under the draft treaties would revert to Rumania from whom it had been taken by the Axis-imposed Vienna Award of 1940 and (ii) the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. The Bulgarian Premier pleaded for an outlet to the Aegean and opposed the Greek claim on southern Bulgaria.

16 August 1946. Russia insisted that only nations actually at war with enemy States should vote in Commissions drafting the treaty recommendations.

19 August 1946. Dr. Evatt proposed the establishment of an international 'Court of Human Rights' to enforce guarantees of human liberties in the peace treaties with the former enemy States.

21 August 1946. Egypt demanded reparations, frontier rectifications at Italy's expense in North Africa and the return of the oasis of Gharabub.

22 August 1946. Sir Runganadhan pleaded that most serious consideration be given to the requests of both Egypt and Persia in discussions during the Conference. He voiced India's support to Egypt's hopes that Libya might become an independent country. 'The criterion for a just decision in regard to Italian colonies should be that the settlement should accord with the destinies of peoples living in those colonies.'

29 August 1946. Australia's proposal to limit reparations levied on enemy countries to their 'capacity to pay' was voted down.

7 September 1946. Ukraine supported Yugoslavia's claim to Giulia (the disputed province between Italy and Yugoslavia), criticised the French Line on the ground that it created an artificial corridor between Trieste and Monfalcone, depriving Slovenia of an outlet to the sea and supported the White Russian amendment proposing to put the whole of Gorizia into Yugoslavia.

20 *September* 1946. The Conference accepted all the Big Four proposals for the Italo-Yugoslav frontier, including the free zone of Trieste.

24 *September* 1946. Sir Runganadhan urged that countries like India which took a substantial part in liberating the Italian colonies should have a say in their future. He supported the New Zealand amendment which urged that failing an agreement between the Powers concerned the matter should be referred to the United Nations.

25 *September* 1946. The conference adopted the Big Four proposals for disposal of Italy's former African Empire. The procedure adopted was firstly a final decision on the colonies would be taken one year after the coming into force of the Italian treaty by the Big Four, taking cognisance of the wishes of the inhabitants and of the views of 'other interested Governments,' which would include all countries which fought in North Africa. Secondly, the colonies would meanwhile remain under their present, mainly British, administration. Thirdly, if the Big Four fail to agree they would submit the question to the United Nations General Assembly and abide by its decision.

PROCEDURAL COMMITTEE

30 *July* 1946. Dr. Evatt of Australia led the opposition of small Powers to the Big Four draft proposal of two-thirds majority as the basis of voting on all matters of substance.

3 *August* 1946. The committee agreed without a vote to the Big Four proposal on Conference Chairmanship.

5 *August* 1946. Sir Runganadhan strongly supported the idea of simple majority voting and declared that India was not prepared to follow the lead of the United Kingdom.

7 *August* 1946. The committee adopted the British compromise proposal on voting procedure providing that both the recommendations obtaining two-thirds support at the conference and those gaining only a simple majority, should go forward to the Big Four for consideration.

8 *August* 1946. Pointing out that the United Nations Charter had laid down that decisions on important questions should be made by a vote of two-thirds of the Assembly while in the Security Council unanimity of the Great Powers was required. Molotov sprang a surprise by expressing disagreement with the above.

LEGAL AND DRAFTING COMMITTEE

7 *September* 1946. Belgium opposed Australian proposal for including a clause on a 'European Court of Human Rights' into the peace treaties on the ground that the necessary machinery had been provided for under the United Nations Charter, and under international law there was no legal ground for adopting a partial solution by embodying such a proposal into a particular treaty.

11 *September* 1946. The Committee ruled out the Australian proposal to set up an European Court of Human Rights as outside the competence of the conference.

ITALIAN POLITICAL AND TERRITORIAL COMMITTEE

26 August 1946. The committee approved two paras of the Italian draft treaty inserting recognition of the Italian 'resistance movement' in aiding the Allies.

3 September 1946. The Yugoslavian delegate rejected the compromise frontier between Yugoslavia and Italy proposed by the Big Four Foreign Ministers.

4 September 1946. Three concrete proposals were made on Trieste, first, that Western Istria should be internationalized; second, that a fresh Committee of experts be set up to make a new recommendation; and third, that the proposed frontier be amended to give the city of Gorizia to Yugoslavia.

18 September 1946. Sir Runganadhan told the Committee that India would oppose all amendments and support the Big Four draft for settlement of the Trieste and Venezia Giulia problems, for the best possibility for settlement of the frontiers problem was for the committee to recognize that the one upon which the Foreign Ministers had agreed was the one which represented the maximum agreement.

21 September 1946. The Committee unanimously approved of the Big Four Article under which Italy would cede the Dodecanese Islands in the Eastern Mediterranean to Greece. Britain who was now occupying the islands would arrange for their transfer to Greece and foreign troops who would be removed within ninety days of the treaty coming into force.

27 September 1946. The committee decided that disputes arising out of the execution of the Italian treaty should be referred to the International Court of Justice if not settled between the British, Soviet and U. S. Ambassadors in Rome within two months.

3 October 1946. The committee adopted the French compromise proposals for the future of the free territory of Trieste. The Trieste statute as adopted in its broad outline provided that the United Nations Security Council guaranteed basic human rights and the maintenance of order in assuring the integrity of a free Trieste. The zone would be demilitarized with no armed forces in the free territory except at the direction and command of the Security Council. Limitations on the Assembly would be by virtue of the powers of the Governor who would be appointed by the Security Council after consultation with Yugoslavia and Italy.

RUMANIAN POLITICAL AND TERRITORIAL COMMITTEE

16 August 1946. Sir Navrojee Wadia was elected Vice-Chairman of the Committee.

27 August 1946. The committee approved Article 1 of draft treaty fixing the Rumanian frontier in accordance with the Soviet-Rumanian Agreement of 21 June 45.

BULGARIAN POLITICAL AND TERRITORIAL COMMITTEE

26 August 1946. The committee approved three paras of the Bulgarian draft treaty.

6 *September* 1946. Russia categorically opposed the Greek claim for frontier adjustments with Bulgaria and advocated careful consideration of the Bulgarian amendments which would confirm Bulgaria's possession of Western Thrace—claimed by Greece—and give her an outlet to the Aegean Sea.

18 *September* 1946. Anglo-American proposal for settlement of disputes arising out of the Bulgarian treaty was adopted over Russian opposition. India voted for the proposal which said that disputes not settled within two months by Big Three representatives in Sofia should be referred to the International Court of Justice.

HUNGARIAN POLITICAL AND TERRITORIAL COMMITTEE

25 *September* 1946. The committee unanimously adopted the draft Hungarian treaty provision for withdrawal of all Allied armed forces within 90 days of the coming into operation of the treaty. According to this article, Hungary undertook to make available facilities for the maintenance of lines of communication with the Soviet occupation zone in Austria.

FINNISH POLITICAL AND TERRITORIAL COMMITTEE

7 *September* 1946. The committee adopted the British draft of the 'unagreed' clause of Article 33 in the Finnish treaty dealing with settlement of disputes arising out of the treaty and rejected the Soviet draft. The British draft proposed that any dispute the Ministers were unable to settle in two months could go, at the request of any party, to an international court of justice.

12 *September* 1946. Opposing Australian proposal to write into the Finnish treaty a clause relating to a 'court of human rights' and supporting the Legal Committee's ruling, Sir Runganadhan said that human rights had been trampled not only in Europe but also in Africa and Asia and hence an international machinery was required to safeguard these rights throughout the world.

ITALIAN ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

13 *August* 1946. Sir Joseph Bore was unanimously elected Chairman of the committee.

9 *September* 1946. Britain, who had put in a formal claim for £ 2,800 million reparations on behalf of herself and the colonies, announced her decision not to demand cash or commodity payments from Italy as reparations.

10 *September* 1946. Sir N. R. Pillai told the committee that while India had refrained from presenting a formal claim to reparations, she reserved the right to absorb the Italian assets in India though they were not considerable. He added: 'We have preferred to avoid adding to Italy's burden of reparations which we feel should not be so heavy as seriously to impair her economic recovery.'

5 *October* 1946. The committee decided that Italy should pay \$ 325,000,000 reparations to be delivered in goods and services, reparations being distributed as follows: Albania—Nil; Abyssinia—\$ 25,000,000; Greece—\$ 100,000,000; Yugoslavia—\$ 100,000,000.

BALKANS ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

29 September 1946. The committee passed the Article committing the ex-enemy countries to the most-favoured-nation principle of commercial relations. It also passed the French motion that the principle of freedom of navigation should be included in the treaty and that there should be a provision for calling a conference of the riparian States with the United States, Britain, France and Russia. Despite Russian opposition it was decided that a Danube Conference of riparian and non-riparian States should be held within six months of the signing of the Rumanian peace treaty.

2 October 1946. India abstained from voting when the Committee rejected Soviet protests against the proposals of the Western Powers to insert into the peace treaties clauses calling for free navigation of the Danube.

5 October 1946. The Committee decided that Bulgaria should pay a total of 125,000,000 which should be equally divided between Greece and Yugoslavia over a period of 6 years.

FINLAND ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

2 September 1946. The committee adopted article 23 of the Rumanian Treaty concerning the restitution of all identifiable property at present in Rumania which had been removed by force or duress by any of the Axis-Powers from the territory of any of the United Nations.

5 October 1946. The Committee decided that Finland should pay \$ 300,000,000 reparations to Russia.

MILITARY COMMITTEE

29 August 1946. The committee unanimously approved Article 40 of the Italian treaty dealing with Italian military installations on the frontier with France.

31 August 1946. It decided to ban the development of atomic weapons in ex-enemy countries but not atom research for peaceful purposes.

2 September 1946. It adopted Article 44 of the Italian treaty, setting forth the type of armaments Italy would not be permitted to have, as also the British and Yugoslav amendments to the Article forbidding Italy to possess atomic arms, but permitting her to have contact torpedoes.

3 September 1946. It was decided that the Italian navy should be cut by more than two-thirds. Former Fascist officers and men were made ineligible for reappointment unless exonerated by a court. The army and carabinieri would be limited to a quarter million men.

11 September 1946. The committee laid down the permitted strength of the Rumanian armed forces, ordered excess to be disbanded within six months and forbade military training outside the permitted armed forces.

PLENARY SESSION (CLOSING)

9 October 1946. Sir Samuel Runganadhan declared that the first task was to free the world from aggression and the second to make a positive contribution to the establishment of lasting peace. India believed in strengthening the

U. N. O. for these purposes. The plenary session adopted the French proposals for the future of Trieste as a whole. The session also adopted the articles providing for Italy's renunciation of all property rights and interests in Albania.

10 October 1946. The Session completed the draft of the Italian peace treaty. Décisions on the future of Italian colonies—Libya in North Africa and Eritrea and Italian Somaliland in Eastern Africa—were left to the Big Four. If they fail to agree, the matter will be referred to the Security Council. The British proposal for £ 25,000,000 reparations each to Greece and Yugoslavia and £ 6,250,000 for Ethiopia was accepted. The question of reparations for Albania was left to the Big Four. Seventy-five per cent compensation for damage to Allied property in Italy was also adopted.

11 October 1946. The Session adopted the draft Rumanian Treaty. The main economic points decided were: The Soviet Union to get £ 75 million in reparations; Rumania to pay 75 per cent compensation to Allied property-owners in Rumania for war damage, and the United Nations to be granted the most-favoured-nation treatment in Rumania for 18 months on reciprocal basis.

12 October 1946. The Conference left the question of Bulgaria's frontiers undecided by failing to adopt the first Article of the treaty which recommended that frontiers of Bulgaria should be those existing on 1 January 1941—before the invasion of Greece. It adopted the Greek demands to prohibit Bulgaria from building permanent fortifications capable of firing on the Greek territory and from possessing motor torpedo boats. The main points of economic clauses adopted were: firstly, compensation will be paid for damage to United Nations property in Bulgaria upto 75 per cent; secondly, the Allies have the right to confiscate the Bulgarian assets in their territories; thirdly, the most favoured nation treatment will be accorded to the United Nations for a period of 18 months on reciprocal basis; and lastly the French proposal provides for freedom of navigation of the Danube.

Voting on the Finnish draft treaty was concluded under the military clauses. Finland would have an army of 34,400, a navy with a total tonnage of 10,000 and a personnel strength of 4,500 and an air force of 60 planes with a personnel strength of 3,000.

15 October 1946. Mr. Bidault declared the Paris Conference closed.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

23 OCTOBER 46—16 DECEMBER 46

23 October 1946. The Indian delegation to the General Assembly consisted of Mrs. V. L. Pandit (Leader), Justice M. C. Chagla, Sir Maharaj Singh, Mr. Frank Anthony, Nawab Ali Yaf Jung, K. P. S. Menon, R. V. Deshmukh, V. K. Krishna Menon and P. N. Saprú with R. N. Banerjee, G. S. Pathak, R. L. Gupta, Dr. Lanka Sundaram and C. S. Jha as Advisers, and Capt. B. L. Kapoor and Azim Hussein as Secretaries to the delegation. From South Africa the Joint Passive Resistance Council of Natal and Transvaal deputed Sorabjee Rustomjee and H. A. Naidu to advise the Indian delegation. A. I. Kaje, Z. Christopher and P. R. Pather of the South African Indian Congress

also assisted the delegation.

Opening the second meeting of the General Assembly in New York, President Truman reaffirmed the U. S. determination to strive for general peace and warned the United Nations that disaster would strike the world if they allowed themselves to be split into two rival political blocs.

24 October 1946. The Steering Committee of the Assembly approved the U. S. proposal that a recommendation be made to the Assembly that the Indian complaint regarding the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa should go to both the Political and Legal Committees. F.M. Smuts argued that the item on the provisional agenda 'Treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa' should be deleted from the agenda on the ground that 'it is in complete conflict with the provisions of Article 27 of the Charter' which lays down that matters essentially of a domestic jurisdiction do not fall within its province. Justice Chagla pleaded that India, as a member of the United Nations, had proposed this item for discussion. It would, therefore, be a serious incursion into the rights and authority of the General Assembly if the General Committee decided whether to include the item in the agenda. Hence the Committee should not decide on this point.

25 October 1946. Addressing the General Assembly, Mrs. V. L. Pandit, declared: 'We in India have pursued steadfastly, often at great cost, the goal of freedom of peoples, to which this great organization is dedicated.' Adverting to the South African Indian issue before the Assembly she said that the way the Assembly would dispose of it would be open to the gaze not only of those gathered there but to million of non-European peoples of the world. Referring to the Big Power veto she said that she preferred to look upon it in a positive way as a necessary device for securing that vital decisions by Great Powers rested on unanimity and not in disregard of total opposition to any proposal by one of them.

At a meeting of the Steering Committee the Soviet delegate proposed the deletion from the agenda of South Africa's statement on the future status of South-West Africa on the ground that it contradicted the spirit of Article 76 which provided for the movement of a dependent nation to become independent and not for annexation which South Africa's attempt amounted to.

29 October 1946. The New Zealand delegate announced that his Government had handed in the draft trusteeship agreement for the Western Samoa Group of four islands.

Addressing the Assembly, Molotov declared. 'It is high time that the just demands of India were recognized. . . . India was a member of the United Nations and under the Charter her relationship with Britain should be based on sovereign equality.'

1 November 1946. The Assembly adopted the original proposal to send the veto question to the Political Committee.

2 November 1946. The Social and Humanitarian Committee adopted without opposition a resolution seeking to establish an international Narcotics Control Commission. Frank Anthony of India pledged Indian support to the Commission.

5 November 1946. Sir Maharaj Singh moved before the Trusteeship Committee an amendment to Article 81 of the U. N. O. Charter by suggesting that 'in determining the terms of agreements, the administering authority for the trust territories under chapter 12 of the Charter should as a rule be the organization itself.' The Steering Committee accepted the Indian-Cuban proposal for the inclusion of an additional item on the agenda of the Assembly dealing with Genocide (crime of destroying national, racial or religious groups).

8 November 1946. Nawab Ali Yar Jung was appointed a member of the 14-nation Drafting Committee to determine the various resolutions to be submitted to the Assembly by the Economic and Financial Committee on the question of the world shortage of cereals.

9 November 1946. The Assembly unanimously approved the admission of three new members—Sweden, Iceland and Afghanistan. Sir Maharaj Singh supported the three admissions.

Mr. Anthony told the U. N. Social Committee that India had decided not to become a member of the proposed International Refugee Organization though she had the fullest sympathy with its object and supported the need for the organization. The Assembly agreed to retain the Egyptian resolution against racial discrimination on the agenda.

13 November 1946. Nawab Ali Yar Jung urged the formation of a strong international authority empowered to allocate food to the most deficient country in a plea for consideration of the Indian food situation before the Economic and Financial Committee.

15 November 1946. Sir Maharaj Singh announced India's intention to move an amendment to New Zealand's draft trusteeship agreement on Western Samoa to the effect that the sovereignty of trusteeship territories should be recognized as belonging to the peoples of the territories concerned even though for a limited period such territories happened to fall under the trusteeship system.

18 November 1946. K. P. S. Menon told the Political and Security Committee debating the Australian proposal on Big Power veto 'The Indian delegation feels that the veto, however undemocratic it may seem in theory, is in its essence a reflection of the realities of the international situation.' He urged a Big Five Gentlemen's Agreement regarding the use,—or what is more important—refraining from use, of the veto.

19 November 1946. The Assembly unanimously passed the Egyptian resolution against racial and religious discrimination and persecution.

20 November 1946. M. Molotov proposed before the Political Committee that member States should submit within one month data concerning their troops in non-enemy States.

21 November 1946. Mrs. Pandit opened the Indian case against South Africa before the Joint Political and Legal Committee. F.M. Smuts moved his formal resolution that the matter be referred to the International Court of Justice for advisory judgement on the 'domestic jurisdiction' aspect of the case. The Indian delegation tabled a new motion on the South African Indian dispute regarding the alleged discrimination against Indians in the Union saying that unless a satisfactory settlement was arrived at immediately, the

relations between the countries, already impaired, were likely to deteriorate still further.

22 November 1946. Supporting the Soviet motion on the presence of troops in non-enemy territories in the Political Committee, Mrs. Pandit said that she was glad that the scope of the resolution had been extended so as to cover former enemy as well as non-enemy territories. India supported the resolution because it would facilitate implementing Article 43 of the Charter.

26 November 1946. The Indian Delegation tabled a resolution before the Trusteeship Sub-committee to the effect that South-West Africa be placed under International Trusteeship system and that South Africa be called upon to prepare forthwith and submit to the United Nations a trusteeship agreement.

27 November 1946. The Political Committee adopted the British proposal that all members of the United Nations should give information of their troops in home and foreign territory to the Security Council for publication. The crucial issue whether home troops should be included in the census, which was strongly opposed by Molotov, was adopted as also the proposal that reports be submitted by 15 December 46.

29 November 1946. The Commission on Narcotic Drugs unanimously adopted a U. S. resolution recommending that the Economic and Social Council urge all countries which still legalize use of opium for smoking, to take immediate steps to prohibit manufacture of internal traffic in and use of opium.

30 November 1946. The Joint Political and Legal Committee adopted the French-Mexican resolution expressing the opinion that the treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with international obligations under the agreements concluded between the two Governments and the relevant provisions of the Charter and requested the two Governments to report at the next session of the General Assembly measures adopted to this effect.

4 December 1946. The Political Committee appointed a Sub-committee to frame a common draft of various proposals made on disarmament. India was elected a member of the drafting Sub-committee.

5 December 1946. Sir Maharaj Singh proposed before the Trusteeship Committee that members should voluntarily undertake to supply periodically data concerning the political advancement of dependent peoples. The Committee decided to eliminate the decision from the general resolution to be submitted to the Assembly for ratification.

6 December 1946. The Trusteeship Sub-committee adopted the Philippine resolution recommending that the United Nations members administering non-self-governing territories should hold regional representative conferences so that 'traditions and aspirations of non-self-governing peoples may be given an expression.'

8 December 1946. The General Assembly passed by a two-thirds majority (32 votes against 15) the French-Mexican resolution on the Indian charge against South Africa. The South-African amendment referring the Indian dispute to the International Court was defeated by 31 votes to 21.

The French-Mexican resolution reads: 'The General Assembly having taken note of the application made by the Government of India regarding the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa and having considered the matter: (1) States that because of that treatment friendly relations between two member States have been impaired and unless a satisfactory settlement is reached, these relations are likely to be further impaired; (2) Is of the opinion that the treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with international obligations under the agreements concluded between the two Governments and the relevant provisions of the Charter; (3) Therefore, requests the two Governments to report at the next session of the General Assembly measures adopted to this effect.'

The Trusteeship Committee adopted an Indian resolution calling on the Assembly to prevent South Africa from annexing South-West Africa and calling for the establishment of a United Nations Trusteeship there.

The Political Committee refused to take any steps to eliminate Big Power veto from the Charter and approved a resolution calling upon the Big Five to make efforts in future to limit the use of the veto voluntarily.

10 December 1946. The Trusteeship Committee passed Mr. Krishna Menon's amendment in reference to New Guinea draft trusteeship agreement, asking that when trusteeship ceased, the administering authority should surrender territories with all public properties to the people whose sovereignty and right to self-government or independence should always be recognized.'

9 December 1946. The Political Committee passed a resolution condemning the Franco régime and recommending that Franco's Spain be debarred from membership of the United Nations international agencies until a new and acceptable Government was formed.

11 December 1946. Speaking in the Administrative and Budgetary Committee, S. K. Kripalani expressed resentment at the 'unsatisfactory state of affairs which exists in connexion with the recruitment of Indians for the United Nations Secretariat' and illustrated his complaint by referring to the fact that of nearly 3,000 members of the Secretariat staff, India had only three of her nationals—one each in the lowest Secretariat groups—in the whole United Nations Secretariat.

13 December 1946. The Assembly adopted the resolution on the veto, calling on the five Great Powers to note the opposition of the small nations to the special voting privilege and to seek agreement on the conditions under which the veto should be exercised. It has also approved the eight trusteeship agreements. India abstained from the Assembly vote.

14 December 1946. The Assembly unanimously passed the disarmament resolution calling for a general reduction of armaments with effective safeguards for those States complying with the regulation of the Atom bomb. It also adopted the joint Indian-U. S.-Danish resolution on South-West Africa rejecting South Africa's claim and recommending that the territory be placed under international trusteeship. The Assembly also elected Australia, Belgium, France, New Zealand, Britain, China, U. S., Russia, Mexico and

Iraq as members of the Trusteeship Council and thus established a Trusteeship system.

16 December 1946. The Assembly resolved to give the World Federation of Trade Unions, the American Federation of Labour, the International Chamber of Commerce, and the International Co-operative Alliance equal rights in suggesting subjects for debate in the Economic and Social Council. Siam was admitted as a member of the United Nations. Thirty-four members of the United Nations including India, signed the new protocol on narcotic drugs which takes formal account of transfer to the United Nations and the World Health Organization of the duties and functions of the League of Nations in relation to international conventions on narcotics. It was decided to hold the next Assembly session in Europe. The seven-week session ended.

PARTICIPATION IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND COMMITTEES

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE : 19 SEPTEMBER 1946 : MONTREAL

The 29th General session of the conference was convened to discuss *inter alia* the protection of children and young workers, minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories and reports on the application of conventions. The Indian delegation consisted of Dewan Chaman Lal and S. Lall for the Government of India, David S. Erulkar for the employers, and S. S. Mirajkar for the workers and their advisers. On 23 September, the Conference witnessed a clash between the delegates of the South African employers and workers on the position of native workers in the union. The workers' spokesman charged the Union Government with tolerating a 'vicious colour bar' which condemned the native population to poverty and degradation. The Indian delegation criticized the I. L. O. as being preoccupied with the labour problems of Europe and America. Dewan Chaman Lal said that he wanted to see the era of domination ended for every country. Addressing the Constitutional Committee on the application of conventions to the subject territories, he supported the amendment to name commissions of inquiry in the case of failure by a dominant country to apply conventions in areas controlled by it, and argued that it needed an expert committee to decide justification in cases where the 'local conditions' clause was invoked. Accusing the I. L. O. with neglecting the Asiatic Nations, Mr. Mirajkar asserted that it did not give, 'legitimate dues in the matter of representation on its Governing Body to eastern nations. India failed to get the number of non-European representation raised from 6 at present to 8.

The principal achievement of the conference was the formulation of many Conventions designed to protect children and young workers which are subject to ratification by the individual countries. Other Conventions similarly formulated relate to standards of social and labour conditions in dependent territories. The conference approved the report of the Committee on Self-governing Territories designed to improve the standards of colonial and other

dependent areas. The report will constitute the basis of submissions to the conference in Geneva in June 1947. It was decided to hold the preparatory meeting of the Asiatic Regional Conference at New Delhi in October 1947, and the full Asiatic Regional Conference in China in 1948 and a Middle East Conference in the near future.

PREPARATORY COMMITTEE OF THE CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE
AND EMPLOYMENT : 16 OCTOBER 1946 : LONDON

The Committee met to prepare a draft agenda, including a convention, for consideration by an International Trade and Employment Conference which was expected to meet in the summer of 1947. The U. S. Charter formed the basis of discussion. India was represented by R. K. Nehru (Leader), B. N. Adarkar, H. S. Malik, Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, D. G. Mulherkar, Dr. B. N. Ganguli and M. M. A. Mulky. Speaking at the opening session, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, pleaded that the delegates should facilitate the emergence of a new conception of national responsibility in economic matters. Addressing the plenary session, Mr. Nehru emphasized that a minimum level of protection and tariffs was essential if India and other Asiatic countries were to take their place in international economic co-operation. While India did not agree fully with the U. S. proposals, she accepted them as a basis for discussion and expressed satisfaction that the Committee had been advised to take into account the peculiar conditions prevailing in the primary producing countries and industrially backward areas.

The stand taken by India represented the considered view of all the backward countries of Asia and Africa. On 26 November Mr. Nehru told the closing session that India would not, without a careful study of the prospects, enter into long-term commitments affecting the development of her national economy.

The Conference made 23 recommendations regarding inter-governmental commodity agreements, mostly following the familiar pattern. One of them provides that member-countries should accept the decision of the International Trade Organization as regards the question whether their continued participation in the existing commodity agreements was consistent with their obligations. Other recommendations relate to full publicity measures to expand consumption where practicable, consideration of shortages as well as surpluses, equal representation for countries importing and exporting and regulation of imports and exports. In regard to the vexed question of quantitative restrictions (import quotas), the conference took a middle course between the U. S. desire to abolish them in principle and the practical needs of some countries in certain circumstances—particularly of war-torn countries during the reconstruction period. Imposition of such restrictions will be permitted where a country needs it to prevent a drain on its monetary reserves and in certain circumstances the restrictions may even be discriminatory. The Committee decided to recommend the abolition of export subsidies on primary products. Every country must, within three years after coming into operation of the

World Trade Charter, discontinue any export subsidy or other system which results in sales for export at prices lower than are charged in its home market.

A new charter providing for the industrial development of undeveloped countries was incorporated into the U. S. proposals at the instance of India and thus the industrialization of all countries relatively undeveloped was accepted as one of the main purposes of the proposed world organization. It was recognized that tariffs and subsidies might be used for protective purposes.

UNITED NATIONS MARITIME CONFERENCE : 24 OCTOBER
1946 : WASHINGTON

At the second session of the United Maritime Consultative Council which considered the draft plan prepared by the Working Committee of the Council with respect to the establishment of a world inter-governmental maritime organization and also prepared a reply to the United Nations' enquiry in regard to the Council's views towards the establishment of such an organization to deal with technical matters, India was represented by M. A. Master and S. K. Kripalani with P. R. Subrahmanyam as Secretary to the delegation.

The Indian delegation fought a losing battle for a number of amendments to the Charter for an international Maritime Organization. They made an unsuccessful attempt to fight the agreed composition of the permanent Maritime Council consisting of the representatives of eight leading maritime nations, four big and other four being important to world shipping for their geographical location. The Indian delegation also insisted that Government assistance to shipping need not be considered 'discrimination.' Indian delegates, however, succeeded in getting their viewpoints on record.

INTERNATIONAL AIR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE :
29 OCTOBER 46: CAIRO

India was represented at the conference by A. F. T. Cambridge for the Indian National Airways, J. R. D. Tata and B. W. Figgins, for the Tata Airways, and Air Commodore Fenton, for the Deccan Airways. Mr. Tata led the Indian delegation. Sixty-seven other world air-lines from over thirty countries were represented at the conference. The Conference discussed the reports of the Financial, Legal, Technical and Traffic Committees and questions affecting the budgets of the Association and other problems agitating its members. Formalities causing inconvenience to through passengers on lines passing through or over different countries were urged to be reduced to the minimum. The Conference evolved five freedoms, *viz.*, to fly anywhere, to make provisional or forced landings in any territory to carry passengers or freight from one's own country to the country of destination without let or hindrance, (the freedom) to reverse the former process and to pick up or drop traffic in a neutral country. It was decided to hold the next year's conference at Rio De Janeiro. Inviting the Association to hold one of the future Conferences in India Mr. Tata declared that in a short time India would have from twenty to thirty international air services a week and that India would be able to participate in foreign air services both to the west upto U. K. and to the east upto China.

PREPARATORY COMMITTEE OF THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION

29 OCTOBER 1946 : WASHINGTON

The object of the 18-nation committee was to work out a world food plan so that it would be possible to distribute the world's production equitably to all nations. It will be for the 49-nation F. A. O. to accept or reject the plan to be submitted by this Committee. India was represented by Dr. K. N. Katju (Leader), Sir S. V. Ramamurti, C. N. Vakil, A. D. Gorwalla, G. Parameswaran Pillai and Choudhury Mukhtiar Singh.

Opening the session on 29 October, the Chairman Mr. Stanley M. Bruce (Australia) expressed the hope that Russia would join the 18-nations in working out the blue-print for a permanent world food board. Morris E. Dodd of U. S. A. told the Committee that the plan of Sir Boyd Orr, Director-General of the F. A. O. for a world Food Board had been rejected by the U. S. A. as unworkable in favour of multilateral agreements as a better way of ensuring stable prices to producers. The whole basis of Sir Boyd's plan was to stabilize prices from a central fund to which all would contribute and thereby level out bad years with the good. Mr. Morris pleaded that the proposed body should confine its duties to the development of nutrition and agriculture programmes and advice in the use of international commodity agreements. Speaking in the Committee, Dr. Katju asked the food exporting nations to give India the maximum assistance towards self-sufficiency and added that, until they were able to stand on their own legs, countries like India should be offered their share in the world's marketable supplies in food almost on the basis of cost of production. The Indian delegation directed its efforts to secure the transfer of control over international rice production and distribution to India, for rice is India's life-blood.

FIRST GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE U. N. E. S. C. O. : 19

NOVEMBER 1946: PARIS

Sir S. Radhakrishnan (Leader), Dr. Homi J. Bhabha, Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur and Dr. K. G. Saiyadain represented India at this Conference. A representative collection of about 50 modern Indian paintings and 20 films depicting Indian life and culture were also exhibited at the International exhibition of Art, Architecture, Science and Music held there. On 19 November, Mr. Bidault declared the Conference open. Mr. David Hardman, Head of the British delegation, was elected president of the first session. Addressing this session on 20 November, Sir Radhakrishnan said that the world was reverting to 1939 and pleaded that people must strive to create a philosophy of life devoted to the establishment of spiritual values. M. Léon Blum was elected permanent President. Dr. Julian Huxley, Secretary-General, voiced the general regret on the absence of Russia at the Conference.

Speaking on a resolution for undertaking a study of nationalism passed by the Sub-Commission on Social Sciences, Dr. Saiyadain said that the subject was too important to be left to politicians and that the first step should be investigation by national commissions and by an international commission as well. Addressing the Natural Science Sub-committee Dr. Bhabha expressed the hope

that it would be possible to send a number of eminent scientists to India with whom Indian Scientists could work. He referred to the fact that there was no Oceanographic Institute in India, Malaya or East Africa. On 2 December the Conference approved a Joint French-American proposal for information broadcasts by the U. N. E. S. C. O. to be handled by national radio systems on an international exchange basis. It adopted the Indian proposal that nutritional science and food teams be sent to India and also to China and Africa as soon as conditions permitted. It also approved the proposals for the establishment of an Institute of Applied Mathematics in China and the creation of an Institute of Oceanography and Fisheries in the Indian Ocean situated either in South India or Ceylon. The Preparatory Committee adopted the programme which accepts the study of any subject in its relation to world peace and its general feasibility. During the closing session on 10 December the Conference adopted a recommendation of the Administrative and Financial Sub-Commission that the budget for 1947 should be \$60,000,950,000. It also decided that next year's general conference be held in Mexico City. Sir Radhakrishnan was elected to a two-year term to serve on the Executive Council of the U. N. E. S. C. O. and also to the Chairmanship of the Council of which 8 of the 18 seats were won by the European countries. Dr. Bhabha was elected Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Natural Sciences.

Other Committees in which India participated include:

1. The Executive Committee of the International Commission on High Dams at Paris on 3 October 46;
2. The Industrial Committee (on textiles) of the I. L. O. at Brussels on 21 November 46; and
3. The Industrial Committee on Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works at Brussels on 25 November 46.

DELEGATIONS AND MISSIONS

INDIAN TEXTILE DELEGATION TO BRITAIN AND SWITZERLAND : 15 OCTOBER—
26 NOVEMBER 46

The Government of India sponsored the delegation which consisted of Krishnaraj Thackersey (Leader), T. B. Barat, Dharamsey Khatau and Sir Frederick Stones. Their objective was to see the technical improvements made during the war, to accelerate the delivery of the machinery already ordered by the Indian textile industrialists to the extent of £10 million, to negotiate with the British manufacturers of textile machinery in regard to the establishment of textile machine manufacturing industries in India, to discuss the possibilities of increasing the supplies of various types of mill stores and spares with a view to increasing the number of working shifts in the existing mills, and to discuss the prices, the British and Swiss delivery dates, and other details.

As a result of the visit, the delegation, with the assistance of the British Board of Trade, arrived at an arrangement with the textile machinery-makers of Lancashire to manufacture textiles spinning machinery in India with predominantly

Indian capital, the British makers supplying the essential technical assistance. Two British experts will soon arrive in India with a blue-print to construct a machinery plant in India. The estimated capital of the proposed joint stock company will be nearly Rs. 1½ crores, the British manufacturers holding not more than 30 per cent of the shares. Skilled labour and technicians will come from Britain in the initial stage. Simultaneously young Indians will be trained to replace the British technicians after Indians are ready to take over. A third expert will also come to help in manufacturing spare parts in India. It was reported that the delegation would submit their report shortly to the Government of India.

AUSTRALIAN TRADE DELEGATION : 24 OCTOBER—14 DECEMBER 1946

The delegation was sponsored by the Australian Government on the invitation of the Government of India to discuss ways and means of expanding Indo-Australian trade. It consisted of B. Meecham (Leader), E. P. Simson, J. M. Kemp, C. S. Turner, A. Sparke and H. Grose. The delegation arrived in India on 24 October and met members of the Interim Government and officials of the Departments of Industry and Commerce of the Government of India. During their tour lasting about 7 weeks, they visited various industrial centres and those interested in trade with Australia and discussed the means of increasing the volume of Indo-Australian trade. They also inquired how the Australian goods were being received by Indian consumers, besides discussing the shipping position, methods of marketing and possibilities of export of fruit and vegetables to India. They also exchanged views on the various industrial enterprises including the ammonia sulphate factory at Sanghri (Bihar), the coal situation and the possibility of getting capital equipment from Australia for industrial expansion in India. At Bombay, the delegation met the members of the Indian Tariff Board when Mr. Meecham suggested exchange delegations from Tariff Boards of India and Australia. He also urged the need for a careful scrutiny into the tariff position between Australia and India as well as the negotiation of a mutually advantageous trade agreement.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA DELEGATION TO AUSTRALIA : OCTOBER— DECEMBER 1946

The Government of India deputed Mr. B. K. Nehru and Mr. B.P. Adarkar to Australia to study the financial aspects of the Federal Grants System in Australia. They returned to India in December 46 after a comprehensive study of the subject and have reported to the Government of India on the results of their visit to Australia.

INDIAN DELEGATION TO EAST AFRICA

(See under 'East Africa' in the Section 'Indians Overseas.')

U. S. AIR MISSION TO INDIA : NOVEMBER 1946

The Mission was led by General A. Brownell, Special Envoy of President Truman and consisted of Robert Cunning, Capt. George A Dooe and D. E. Stachelberg. The Mission was preceded by a U. S. air survey party of 10

experts charged with the task of investigating and surveying the physical requirements for the operation of Pan-American and Trans-world Airways. The result of the Mission's visit to India was the conclusion of an Indo-U. S. Air Services Agreement on 14 November 1946, the text of which is given under the head 'International Commitments of India.'

IRAQ MILITARY MISSION TO INDIA: 17 NOVEMBER 1946

The Mission was headed by Brigadier Hussein Makki and consisted of five high-ranking army officers. The object of their visit was to see things of military interest in India. They arrived in Karachi on 17 November and during their stay there, they visited the naval shore establishment and Air Force Units. They visited Bombay on 22 November and went round the naval establishment.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS OF INDIA

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES RELATING TO AIR SERVICES, SIGNED ON 14 NOVEMBER 1946

The important Articles of the Agreement and Sections are the following:*

Article III

(A) The air-lines designated by the United States Government shall, subject to the provision of Article IV, be entitled in Indian territory to carry, set down or pick up traffic as detailed below:

- (1) Traffic embarked in or destined for the United States.
- (2) Traffic between any two countries other than the United States and India carried in transit across Indian territory and not embarked or disembarked in India.
- (3) Subject to the consent of the other State concerned, traffic embarked in the territory of a third country and destined for India, and traffic embarked in India and destined for a third country.

(B) The air-lines designated by the Government of India, shall, subject to the provisions of Article IV, be entitled in United States territory to carry, set down or pick up traffic as detailed below:—

- (1) Traffic embarked in or destined for India.
- (2) Traffic between any two countries other than India and the United States carried in transit across United States territory and not embarked or disembarked in the United States.
- (3) Subject to the consent of the other State concerned, traffic embarked in the territory of a third country and destined for the United States, and traffic embarked in the United States and destined for a third country.

Article IV

In order to maintain equilibrium between the capacity of the specified air

* For text of Agreement, see *Agreement between the Government of India and the Government of U. S. A. relating to Air Services*. 1946, Government of India Press, New Delhi.

services and the requirements of the public for air transport on the specified air routes and in order to maintain proper relationship between the specified air services and other air services operating on the specified air routes or sections thereof the Contracting Parties agree as follows:

(A) The air lines of each Contracting Party shall enjoy equal opportunity for the operation of air services between the territories of the two Parties.

(B) To the extent that the air-lines of one of the Contracting Parties are temporarily unable to take advantage of such opportunities as a result of the war, the situation will be mutually examined by the two Parties for the purpose of aiding as soon as possible the air-lines concerned increasingly to make their proper contribution to the services contemplated.

(C) In the operation by the air-lines of either Contracting Party of the specified air services the interests of the air-lines of the other Party shall be taken into consideration so as not to affect unduly the services which the latter provide on all or part of the same route.

(D) The air transport offered by the air-lines of both countries should bear a close relationship to the requirements of the public for such air transport.

Article VI

(A) The determination of rates in accordance with the following paragraphs shall be made at reasonable levels, due regard being paid to all relevant factors, such as cost of operation, reasonable profit, and the rate charged by any other air lines, as well as the characteristics of each service.

(B) The rates to be charged by the air-lines of either Contracting Party between points in the territory of the United States and points in Indian territory on the specified air routes shall be subject to the approval of the aeronautical authorities of the Contracting Parties, who shall act in accordance with their obligations under this Agreement, within the limits of their legal powers.

(C) The Civil Aeronautics Board of the United States has approved the traffic conference machinery of the International Air Transport Association for a period of one year beginning in February 1946. Any rate agreements concluded through this machinery during this period and involving United States air-lines will be subject to approval by the Board. While neither Contracting Party desires in this Agreement to commit itself to any continued approval of the traffic conference machinery of the International Air Transport Association, both Parties express their desire to facilitate rate agreements by means of machinery of this type, it being understood, however, that rates agreed upon through such machinery must be subject to the approval of the Contracting Parties of this Agreement.

(D) Any rate proposed by the air-line or air-lines of either Contracting Party for carriage from the territory of one Contracting Party to a point or points in the territory of the other Contracting Party, shall be filed with the aeronautical authorities of both Contracting Parties at least thirty days before the proposed date of introduction.

(E) In the event that power is conferred by law upon the aeronautical

authorities of the United States to fix fair and economic rates for the transport of persons and property by air on international services and to suspend proposed rates in a manner comparable to that in which the Civil Aeronautics Board at present is empowered to act with respect to such rates for the transport of persons and property by air within the United States the procedure mentioned in clause E (1), (2) and (3) shall apply.

(F) In the event that the power referred to in Paragraph (E) above, has not been conferred by law upon the aeronautical authorities of the United States, the procedure stated in clause F (1), (2) and (3) shall apply.

(G) When in any case under Paragraphs (E) and (F) above the aeronautical authorities of the two Contracting Parties, after consultation as provided therein, cannot agree within a reasonable time upon the appropriate rate, both Contracting Parties shall, upon the request of either, submit the question to the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization for an Advisory report, and each Party shall use its best efforts under the powers available to it to put into effect the opinion expressed in such report.

(H) In order to give effect to the provisions of this section, the executive branch of the United States Government will use its best efforts to secure legislation empowering the aeronautical authorities of the United States to fix fair and economic rates for international air services and to suspend proposed rates, in the same manner as the Civil Aeronautics Board is qualified to act with respect to air transportation within the United States.

Article IX

Each Contracting Party reserves the right to itself to withhold or revoke, or impose such appropriate conditions as it may deem necessary with respect to, an operating permission in case of failure by a designated air-line of the other party to comply with the laws and regulations of the former Party, or in case, in the judgement of the former Party, there is a failure to fulfil the conditions under which the rights are granted in accordance with this Agreement.

(C) When the procedure for consultation provided for in Paragraph (B) of this Article has been initiated, either Contracting Party may at any time give notice to the other of its desire to terminate this Agreement as provided in Paragraph (E) of this Article. Such notice shall be simultaneously communicated to the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization.

Annex

1. An air-line designated by the U. S. Government shall be entitled to operate air services on each of the routes specified and to make scheduled landings in India at the points specified in this paragraph.

Route 1. The U. S. through Central Europe and the Near East to Karachi, Delhi and Calcutta, thence to a point in Burma, a point in Siam, a point in Indo-China and beyond to the U. S. over various routes; *via* intermediate points in both directions.

Route 2. The U. S. through Western Europe, North Africa and the Near East to Bombay and beyond Bombay to;

- (a) Calcutta, a point in Burma, a point in Indo-China, points in China, points in Japan and beyond to the U. S. over Pacific routes; *via* intermediate points in both directions;
 - (b) Ceylon, Singapore and beyond; *via* intermediate points in both directions.
2. An air-line designated by the Government of India shall be entitled to operate air services on each of the routes to, from and across U. S. territory to be mutually agreed at a later date.
 3. (A) Points on any of the specified routes may, at the option of the designated air-line, be omitted on any or all flights.

ASSOCIATIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES INTERESTED IN INDIA

THE INDIA LEAGUE, LONDON

The India League, London, was founded with a view to supporting the Indian demand for Swaraj. The minimum subscription for membership is 5s. Five or more persons interested in the object of the League may form a Branch of the League in any area where one does not already exist subject to the sanction of the Executive Committee. Each Branch shall pay to the Executive Committee of the League a fee of £ 2/6 per annum. The League has an Executive Committee which is responsible for the direction and control of the League's policy and work. The officers of the League together with those elected by the general meeting to serve as members of the Executive Committee and others co-opted to it constitute the Committee. The Council of the League consists of the officers, members of the Executive Committee and representatives of branches, committees or other constituent organizations. The Executive Committee shall summon the Council at least twice a year. Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon is one of the Secretaries of the League. The League organizes conferences, lectures and meetings to keep the British public informed of the conditions and developments in India and to emphasize the imperative need for Indian Independence.

The address of the India League is 47 Strand, London, W. C. 2.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHINA'S WARTIME POLITICS 1937-1944. By Lawrence K. Rosinger. 1945 (Princeton: Princeton University Press for the Institute of Pacific Relations, \$ 2.00)

CHINA, which a little over a decade ago was amongst the highly exploited semi-colonial countries, is now beginning to take her place with the Big Powers of the World. But if China is really to fill that place and play the important rôle she is entitled to, in virtue of her great civilization and culture, her vastness and her mighty population, she has to stabilize her inner strength which brought her out of the dark woods of Western as well as Oriental Imperialism and enabled her to resist them and survive against such terrific odds. This

is her decisive period of reconversion and reconstruction to build up even a greater future than the hoary past or the heroic present.

Lawrence K. Rosinger is a good student of China and is at the moment in China on a study tour for the Research Section of the Institute of Pacific Relations. He has presented this bright little volume, pressing into barely a hundred pages, not only a short political history of the country from the rise of the nationalist tide of the early 'twenties after the close of World War I, to the eve of the close of World War II, but a brief, yet searching, analysis of the economic and social problems that must ultimately decide the future destiny even as much as the political problems.

The nationalist movement's almost phenomenal victory leading up to the establishment of the National Government at Nanking, far from marking the end of conflict and the initiation of the period of construction, marked instead the opening chapter of a civil war which is today on the ascendancy and is jeopardizing not merely the peace of China but that of the world. For the Chinese strife is but part of an international strife, countries and peoples being torn between two dominating systems, the Capitalistic and the Soviet, each striving to establish its sway with scant thought for the real wishes of the people themselves. Whilst World War I decided this issue for the greater part of Europe, for countries like China it merely left it intensified and more provoked.

Lawrence K. Rosinger's book traces the entire gamut of this conflict from its inception to its present dangerous proportions. For although the long-drawn out civil war between the Kuomintang and the Communists is two decades old, there is a decisive difference in its pre-war and post-war character and significance. Upto the Sian incident of 1936 when Chiang Kai-shek was seized and pressed into the termination of civil war and strike a truce with the Communists and other groups, it had been a local civil strife although its political implications and the economic issues were of world-wide import. The U. S. S. R. was then only a self-contained national regime which had withdrawn into its geographical shell, abandoning the old Bolshevik dream of a World Soviet.

That scene today is completely altered and the developments in every country have to be appraised against the background of an international backdrop, high-lighted by a deadly tussle between the Capitalistic, Imperialistic system and the Soviet dream of World dictatorship. In this setting the present struggle in China assumes immense significance to the world at large, and therefore *China's Wartime Politics* becomes a tale of more than mere Chinese affairs.

China's one-party dictatorial system is as fraught with contradictions as the Anglo-American Imperialist moves. For so long as China continues to depend on external help such as American, to resist the Communist aggression, China will continue to go on tying herself into strangling knots with the American Imperialistic cord, even as the Muslim League's policy *vis-a-vis* the British in India. The recent appeal of Madame Sun Yat Sen is to pose for America as much as for China the dangers of the present situation in that country.

Rosinger's book forms an easy guide book to the intricacies of this situation,

The original papers with which the author documents the work are of great interest and help to all students of world affairs. •

(MRS.) KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MOVEMENT. By John Price. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1945. (Oxford University Press, Price 15s.)

At a time when the international institutions brought into existence after the World War of 1914-18 are being scrapped and new international institutions are being hammered into shape, the future of the international labour movement and its diverse organizations—the Labour and Socialists International, the International Federation of Trade Unions, the International Trade Secretariats, the International of Socialist Youth, the Communist International, etc., assumes great importance and ought to engage the serious attention of all those interested in international peace and planned all-round betterment of the world. The student of this subject is confronted by a number of challenging questions: What purposes have the international organizations of the labour movement so far fulfilled and what changes of direction are possible or desirable? What methods have they pursued and what others are open to them? Are the international labour organizations to be expected to organize world revolution or are they to work for a fundamental transformation of society by peaceful change and evolutionary methods? Are they to rely in the main upon protest and agitation or are they to claim and secure the right to exercise more responsibility in the actual handling of affairs? These questions, important at all times, assume specific importance at the present juncture when the international bodies in the labour movement are just beginning to resume their peace-time activities in a world in upheaval because of abnormal post-war conditions.

The book under review represents an honest attempt to analyse the challenging problems of labour with sincerity and objectivity and to set up a series of useful sign-posts to guide the workers of the world in their painful Odyssey towards the difficult goal of a just world order buttressed up by distributive equity on the one hand and harmonious employer-employee relationships on the other. Starting with a brief outline of the international labour movement from its origins up to the present times, the book proceeds to give a fairly detailed description of the structure of the movement as it was built up between the two world wars. The information given includes particulars of the various international labour organizations and of their membership at different periods, but as the study is restricted only to those labour bodies with which the free trade unions and the Labour and Socialist parties are connected, the picture presented is only a partial one and requires for completeness a companion volume dealing with the aim, policies and achievements of the Communist International. Two chapters are devoted to an account of the work of the principal international labour bodies during the period between the two wars and in the last two chapters an attempt is made to examine the

more important of the problems confronting workers the world over. A welcome feature of the study is the robust optimism that permeates it and the special emphasis it lays on the fact that though the various international labour bodies differ in form and structure, they are all striving to promote peace, economic development, social progress, advancement of culture and international co-operation in general.

The optimism of the book is, however, tempered by commonsense and objective appraisal of facts. In a particularly illuminating chapter on problems of labour organization it is pointed out that, unless action can follow upon discussion, decisions in the international sphere tend to become meaningless and that therefore the most important problems of organization in the international sphere are those which relate to the machinery of international action. The point is further stressed by the reflection that, although the I. L. O. has established a magnificent service of information on labour and social questions and its conferences are the scene of many vital decisions, it could have functioned more effectively if arrangements could have been made for its Draft Conventions and Recommendations to be accepted and applied in the different countries without undue delay.

Summing up, the author now a member of the staff of the I. L. O., points out that the exaggerated hopes and fears entertained about the international labour movement by its supporters and detractors respectively are both likely to be belied. The trade unionist with his romantic belief in the 'International' as an instrument of universal emancipation, and conservative vested interests with their dread of international labour action as an agent of world revolution, it is stressed, are equally off the mark. Nor are those in the right who run down the labour movement because of its inability to prevent two world wars, or construe the failure of the movement to unite the workers of the world in the cause of peace as a sign of utter stagnation. The book stresses that the international idea in the labour sphere is still as alive and vigorous as ever and that, in spite of disappointments, the task of building up the international labour movement will be continued with renewed enthusiasm.

P. P. P.

FRONTIERS PEACE TREATIES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. By Brig.-Gen. Sir Osborne Mance, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.
Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

1946. (London:Oxford University Press, 12s. 6d.)

The present volume represents the last one of a series of studies on international transport and communications undertaken by the author at the request of the Chatham House in 1940, five of the previous volumes having already been published between 1943 and 1945 and the penultimate volume being in course of publication.

The main questions to which these studies endeavoured to provide answers were: what are the principal solved and unsolved transport and communications problems of the last twenty years and what were the reasons for suc-

cess or failure? In what direction can the solution of some of the more important unsolved problems be looked for? What international machinery exists for their solution and what suggestions can be made for its improvement?

In dealing with these it is assumed that the aims underlying the future world order still are 'to develop international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security.' The subject-matter, throughout this study, has been generally classified under the major headings of Regulation, Economic Competition and Security.

Taking up frontier problems in relation to international transport and communications in Part I of the book the author observes as follows: Many considerations have gone to determine frontiers—race, population, language, geography, conquest, access to sea, religion. During recent years the slogan of 'Self-determination' has been placed in the fore-front of other factors. The interests of minorities were to be safeguarded where self-determination could not be translated into self-government, autonomy or sovereign independence. And when self-determination plus minority clauses would not work in certain situations, recourse has been had to the transfer or exchange of populations, both with a view to avoid the political danger of alien elements in the Government and to consolidate racially or otherwise similar population residing in a territory. This practice, which is a retrograde movement towards the barbaric idea that tribes must be segregated in hostile villages, would be hardly conducive to the economic well-being of the countries concerned or to the future of international relations.

Transport and communications have played and can play an important part in determining international relations, and in fixing frontier lines due regard should be had to transportation facilities and co-ordination, avoiding unnecessary crossings of borders and providing territorial access or transport rights over intervening States. On a review of the existing procedure in Europe and America in this connexion the author is of opinion that 'it would seem sufficient, where territorial corridor is not practicable, for inland States to rely on the general prescriptions for the freedom of transit by the different forms of transport and communications in peace time and on arrangements for collective security action in time of war. With the development of collective security, both military and economic, the interests of inland States should be increasingly safe-guarded.'

Any advance in international outlook should also be reflected in more serious efforts to solve two other outstanding questions in the field of transport, namely, commercial competition between different transport systems, both inland and international, and co-ordination of different means of transport.

Part II of the book deals extensively with the Transportation Articles of the Paris Peace Treaties of 1919. It is suggested that a new arrangement of the Articles of any future treaty should be adopted so as to keep the different categories relating to each form of transport separate and not mixed up.

Part III gives a broad study of the international organizations for transport and communications existing in 1939 and set up since to deal with post-war

problems. There was only one inter-governmental organization designed to have world-wide competence, namely, the League of Nations Transit Organization, but in practice its scope and ability were severely limited. America has had a loosely-knit League of American Nations in the Pan-American Union. There was no such regional organization for the old-world continents but the needs of Europe and of a large part of Africa were met largely by the League Transit Organization. The outstanding positive achievement of this body has been to lay the foundations of international public law in the domain of transport and from time to time substantial changes in the scope, constitution and functions of the Transit Organization had been suggested.

Much valuable work, however, has been done by a number of regional inter-governmental organizations and private institutions, conventions and conferences dealing with different forms of transport. Among these mention may be made of the Pan-American Union, International Shipping Conference and Maritime Committee, International Railway Congress Association and International Aviation Conference.

Most of the existing international organizations are, however, principally concerned with the regulatory or technical aspects of transport and communications and not so much with questions of international security or commercial competition. These should be duly kept in view in setting up any future international machinery for drawing the peoples of the world together for mutual collaboration more intimately than what has been hitherto possible. The *sine qua non* for the creation and proper functioning of such a machinery is the maintenance of necessary confidence amongst various States, big and small. The author suggests various measures for attaining this object. A comprehensive scheme has also been drawn up for the co-ordination of international machinery for transport and communications and for determining its relation to other organizations concerned with international amity and co-operation.

There has been a great dearth of authoritative and impartial studies on the technical, administrative, economic and political problems covering subjects of international interest, specially transport and communications. In the present series of studies, of which the volume under review is the last one, the author has filled in a real void and deserves sincere congratulations. The presentation of the subjects have been well-planned, concise and yet thorough and the publications have been most timely and appropriate.

To Indian public men and students of public affairs these studies provide much valuable materials for guidance in tackling a number of domestic as well as international problems.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

AGRARIAN REFORMS IN WESTERN COUNTRIES. Issued by the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics. 1946 (Bombay: Vora & Co., Rs. 3)

THE LEAGUE HANDS OVER. 1946 (Geneva: The League of Nations.)

FOREIGN BOOKS ON INDIA

SWORD OF GOLD : A Life of Mahatma Gandhi. By Roy Walker. 1945
(London: Indian Independence Union, 7s. 6d.)

It is indeed very refreshing to come across a book like *Sword of Gold* from a Western author. Mr. Roy Walker is a pronounced pacifist, and as such has also suffered during the last World War. His pacific convictions first led him to a study of Mahatma Gandhi's writings, as a result of which he selected and arranged under a comprehensive title—*The Wisdom of Gandhi*, the thoughts of the Mahatma in his own words. The reputation which Mr. Roy thus made as a sympathetic student of Gandhiji has been considerably enhanced by his present book, *Sword of Gold*, in which he seeks to portray the life of Gandhiji whom he considers 'indisputably of the select company of the brave, and probably of the still smaller company of the saints.' The author naively admits his handicaps in fulfilling the task. He does not know any Indian language, he has never been to India, nor has he ever met Gandhiji. These handicaps, though not very great, are amply made up for by his pacific faith and sympathetic understanding, which not only sustain his intellectual courage to sweep aside cobwebs of political prejudices and deliberate misrepresentation, but also enable him to recognize at once the essential greatness of the man and the significance of his gospel. In a world where creative intelligence looks dwarfed and spirituality dried up, it requires no uncommon gift of courage and spirit to present the life of Gandhiji in the way that Mr. Roy has done.

Inspired by the 'Spiritual Odyssey' of Gandhiji, the author set out to write his biography and bring it up-to-date, for, there was no continuous account of his life beyond 1931. Mr. Roy has brought the narration upto November, 1944. It is not a systematic exposition of Gandhiji's thought, but only a narration of his life, attempting to dwell mainly on those episodes which display Gandhiji's experiments in truth and non-violence. The narration, though not integrated with the mental working of Gandhiji, breathes in the author's creative appreciation and moral earnestness.

One would only wish that Mr. Roy had written a fuller biography. To an Indian, who is naturally conversant with the political and cultural background of his own country, the *Sword of Gold* will be readily intelligible, but it might be presumed that for one who is not so familiar, a different sort of treatment would be found necessary. Again, as the title of the book suggests, Gandhiji has been viewed here chiefly as a wielder of sword, whose iron, no doubt has been transformed into gold by the touch of the philosopher's stone that he always carries in his heart—truth and non-violence. Such a gold sword can therefore harm no one. It is certainly a fact that Gandhiji's technique of Satyagraha, based on truth and non-violence, has been in a process of development, through struggles of a most unique character. It is nonetheless true that he is essentially a man of peace and a superb constructive genius. He looks at life steadily and as a whole, and seeks to build it up, individually and collectively, from the very bottom, as parts of one integrated whole. His activities are so diverse that they are coterminous with entire life. The view of Gandhiji

as a wielder of sword, however golden, is only partial. It might be hoped that if the author had been with Gandhiji in India for some time, he would have got a full-size view of his hero.

Remarks, such as those, might be made, or a slip here and there might be pointed out, but that does not detract from the worth of this welcome book which lies essentially in the author's approach and presentation of the material. Behind his picking and choosing, there is quite visible a mind free from prejudice, and sensitive to new ideas and their profound significance.

(MRS.) MANORAMA SARABHAI

OTHER BOOKS

THE GANDHIAN WAY. By J. B. Kripalani. 1945 (Bombay: Vora & Co. Rs. 4)

POLITICS OF CHARKHA. By J. B. Kripalani. 1946 (Bombay: Vora & Co., Re. 1/4)

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. By J. B. Kripalani. 1946 (Bombay: Vora & Co., Re. 1)

These three books by the President of the Indian National Congress make a strong plea towards the understanding of Gandhiji's economic and political ideas. Gandhiji has been interpreted by persons belonging to varied political and ideological groups: the Gandhian Congressman, like the present author, the Ashram Gandhite, like Kishorelal Mashruwala and Narhari Parikh, by non-party intellectuals and economists like Acharya Javdekar and Prof. J. J. Anjaria, by Socialists, with varying degrees of deviations and of course by the communists also. Years of Secretaryship of the Congress during the most revolutionary period of its history and his long and devoted association with Gandhiji, give a unique qualification to Acharya Kripalani to undertake this task.

As Gandhiji points out in his preface to *The Gandhian way*, 'There is something in Acharya Kripalani's way of thinking and writing which distinguishes it from others and those who know him can tell at once that a particular thing is from his pen.' It is true of all the three books, though they deal with varied problems like philosophy, economics and politics. For it is the manner of writing which so overwhelmingly possesses you that it requires an effort to shake off the annoyance or amusement—according to the political persuasion of the reader—and grapple with the substance. His sarcasms have won a great popularity for him with the masses. But what the politician gained, the scholar lost. His writings, as I said above, annoy or amuse; they are not equally effective in carrying conviction.

The books provide a fascinating side-study as a biography of an Indian intellectual of the Gandhian era. How would a sensitive and honest intellectual react to foreign domination and a degrading poverty of his people—throw bombs, offer 'passive' resistance, organize class struggle! Different philosophies of thought and action were soliciting his allegiance. It is a known fact

that Gandhiji bagged the largest and perhaps the best element in the country. Acharya Kripalani was one of the foremost amongst them. In the beginning of the 'thirties, the socialists gave a first serious challenge to the Gandhian thought. Unlike the communists they had their roots in the soil. Many of them were trained in the Gandhian school and considered themselves its Protestant section. To all that, the speeches and writings of Pandit Jawaharlal lent a great moral support. The socialists believed that their ideology was more scientific compared with the 'Utopianism' of Mahatma Gandhi. Acharya Kripalani, the loyal and sensitive disciple, would not take this challenge lying low. In his speeches and writings—some of them incorporated in the books under review—he made an eloquent defence of Gandhian thought and subjected the parvenu radicals to searching criticism. Yet Kripalani is too keen and honest an intellectual not to see the strength of the socialist case. Being a man of sound values, like Gandhiji he is a socialist by instinct—in the ultimate sense of the word. But he is too loyal to Gandhiji to don the socialist label. He has, therefore, tried to pack as much of socialism in the Gandhian thought as possible and what he could not, he has condemned as alloy. If in doing so, occasionally he is less than fair to socialists and socialist thought, it is a case of the politician getting the better of the scholar. Kripalani has given a dynamic interpretation of Gandhian thought, and that is a distinct service. Had he interpreted socialism in an equally dynamic manner and then tried to synthesize the two, the contribution would have been more valuable. Assimilation of thought is a healthy and progressive process. Acharya Kripalani has partially helped the process of assimilation by a catholic interpretation of Gandhian thought on economics and politics. For, in spite of his warning that 'All isms come into existence, not at the initiative of those in whose name they are preached and promulgated, but as the result of the limitations upon the original ideas by the followers', Gandhism is not free from the danger of being canonized.

The essays in *The Gandhian Way* deal with topics like Khadi, cottage industries, non-violent revolution, class-war, socialism and the 'basic education. Some of the articles were written as early as 1934. The present is the third edition of the book. While passages which expound Gandhian thought are of abiding interest, the controversial portions and the criticism of the socialist stand look very stale. There is, therefore, as much necessity to abridge the edition as for revising and enlarging it. The same is true of the new publication, *Politics of Churka*. As Acharya himself points out 'since the pamphlet was written much water has flown down the bridges.' The book is a mixture of politics and economics, and the author is on stronger ground dealing with the former. The distinction between national self-sufficiency and self-sufficiency underlying the philosophy of village industries is not kept clear. It is also suggested that the organization of cottage industries is in its nature, democratic and 'free from the domination of an ever diminishing machine and factory owning class.' This is not so as a rule. Instances are known of cottage industries being owned and organized by capitalists. The hand-loom industry provides a good example of this. Then there are a

few typically Kirpalanian passages, like the one quoted below. 'But we are told' says the author, 'if there are no centralized industries, there will be no industrial proletariat, and consequently no hatred and no class conflict and therefore no revolution.' One has to have special ears for hearing such arguments.

The central theme of the pamphlet *Indian National Congress* is that the Congress is a national organization, that in action it has been more revolutionary than many so-called revolutionary bodies, that there is no scope for parties within a party (Congress) and that any attempt to divide the loyalty will be disastrous. The political thesis of all the three books can be summed up by quoting a passage from this pamphlet. 'The Congress can afford revolutionary action only on one front and that the national front. In all internal matters it must use the common national sentiments to smoothen differences, at least for the duration when the enemy is on the native soil. All revolutionary internal conflict, based upon locality, community or class even when reasonable, must for the time being be handled carefully and cautiously. In ideas, the leadership may be revolutionary even in internal matters. But in action it must be non-revolutionary.' The passage puts, in a nut-shell, the political ideology of Gandhian Congressmen, the accent being on the second word.

M. L. DANTWALA

ARTICLES ON INDIA IN FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Cultural

SOME BRITISH I ADMIRE: VI MR. T. S. ELIOT. By Dr. Ranjee G. Shahani, *The Asiatic Review*, October 1946.

The author repudiates the general belief that Eliot was merely the high priest of that school of English poetry which burnt incense at the altar of the French Poet Mallarmé and expresses the opinion that Eliot's poetry contained 'essential newness' and that though, like Shakespeare, he borrowed the materials of his craft, he had transformed them into something rich and strange. He illustrates the point with copious quotations from Eliot.

Political

THE WORK OF THE CABINET MISSION TO INDIA. By The Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, *The Asiatic Review*, October 1946.

An able survey of the development of British policy from the breakdown of the 1935 Act to the Cabinet Mission in 1946 and an analysis of the salient factors in India's evolution to complete freedom—a survey and analysis not altogether free from Conservative bias.

THE FUTURE OF BRITISH AND INDIAN RELATIONS. By Sir Kenneth Mealing, *The Asiatic Review*, October 1946.

A naive dilation on the continuity of the existing industrial and commercial relations between Britain and India irrespective of the fact whether India re-

mains within or goes out of the British Empire, and on India's continuance within the Empire.

GROWTH OF SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA. By O. K. D. Ringwood and G. S. McClellan, *Foreign Policy Reports*, 1 September, 1946.

A short but useful historical account of the evolution of self-government in India from the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909 to the Cabinet Mission Statement of 16 May, 1946.

NEHRU'S ARREST IN KASHMIR. By M. Mathai, *The Voice of India*, September 1946.

A detailed and factual account of the exciting story of Pandit Nehru's arrest on 19 June, 1946 by the Kashmir State on crossing into the State territory in violation of the prohibitory orders served against him.

INDIA'S PROBLEMS AS A FREE NATION. By Grant S. McClellan, *Foreign Policy Reports*, 1 September, 1946.

An informed exposition of the Cabinet Mission negotiations with Indian leaders and of the proposals of the Mission Statement of 16 May, 1946 together with a brief analysis of the deadweights still lingering as a result of long imperial control. Short references are also made to India's economic problems, her industrial prospects, and to her place in relation to world politics.

BLACK FLAGS IN INDIA. *The Economist*, 7 September, 1946.

A panicky account—tilted in favour of the Muslim League—of the League reaction to the establishment of an Interim Government at the Centre under the leadership of the Congress President, Pandit Nehru, on 2 September, 1946.

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA. By A Correspondent, *The Economist*, 28 September, 1946.

A brief but sympathetic historical account of the South African Indian problem from 1890 upto the latest Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946.

INDIA'S TASK: THE CHALLENGE OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE. *The Round Table*, September, 1946.

A concise survey of the political outlook in India consequent on the Muslim League's reversal of its resolution accepting the Cabinet Mission Statement and an examination of the Cabinet plan and its prospects. It pleads for an early formation of an Interim Government and expresses the opinion that the League, instead of rejecting the plan, should have made the Constituent Assembly a place for its challenge.

INDIA: RESULTS OF THE CABINET MISSION. *The Round Table*, September, 1946.

A stock-taking attempt of the Cabinet Mission in India, and the reactions of the Congress and the League to the Mission Plan.

Economic

FAMINE DRAWS NEARER TO INDIA. By H. W. B. *The Voice of India*, September, 1946.

A factual narrative of the famine overhanging the horizon in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and the Mysore State and a passionate plea for succour before it becomes too late.

THE BENGAL FAMINE : THE BACKGROUND AND BASIC FACTS.

By Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, *The Asiatic Review*, October 1946.

An expert appraisal, based upon a statistical enquiry into nearly 16,000 families selected at random from 386 villages scattered all over the province, of the basic economic conditions of rural Bengal before the famine and of the socio-economic conditions thereafter with particular reference to the population and food supply, occupational distribution, land position before the famine, transfer of rice land during the famine and plough cattle.

THE PORT OF COCHIN : A STUDY IN CO-OPERATION. By Sir Robert Bristow, *The Asiatic Review*, October 1946.

An interesting survey of the formation, history and political significance of the Cochin Port, the oldest European settlement in India, from 1300 A. D. up-to-date, and of its economic implications to progress. The author worked as its Administrative Officer for the Government of India as well as Harbour Engineer-in-Chief during 1936—41.

Religious

CHURCH UNION IN SOUTH INDIA. By the Right Reverend Stephen Neill, *The Spectator*, 20 September, 1946.

The author traces the attempts from 1919 for effecting a re-union of all the Churches in South India into a United Church and alludes to the prospects of the meeting for the purpose in September 1946.

NOTES AND MEMORANDA

OLD AGE PENSIONS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO INDIA

By M. ABDUL QADIR

It is true that, under present conditions in India, there are numerous difficulties in adopting a plan of social security of the Beveridge type. Nevertheless we should not hesitate to examine schemes, formulated elsewhere, with the ultimate object of incorporating in our own plans, of course in a modified form, such parts as can satisfy our requirements and fit easily into our conditions. Certain aspects of social security like workmen's compensation and maternity benefit have already obtained statutory recognition and we may have to improve them in the light of their actual working. Certain other

aspects like provision against sickness and unemployment may become our immediate objective. And there are other problems which may not rank first in our list of priorities but yet require planning from even now. We should not commit the blunder of launching upon haphazard and sporadic schemes. There should be, from the very outset, a predetermined schedule and every part should bear relation to the whole.

It is in the above light that the problem of old age pension should be viewed. While admitting that a worker, after reaching old age, ceases to be useful to society and does not play an effective part in the productive process, there is no justification for 'scrapping' the old and the incapacitated and throwing them back on society. We are dealing not with things but persons and hence the necessity of adequate provision for 'impecunious old age.' The worker has given, during the period of his active life, the best in him to the industry and society to which he belongs and it is but natural for him to make sure that in his old age his long service will be rewarded with security. The employer also stands to gain, for the old age pension is a means of increasing labour efficiency by enabling him both to retire the unfit and to stimulate the interest and effort of men in service.

In Indian social policy the traditional ties are probably not altogether broken in the case of rural folk and the old may still be sure of their place in the social life of the village. But matters are tending to be different in the case of the urban proletariat. Besides, the very nature of work in the factories causes fatigue and exhaustion and makes the worker prematurely old. On the other hand the nature of agricultural operations leaves more freedom and proves less exhausting to the tiller of the soil. Some may hold old age pensions for the worker unnecessary on the ground that he can fall back upon agriculture when he gets old, but then this will lead to an increased pressure on land. Besides at a time when the tendency is to create a perennially-employed industrial population, the above suggestion may not be desirable. Above all there is the question of enormous cost in adopting old age pensions for agricultural labour as well. For these reasons it should be better to begin old age pensions with the industrial worker.

Compulsory old age insurance owes its origin to Bismarck's legislation, inaugurated more than sixty years ago, and this has had considerable influence on the later developments elsewhere. In 1891 Denmark adopted a system of non-contributory pensions financed from taxation. But it was just a transitional phase which soon gave way, in other parts of the world, to a system of tripartite contributory pensions, the employer, the employee and the Government co-operating to build up the Pension Fund. Such a system is advantageous to all the three parties. While it reduces the financial burden of the employer and the Government, it cultivates thrift in the employee.

The problem of old age pensions for India bristles with difficulties. It need hardly be emphasized that the migratory character of our factory worker, appalling low wages and his unorganized nature seem to be the great handicaps in regard to the formulation of any contributory scheme. Hence in the absence of a permanently-settled and organized labour force and minimum wage legis-

lation we may not be able to effect the desired changes in their entirety. We may have to start on a limited scale, with gradual extensions, and be content with very small contributions from the workers and the major burden, in the initial stages, may have to be borne by the employer and the Government. Besides, the contributions for sickness and pension insurance may have to be collected as a single amount. The small contributions from the worker will not be so much with a view to financing the scheme as to save the beneficiary from the demoralizing effects of a non-contributory system. Industrialization of the country will afford a partial relief to the employer from the burden which he may otherwise feel. Necessary changes in the structure of taxation may leave the Government in a better position to spend more on social services.

The determination of the cost of old age pensions for the industrial worker is a highly actuarial task and involves many uncertainties. That is why the whole thing should be carefully planned lest it should founder on financial rocks. The existing number of workers, estimated increase in their number—in a given period—in relation to the pace of industrialization, distribution of workers by age groups and sex, the average expectancy of life and various other details should be taken into full consideration. On the basis of the above data a fund will have to be built up on an actuarial basis by 'setting aside such percentage of every worker's pay as will be necessary to provide the pensions.'

The administration of old age pensions is no less important. The main concern of the Central Government should be to formulate general policy and prescribe minimum standards. Questions like the age of retirement, deviations from the normal pensionable age, the rate of premiums and benefits, financial aid, the co-ordination of different branches of social security etc., may very well be taken up by the Central Authority. But the actual administration of the scheme should rest with the provincial governments.

No scheme of social security can be successful if attempts are made to work it in isolation. It is closely connected with other aspects of the country's economic development. Measures to achieve the cardinal aim of our planning, *viz.*, raising the standard of life of the common man should proceed hand in hand with schemes of social security. Where there is no sustained economic progress the ability, to contribute, of all the three parties to social insurance—the worker, the employer and the State—will be seriously impaired. We ignore to our own peril Sir William (now Lord) Beveridge's main emphasis in his great Report that the success of social security depends not so much on the scheme itself as on continual economic expansion and particularly on the chief postulate of full employment.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

IRAN

By I. H. BAQAI

It is indeed a matter of great regret that Delhi, which was until 1857 a centre of great oriental learning, has now neither a great library of oriental books nor any bookshop (like LUZAC'S in London) which specializes in oriental literature. One cannot get here a decent edition of even such popular works as Odes of Hafiz or *Gulistan* of Sa'di. The position regarding current books in Persian is even more deplorable. Whatever is published in Tehran, Cairo, or Kabul is simply not available in Delhi. As a result one has to depend almost entirely on books written in English for any knowledge about our neighbouring countries like Iran, Afghanistan or even Egypt. The defects of any study based on such sources are obvious. The following list has therefore been compiled from the most accessible of the works, mainly in English (although a large number of excellent books are available in Russian and Persian languages) and hence makes no claim to completeness.

I. GENERAL AND HISTORICAL

A History of Persia (2 vol. Macmillan, 3rd Edition, 1930) by Sir Percy Sykes, is a fairly comprehensive work on Iran (Persia until 1934) as a whole and still remains, in the absence of more scholarly works, our main authority. The third edition of this book includes some new material, available to the author since 1915, when this book was first published, and also a chapter called, 'Final Essay', which deals mainly with the rise of Riza Shah to power and the changes that took place in Iran under his rule. Almost a century before Sir Percy Sykes' valuable work, Sir John Malcolm wrote *The History of Persia, From the most early period to the present Time*: (2 vol. London: John Murray, 1815). For a long time it remained the standard work on Persia in spite of its very obvious defects. Lord Curzon said about Malcolm's work that 'though written before the scientific spirit had pervaded the historical school (it) has yet remained the standard English work on the subject.' Curzon's own work *Persia and the Persian question*, (London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1892) now comes handy for reference. Lord Curzon presents in his two volumes (almost 1300 pages) a mass of information on varied subjects of geographical, historical or archaeological, and political interest. He spent the year 1889-90 in Persia and was able to have first-hand knowledge about many things. Moreover the collaboration of Sir A. Houtum-Schindler has also given much accuracy to this work. The Earl of Ronaldshay in *The Life of Lord Curzon* (London: Ernest Benn, 1925), gives a very interesting account (vol. 1. Pp. 150-7) of how this work was written and about its reception in the British press at that time. The Political chapters in Curzon's work inevitably betray his imperialistic outlook on the Persian question.

The above works may appear a little too voluminous. Unfortunately,

short but comprehensive books on Iran are only too rare. The following may perhaps fill the gap:—

- (i) Clement Markham *A General Sketch of the History of Persia.* London, 1874.
- (ii) B.G.W. Benjamin *Persia* New York, 1901 (Story of the Nations).
- (iii) I. F. Bogdanov *Persia.* (Persia: Geography, religion, habits, Commerce, Industry, and administration). Published by the *Obshchestvo vostokovedeniva*, St. Petersburg.
- (iv) S. H. Jhabvala *A brief history of Persia.* Bombay, 1920.
- (v) Sir Percy Sykes *Persia.* Oxford, 1922 (History of the Nations.)
- (vi) Sir A.T. Wilson *The Persian Gulf: A Historical Sketch.* Oxford, 1928.
It is an admirable and very precise account of the Persian Gulf. Sir Arnold also describes here in a very interesting manner the rivalries of the various European trading companies in the Gulf.
- (vii) do do *A Bibliography of Persia,* Oxford, 1930.
A very helpful work which may usefully be brought up-to-date.
- (viii) Sir A. T. Wilson *Persia* (Modern World Series, 1932).
This can serve as an excellent introduction to a study of modern Iran.
- (ix) Sir Denison Ross *The Persians.* Oxford, 1931.
Sir Denison has given a very charming account of the Persians and their country in this little book.
- (x) L.P. Elwell-Sutton *Modern Iran.* London, 1941.
- (xi) William S. Hass *Iran.* London: Oxford University Press, Cumberlege, 1946.
The problems which Iran faces to-day and her present position as the centre of conflicting interests in the international sphere are here set against the background of her long history.
- (xii) Muhammad Iqbal *Iran.* Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs, 1946.

2. TRAVEL

Iran is exceptionally rich in her literature of travels 'Few countries' writes Lord Curzon, 'so sparsely visited (as Persia) have been responsible for so ample a bibliography'. Besides making very absorbing reading they throw a flood of light on the manners, customs, habits, religious and communal life of Iran. In his *Persia and the Persian Question*, 1892 (vol.1, Pp. 16-18) Lord Curzon has given a very useful table of travellers from the beginning of the

tenth century till the end of the nineteenth. Most of the travellers to Iran have given an interesting account of their visit. Some of these are noted below:—

- (i) Sir John Chardin *The travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and the East Indies.* 1681, 1691 and also a recent edition in 1927 with an introduction by Sir Percy Sykes.
- (ii) Sir Harford Jones *Letters to Lord Melville from Baghdad, Bombay, Tebran, Tabriz, and London.* 1804-11. (Royal Geographical Society Library.)
- (iii) J. Morier *A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor.* 1812. 'A work of considerable authority and careful research.' (Curzon).
- (iv) Sir John Malcolm *Sketches of Persia.* London: 2 vol. 1815.
Very delightful sketches. First published anonymously. (Also Murray's Colonial and Home Library. Vol. ix, 1845.)
- (v) William Ouseley *Travels in various countries of the East, more particularly Persia.* London: 3 vol. 1809.
- (vi) M.A. Court *Narrative of a journey into Persia.* London, 1826.
- (vii) P. Gordon *Fragments of the journal of a tour through Persia, in 1820.* London, 1833.
- (viii) K. E. Abbott *Narrative of a journey from Tabriz along the shores of the Caspian Sea to Tebran,* 1843-4.
- (ix) *Eastern Persia* An Account of the Journeys of the Persian Boundary Commission, 1870-71-72. vol. 1. The Geography with narratives of Majors St. John Lovett, and Euan Smith and an introduction by Sir Frederick John Goldsmith. Vol. II—*Zoology and Geology of Eastern Persia* by W.T. Blendford, London: 1876.
- (x) R.A. Arnold *Through Persia by Caravan.* 2 vol. London: 1877.
- (xi) C.J. Wills *In the Land of the Lion and Sun—*1883. 2nd Ed. 1893.
Wills spent fifteen years (1866-1881) in various parts of Iran. Has given a very interesting sketch of the Iranians.
- (xii) E.G. Browne *A year amongst the Persians,* 1893.
'One of the great English Classics of travel'. (Denison Ross in his autobiography: *Both Ends of the Candle*). A most intimate and delightful account. New Ed. with

- memoir by Sir E. Denison Ross, Cambridge, 1926.
- (xiii) Sir Percy Sykes *Ten thousand Miles in Persia; or Eight years in Iran.* London, 1902.
- (xiv) A.V. William Jackson *Persia past and present: a book of travel and research.* New York, 1906.
- (xv) do do *From Constantinople to the house of Omar Khayyam; travels in Transcaucasia and northern Persia for historic and literary research.* New York, 1911.
- (xvi) A. Sloan *Wanderings in the Middle East.* London, 1925.
- (xvii) A.W. Polson *The Middle East.* London, 1926.
Though the book deals mainly with the problems of Palestine and Syria there is also an interesting chapter about Iran.
- (xviii) T. Herbert *Travels in Persia, 1627-9.*
Abridged and edited by Sir William Foster, with an introduction and notes. London, 1928. (Broadway Travellers Series.)
- (xix) Gertrude Bell *Persian Pictures.* London, 1928.
- (xx) Copley Amory *Persian Days.* London: Methuen. 1928.
Mr. Amory, who was for some time American Charge'd Affairs in Tehran, wrote a pleasant, lively account of a Journey by motor from Tehran.
- (xxi) A.C. Edwards *A Persian Caravan.* London, 1928.
- (xxii) Friedrich Rosen *Oriental Memories of a German Diplomatist.* London, 1930.
- (xxiii) Rosita Forbes *Conflict.* London, 1931.
Rosita Forbes in her journey, from Angora to Afghanistan, saw various conflicting forces at work in the Middle East. She has given here her own impressions of this struggle.
- (xxiv) Margaret Boveri *Minaret and Pipe-Line.*
Tr. Lousic Sieveking. Oxford University Press, 1939.
It is a record of a visit by Dr. Boveri to Iran, Iraq and other places in the Near East.
- (xxv) W.V. Emanuel *The Wild Asses.* London: Jonathan Cope, 1939.
A sympathetic study of Persia in transition. A party of twenty travellers of both sexes and varied nationalities set out in August

- 1936, under the auspices of the National Union of Students to tour Iran. Here is something of what they saw there and how they felt about certain events. One chapter is headed: *Germany and Iran*.
- (xxvi) Alice Fullerton *To Persia for Flowers*. Oxford University Press, 1941.
A pleasant book which gives an account of day to day life in the Persian village of Sultanabad depicted "with a depth of feeling and understanding. An appendix gives a full description of flowers for the specialist.
- (xxvii) Wendell L. Wilkie *One World*. New York, 1943.
Ch. 2, on, 'The Middle East' gives a very graphic account of war-time conditions in this area.
- (xxviii) Cecil Beaton *Near East*. London, 1943.
(xxix) Noel Coward *Middle East Diary*. London, 1944.
(xxx) Edgar Snow *Glory and Bondage*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1945. Ch. II, 4 *The Tebran Gateway*.
- (xxxi) Cecil Keeling *Pictures from Persia*. London: Robert Hale, 1945.
Keeling served in Iran during world war II. In this book he has very well portrayed the spirit of life in Iran today.
- (xxxii) H. St. John B. Philby *A Pilgrim in Arabia*. London: Robert Hale 1946.
Although the book is primarily devoted to Arabia it includes a chapter about Iran also, called 'Persian Holiday.' In July 1921 Mr. Philby took a short holiday in Iran and made some very acute observations about that country. One of his remarks applies even more aptly to-day; 'European peace was in the balance, and any tilting of that balance, by naughtiness in Persia, for instance would again plunge Europe into the abyss of *Avernus*.'

For a general account of Iranian cities two books are useful. For earlier period G. Le Strange's *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1905, while for modern times, Laurence Lockhart gives in *Famous Cities of Iran* (1939) a vivid description. B. Carson has written an interesting article 'Isfahan of to-day' in the *Fortnightly Review*, December 1926.

3. LITERARY HISTORY

Prof. E. G. Browne's monumental work gives us a complete survey of the literary history of Persia from the earliest times until 1924. The first volume, described by Prof. Browne himself as *Prolegomena*, serves as an introduction to the other three volumes. This was published by T. Fisher Unwin (London) in 1902 in their 'Library of Literary History'. This volume has also an excellent bibliographical note on ancient history and philology of Iran. The 2nd volume (T. Fisher Unwin, London) came out in 1906 and covered the period from Firdawsi to Ša'di, i.e., from the beginning of the eleventh to the middle of the thirteenth century. This period 'includes most of the greatest poets and writers of the Persians.' Vols. III and IV were published by the Cambridge University Press in 1920 and 1924. The third volume *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion* (1265-1502), and the fourth, *A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times*, (A.D. 1500-1924) complete this very valuable survey of the literary history of Persia. They were also brought out in a uniform edition by the Cambridge University Press in 1928. While Prof. Browne's work is excellent for a study of the development of Persian literature Prof. Shibli Nu'mani's *Shir-ul-Ajam* (Poetry of Iran) is a good criticism of Persian poetry and one complements the other. Prof. Shibli's work is in Urdu but has recently been translated into Persian.

A short and compact account of the development of the Persian literature is found in R. Levy's *Persian Literature: An introduction*. London, 1923; (The World's Manuals). For modern Persian literature vol. 4. of Prof. Browne's literary history as well as his *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* (Cambridge, 1914), which is partly based on the manuscript work of Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan of Tabriz, are very valuable. Dr. Muhammad Ishaq has also given a good Survey in his *Modern Persian Poetry* (Calcutta, 1944). He has also compiled two volumes of *Sukhumwan-i-Iran dar Asr-i-Hađir* which gives a comprehensive account of poets in modern Iran.

Much information about Iran's literary history is scattered over the pages of journals like the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, (J. R.A.S.) *Royal Central Asian Journal*, *The Asiatic Review*, *Indian Antiquary*, *Islamic Culture*, and others. A few of these articles are noted below:—

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| (i) Sidney Churchill | <p>a. 'A modern contributor to Persian literature. Riza Kuli Khan and his works.' J.R.A.S., 1886, new series, xviii, pp. 196-206</p> <p>b. 'Persian literature under the Qajars.' <i>Indian Antiquary</i>, 1888, xvii, pp. 115-16</p> <p>c. 'Hakim Qaani'. <i>Indian Antiquary</i>, 1888, xvii, pp. 241-2.</p> |
| (ii) Denison Ross | <p>'Modern Persian Literature.' <i>North American Review</i>, New York, 1800, clxx, pp. 827-36.</p> |
| (iii) G. Waters | <p>'Persia, its people, and the language of the Persians'. <i>Persia Society</i>, November, 1912.</p> |

- (iv) Evelyn Howell 'Some Persian Plays' *Blackwood's Magazine*. 1914. cxcvi, pp. 225-44.
- (v) R. A. Nicholson 'Persian Poetry and life in the 13th century'. *Islamic Culture*, 1928, vol. ii. No. 1. pp. 1-161
- (vi) H. D. Graves Law 'Stray thoughts about Persia.' *Asiatic Review*. April 1944. pp. 180-185.
A very interesting article about modern Iranian writers.

4. LITERATURE

Some of the well-known works, which are representative of the best traditions in the Persian literature, are the following:—

- (i) Firdawsi *Shahnama*—Text, Calcutta, 1811, Done into English by A. G. Warner and E. Warner. 9 vol. 1905-24 (Trubner's Oriental Series.)
- (ii) Nizamu'l Mulk *Siyasat-nama*. Paris, 1891-7.
An early Persian treatise on the art of Government based upon its 'author's interpretation of history and on his own experiences'. (Levy)
- (iii) Nasiri Khusraw *Safar-nama*. Paris, 1881.
- (iv) 'Umar Khayyam
a. *Rubaiyat*, translated by E. Fitzgerald. London, 1859, and other editions.
b. *The Multi-variorum Edition of 'Umar Khayyam*. N. Haskell Dole, London, 1889.
c. *The Quatrains of 'Omar Khayyam*. Newly translated by Friedrich Rosen. London, 1930.
- (v) Nizami-i-Aruzi-i-Samarkandi *Chahar Maqala*. Edited by Mirza Muhammad Qazwini, tr. E.G. Browne, E. J.W. Gibb, Memorial Series, London, 1921.
- (vi) Anwari There are various lithograph editions of his poetic works. Lucknow edition's date is 1839.
- (vii) Nizami
a. *Laila and Majnun*. London. 1836; reprinted 1894.
b. *The Sikandar Nama*. Translated by H.B. Clarke, London. 1881.
- (viii) Jalalul Din Rumi
a. *Masnawi-i-Manawi*. Bombay A.H. 1280; Lucknow A.H. 1282 and 1281. R.A. Nicholson's translation is the best available.
b. *Diwan Shamsi Tabriz*. Selected poems, edited and translated by R.A. Nicholson. Cambridge, 1898.

- (ix) Sa'di
a. Gulistan. A new edition by John Platts. London, 1871. tr., with notes, by John Platts. London, 1873.
b. Bustan. Photographed from a Ms. prepared under the superintendence of J.T. Platts...., annotated by A. Rogers. London, 1891.
- (x) Hafiz
The Diwan. Edited by H. Brockhans, Leipzig, 1854-6. Also translated by H. Wilberforce Clarke. 2 vol. London, 1891. Poems from the *Diwan of Hafiz*. Translated by Gertrude Bell, with a preface by E. Denison Ross. A very useful article 'Hafiz and his English translator' by Dr. A.J. Arberry is published in the *Islamic Culture*, April, 1946.
- (xi) Jami
a. Baharistan. Vienna, 1846.
b. Nafahatul Uns. (Lives of Sufis) Calcutta, 1859.
c. Yusuf and Zulaikha. Translated by R.T.H. Griffith. London, 1882.

5. MODERN LITERATURE

- (i) Qaani
Selections from Qaani. Edited by Muhammad Kazim Shirazi under the superintendence of Lt. Col. D.C. Phillott. Calcutta, 1907.
- (ii) Nasir u'd-din Shah
The Diary of H.M. the Shah of Persia during his tour through Europe in A. D. 1873. Translated by J. W. Redhouse. London, 1874. A second tour in Europe, 1878. Translated by A. Houtoum - Schindler and Baron Louis de Norman. London, 1879.
- (iii) Riza Quli Khan
a. Majma'ul Fusah. 2 vol. Tehran, 1877.
b. Sifarat-nami Kbn. arazm. Tehran, A.H. 1292. Paris, 1878.
- (iv) *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia.* By E.G. Browne
 It contains selections from the political and patriotic poetry of modern Iranian poets including Bahar, Arif, Qazwini, Mirza Murtaza 'Farhang', Sayyid Ashraf Gilani, and Pur-i-Dawud.
- (v) Jamal Zadah
Yaki Bud Yaki Nabud (once upon a time) a collection of short stories. Tehran, 1942.
- (vi) Sadiq-i-Hidayat
Sayeh Rausban. A collection of short stories. Tehran.
- (vii) Mir Muhammad Hijaz
Ayineh. Tehran.

6. ECONOMIC

In the field of economics the dearth of good books is very discouraging. Moustafa Khan Fateh has, however, prepared an excellent survey in his '*The Economic Position of Persia*', London: P. S. King & Son, 1926. Valuable information can also be gathered from the Consular Reports published by the Department of Overseas Trade of Great Britain and the reports published by the United States, Department of Commerce and Industries in their journal *Foreign Commerce Weekly*. An earlier work is of M.A. Jamalzada in Persian entitled '*Ganj-i-Shayagan*' (i.e., Present Economic Situation of Persia), Berlin, 1917. Some information can also be had from Dudley Stamp's *Asia: an Economic Geography*, London: Methuen, 1944 and B. Cressey's *Asia's Lands and Peoples*, Whittlesey House, 1944. For Oil, which forms the main industry and also the main problem of Iran, the following are useful:—

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| (i) C.M. Hunter | <i>The Oil-fields of Persia</i> . Bull. Amstr. Inst. Min. Metall. Eng., 1920. No. 158. |
| (ii) B.M. Spicker | <i>Petroleum in Persia and the Near East</i> . Engineering and Mining Journal, 1920, vol.CX. |
| (iii) J.W. Williamson | <i>In a Persian Oil-field</i> . London Benn, 1927. |
| (iv) S. Simmonds | Report on <i>Economic Conditions in Iran</i> . London: H.M.Stationery Office, Department of Overseas Trade, 1935. |

7. MODERN IRAN

The history of modern Iran may be dated from the rise of Nadir Shah. He liberated Persia from the grip of the Afghans and was also successful in warding off the danger of the Russian and Turkish encroachments. 'But for Nadir', writes Prof. Minorsky, 'Persia would not exist, even in its present bounds.' Although an Afshar Turk he is recognized as a national hero by the present generation of Iranians. His best biography is Dr. Lockhart's *Nadir Shah*, (London: Luzac & Co, 1938) a critical study based mainly upon contemporary sources. Some time after Nadir's death Persia came under the Qajar dynasty. It was under the Qajars that Tehran became the capital, which it has remained ever since. 'One of the most famous monarchs of this dynasty was Nasir-ud-Din (1848-96) whose two visits to Europe, which he recorded in the most entertaining diaries, made him famous outside Persia in his own day' (Denison Ross). It was also under his rule that the sect of the Babis, founded by Mirza Muhammad Ali, called the Bab, created much disturbance and was severally dealt with. In Prof. E.G.Browne, the Babis (later the Bahais) found a sympathetic historian. In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1889, new series, vol. xxi. he wrote the sketch of their history, about their literature and doctrines, and his personal experiences amongst them. He also edited and translated *A traveller's narrative written to illustrate the episode of the Bab*. (Cambridge 1891). *A year amongst the Persians*, also includes very interesting account of the meetings of the Babis.

Before the nineteenth century had ended ideas of nationalism and consti-

tutional reform had greatly moved Iran. This has been dealt with by Hans Kohn in *Western Civilization in the Near East*. (London: George Routledge, 1936.) But a much better scholar and more sympathetic student of Persian events at this time was Prof. Browne himself. In three books, *A Short Account of Recent Events in Persia* (1909), *A history of the Persian Revolution, 1905-1909*, (1910) and *The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*, he gives a complete and most authentic picture of the Persian Revolution. Events since 1907, when the Anglo-Russian agreement took place and Persia's position in the first world war are brilliantly described by Temperley in a chapter called 'The Liberation of Persia' in that admirable work, *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris* (edited by H.W.Temperley, vol. vi, ch.1, Part V).

For the period between the two world wars there are very valuable studies in Prof. A.J.Toynbee's *Survey of International Affairs*.

A general survey of modern Iran as a whole is provided by L.P. Elwell-Sutton in *Modern Iran*; London: George Routledge & Sons. 1941. This work has four very useful appendices including 'the Constitutional Law of 30 December 1906' and 'the Saadabad Pact of 8 July, 1937.' *The Near East: Problem and Prospect* (Chicago, 1942) edited by P.W. Ireland, also deals with problems of modern Iran. Similarly Ann K. S. Lambton, who contributed a most informative chapter on Iran to the book *Islam to-day* edited by Dr. A.J.Arberry and Rom Landau (Faber & Faber, 1942), has also discussed problems of modern Iran in an article 'Modern Persia and the Future' in the *Asiatic Review* of October 1942. The progress of modern Iran in the cultural and educational field is briefly stated by A.H.K. Hamzavi in an article 'Recent cultural activities in Iran' (*Asiatic Review*, October 1942). Dr. I.H. Qureshi has also written a very valuable and informative article on 'cultural trends in modern Iran' in the *Journal of the Indian Institute of International Affairs*, April 1945. Another useful publication for modern Iran is one of Foreign Policy Reports on Iran, (15 April, 1945) by Christina Phelps Grant, published by the Foreign Policy Association, New York. F. J. Goulding in a short article, 'War of ideas in Iran' (*Asiatic Review*, January 1946) has depicted the conflict of ideas among modern writers of Iran.

8. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Iran has not been happy in her international relations. She has been made a springboard for the intrigues of the Great Powers. Her oil-fields excited the cupidity of these powers for which Iran had to suffer. From early nineteenth century the two main Powers interested in the 'Persian Question' have been Britain and Russia. The British point of view has been well presented in such authoritative works as *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*. W.M. Shuster, an American, gives in *The Strangling of Persia*, (New York, 1912) an intimate and detailed account of international intrigues and Great Powers' greed in Iran. Other useful material can be had from:—

- (1) 'Russia, Persia, and England' *Nineteenth Century*, 1896, xi. pp. 1-18.

- (ii) Ziya-ud-Din (Syayid Tabataba'i) *A new epoch in the history of Persia and the Anglo-Persian Treaty*. Baku, 1920.
- (iii) Suleiman (pseud) 'The outlook in Persia' in *English Review*, 1925. xi. July, pp. 28-32.
- (iv) Gooch and Temperley (Editors). *British Documents on the origins of the War, 1898-1914*. (1926-9) vol. iv, *The Anglo-Russian Rapprochement 1903-7*, deal specially with Persian question from 1897-1907.
- (v) 'Affairs in Persia' *Journal of Central Asian Society*, 1928, xv. p. 1.
- (vi) A.J. Toynbee (Editor) 'Relations between Persia and the Western Powers, 1926-8', *Survey of International Affairs*, 1928.
- (vii) do do 'The dispute between Persia and Great Britain over the Anglo-Persian Oil Company,' *Survey of International Affairs*, 1934.
- (viii) A Student of Iranian Affairs 'Iran and the Anglo-Russian Occupation', *The Asiatic Review*, October 1941.
- (ix) A.H. Hamzavi 'Iran and the Tehran Conference in international Affairs,' (*International Affairs*) April, 1944.
- (x) G.S. McClellan *Big-Three Unity Jeopardized by Conflict in Iran*. *Foreign Policy Bulletin* 7 December, 1945.
- (xi) 'Iran and U.N.O.' 'Oil on the Waters' *The Economist*, 30 March, 1946. Persian Question before U. N. O. *Persia and the Powers: An Account of Diplomatic Relations, 1941-1946*. London: Routledge, 1946.
- (xii) A. H. Hamzavi

9. IRAN AND WORLD WAR II

A valuable survey of Iran during the war-time is made in two articles published in January 1945 in the *Royal Central Asian Journal*. The first is by Harold Beeley and is entitled 'The Middle East in 1939 and in 1944', the other is 'Iran, 1939-1944' by W.J. Thompson. The Foreign Policy Association, New York also brought out a report on 15 April, 1945 called *Iran: Test of Relations between Great and Small Nations* and this gives a useful survey of contemporary Iran. Much information about war-time Iran is however scattered in the magazines and journals devoted to international affairs. A few articles from them are given below:

- (i) Ann K. S. Lambton 'Some aspects of the Situation in Persia,' *Asiatic Review*, October 1943.
- (ii) A. H. Hamzavi 'Iran's part in the present war', *Asiatic Review*, January 1944.
- (iii) 'Iran and the Tehran Conference', *International Affairs*, April 1944.
- (iv) 'Correspondent of the New Statesman', 'Kurdistan' in *New Statesman & Nation*. 26 January, 1945.

- (v) N.G.Elphinston. 'Kurdish Question'. *International Affairs*., January 1946.
- (vi) A.K.S.Lambton 'Some of the Problems Facing Persia' *International Affairs*, April 1946. A very valuable article on the internal and external problems that Iran has to face in the post-war period.

The Chronicle of Important Events, a feature for September- December 1946 has been held over to the next issue for want of space.

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HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

By DAVID MITRANY

ONE of the signs of the time is the wide-spread demand for the international protection of the rights of man. That is a natural reaction to the inroads and devastation made by the totalitarian régimes in an old and great humanistic tradition. The effect is clearly visible in the change which has come upon this field between the two world wars.

The common aspirations of the Western democracies in the first world war were expressed in President Wilson's Fourteen Points. These called for the freedom of the seas, the freedom to trade, and especially for the right to national self-determination. The emphasis was on the rights of nations rather than of individuals, because the culprits were the old empires. It was assumed that free national States would bring their citizens the blessing of all the freedoms. The peace discussions of 1919 showed solicitude mainly for some special groups in particular places—national minorities and colonial peoples—remnant of the old imperialism. The one new move, made as an afterthought, was the acceptance of the need to regulate conditions of labour, as part of free international economic relations, resulting in the creation of the I. L. O.

The ideals of the recent struggle have been expressed in the Atlantic Charter and in President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms.' The Atlantic Charter mentions the freedom of nations, but the emphasis is on the human rights belonging to all men. And this ideal is taken up in the Charter of the United Nations which in Articles 55 and 56 pledges the members 'to take joint and separate action' for the promotion of 'universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.' The rights which a generation ago were taken for granted now have to be proclaimed anew. At the same time, there is a new emphasis on positive social rights—those embraced by the freedom from fear and freedom from want—and also directly and by implication on the need for action in regard to them by international means and agencies.

The extension of the field of positive rights and the demand for their support by international action are indeed the two characteristics of the present aspiration. Both have their explanation in the realities of our present society. A declaration of general human rights, much as it is in the public mind, would be too simple. It was a natural act at the time of the French Revolution as at the creation of the United States of America. Under the present régimes of representative government and national planning it would be both incongruous and useless. Many problems now arise not from the arbitrary rule of kings or a class privileged in wealth and power, but from the functions and organization of the national State. They arise with the consent or at the insistence of popular majorities often as an unsifted consequence of beneficial social measures. Authority cannot at the same time be pressed into service as to common functions and fended off as to private rights. At the same time

the life of the national State itself is in a large measure, even when indirectly, determined by the international system, or the lack of one. We have lately experienced how little protection is to be found in sovereign independence and equality for the quiet progress of people's social life. The first question therefore is not how the State treats the individual, but whither the State is going itself. As an ideal, human rights may be eternal; as a tangible claim they will always be relative. They cannot soar above the humours and pre-occupations of the particular society which is giving them currency. The remedy for present ills in the field of human rights will have to be found less in constitutional checks to arbitrariness than in the refinement of the normal working of government within the State; and, above all, in the building up of a steady world order.

It would be easy to demonstrate that our liberties could hardly survive unless we bring about an effective international system. Without it the life of the world will be ruled more than ever by power politics, in which there could be no freedom and perhaps no room, for small nations. Further, in such a perennial state of latent conflict there could be little tolerance for national or other non-conforming minorities. And finally, the freedoms of the individual in such conditions quite obviously would always be hard pressed and frequently suspended. Hence, the survival of individual and group liberties depends first and foremost on a peaceful international order. What should be the part and responsibility of the international organization in the defence and furtherance of human liberties?

THE RIGHTS OF NATIONS

The problem is vastly more complex than in national society. In the latter it unfolds itself against an established political background and generally accepted traditions. In international society neither exists. That is indeed the very nature of the international problem. Moreover, we have to take account not only of the rights of individuals and of the various groups in which he associates, but also of the wider group which is the self-governing nation. The view taken here is that the nature of the international system has come to affect not only in general but closely all sides of the question. But as we are primarily concerned with ways and means of action, it will help to look at the three levels of the problem in turn.

The problem of national freedom is not usually taken into account in the discussion of human rights. Yet it cannot be ignored, if only because of the frequent experience of how men in the mass readily surrender their individual rights when they are faced with peril to their collective national freedom. National freedom is in this sense the core of the question. The freedom of individuals and of groups can be sought within the State. The freedom of nations, on which the others depend, can be secured only under a system of international law and order. The question is, what kind of international organization could do that? Modern international law was intended to provide that security by endowing all States with sovereign equality. There is hardly a field, political or economic, in which that principle is now effective for the

smaller States. The paradox of their position has its roots in the two-fold evolution of the dynamic nineteenth century, on the one side the rise of many national States out of the same new respect for human personality which had led to the emancipation of the individual citizen; and on the other side, through intense and rapid economic development, the bringing about of a material concentration and interdependence which took away much of the self-sufficiency of individuals as of small peoples and countries.

Both these trends in themselves were sound and legitimate. The problem of our time is how to reconcile the two, how to weld together the common interests of all without interfering unduly with the ways of each. International realists, like Professor E. H. Carr and Mr. Walter Lippman, are right in saying that most States are now too small for a progressive material life, but the argument ignores the spiritual and cultural side of those small units. Democratic societies are faced internally with the exact parallel of that problem. How are we to have economic planning without social regimentation? If the nation is too small for modern economic life so is the individual, but we do not demand, except in totalitarian States, that he should be submerged. The apparently realistic view of these writers rests on a confusion. Nationality is as different from nationalism as personality is from individualism. At both levels the problem, and the test is the same: how to readjust the life of those units on a broader scale for their own material advantage, without avoidable hurt to what might be described as their particular originality of soul?

The key to this dilemma will not be found in the modern practice which links authority to a fixed and limited territory. In such a relationship the material means remain limited while the political means grow excessive. We need a new political conception, in terms not of States and frontiers, but of actual common interests and activities. Functional organization seems the method of progress which would satisfy both tests, of the most comprehensive possible material integration of national groups with the least possible intrusion into their cultural life. For by only linking together those activities in which the peoples are interdependent and which have to be organized jointly either for better performance or to avoid conflict, a wide field would still be left for separate local action to suit the needs and inclinations of local groups. It would also avoid an excessive concentration of power in one central authority which, through its very functions, might become oppressive.

That brings out also the other side of the question, the futility of insisting on sovereign equality. In the last resort the freedom of small nations is a matter of restraining the power of the big States. Their preponderance is inevitable; the only choice is between power exercised within a common organization, under some measure of common control, or independently and arbitrarily from without. But an active international organization will not come into being if the large number of small States insist at the same time on retaining and using their nominal sovereign equality. The rights of small nations like their prosperity can only be secured in an international, working democracy, even if in its early stages it be imperfect as a voting democracy.

The first problem for an international authority, therefore, is the protection and advancement of national groups, that is, of local majorities. Unless a group prospers as a whole the life of minorities within it is bound to suffer. This still leaves the question of deliberate discrimination against minorities of one kind or another, the aspect to which international forums have paid most attention so far. The creation of many national States in the nineteenth century together with the rise of the liberal outlook, drew attention to the need of protecting religious and national minorities in the new political units. From the Congress of Berlin onwards the Powers frequently insisted on constitutional protection for such minorities as a condition of recognizing the new States. At Paris in 1919 the process was carried further; the rights of minorities were laid down in special treaties, which the new or renewed States of Central and Eastern Europe had to accept, and at the same time those obligations were put under the direct supervision of the League of Nations. That was a fundamental departure in international law and practice. The former undertakings had been left to the good faith of the individual States concerned; remedies had to be pressed at need through separate diplomatic action. The new undertakings were put under the collective guardianship of the society of nations, with a right and the duty to watch over their good performance.

In retrospect it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the results of this constitutional advance, and the efforts made by the organs of the League to make it a reality, have shown the approach to be wrong. It has failed for a number of reasons; firstly, the procedure was imposed upon States which were lacking in political experience, and traditions and personnel. One cannot expect minorities to enjoy the more rigid promises of those special treaties when a whole country suffers from defects of government and administration. Secondly, the inter-war period was marked by the general failure of the international system, economically as well as politically, and the consequences of economic depression and political insecurity will always bear more heavily upon minorities. Thirdly, and more specifically, we can now see that there was something intrinsically wrong in the procedure itself. It marked the minorities as distinctive units, when the real need was for them to become accepted as a rightful part of the local community.¹ It invited appeal to an extraneous body, when the real need was for a better understanding on the spot. Both sides of such appeals inevitably put an extreme case against the other, and this and the intervention of an outside authority exacerbated nationalist feeling and so recoiled upon the minorities concerned." Sir Frederick Pollock has actually argued that the idea of State sovereignty was given a new lease of life 'by the appeal of the Succession States in Central Europe to the League in their attempts to coerce their minorities to respect their

¹ The communal division which is holding up progress in India is said by many to have been hardened by the 'liberal' British policy of setting up separate Hindu and Muslim electoral groups.

sovereignty.¹ More recently the debate in the U. N. Assembly on the Indian minority in South Africa has brought out again how little recriminations can contribute to mutual understanding.

Legal rights can win a minority a verdict in court, they cannot assure them the social decencies of communal life. Ultimately the only thing which will stop abuses is a change in the conditions and outlook of the dominant group. International attempts to protect minorities have produced two other peculiar and untoward consequences. To the disadvantage of marking out minority groups for special treatment there has been added in the first place, the abuse of the system by one State or another for its own political ends. Czarist Russia often intervened in the life of the Turkish Empire ostensibly to protect the Christian minorities; Nazi Germany made disruptive use of the same means on behalf of its 'racial' minorities during the lifetime of the League of Nations. At the U. N. meeting, according to a message to the *Times* (26 November, 1946) the sentiments of many delegates in the South African dispute were with the Indians, but they 'are perturbed at the possibility of opening the way for any State to haul any other before the United Nations on the score of internal legislation.' That possible abuse has become so habitual that it creates a channel for serious international friction. To deny the right to intervene to the people most interested in the fate of a kindred minority is not possible under an established international procedure; and if there is to be intervention, it had better be under international rules and supervision than at the pleasure of a particular Power. But the purpose of such a system is to create a standard for the treatment of minorities, not to provide a handle for the politics of a particular State. Reactionary States should not be allowed to pose as the champions of liberties elsewhere. No State should be entitled to plead on behalf of a kindred minority for greater or wider rights than those which that State grants its own citizens. Such a rule would in effect also reassert those international standards in the face of the complaining State.

Secondly, political segregation of minorities, as something unique in national and international life, no doubt has also had something to do with the present insistence on the transfer of populations as a means of solving once and for all certain minorities problems. This drastic surgical remedy for the problem, implicitly recognized in the whole minorities system of the League of Nations, also illustrates the futility of the whole approach. The same restlessness was caused in earlier periods by the presence of religious minorities, and sometimes States took drastic means of their own radically to solve the problem. But popular sentiment, whether in old States like France and Spain or in young States like Rumania and Greece, is beginning to divide along the line of social ideologies. We have already experienced forcible interventions which point to a period in which ideological minorities may become the centre of interest. What will happen if after causing so much pain and trouble to set up 'pure' national States Europe should be faced with new ideological

¹ Article on Sovereignty in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

alignments? Is the new friction to be assuaged by a fresh and equally wholesale transfer of populations so as to create pure fascist or communist or liberal States? Nor is it enough to create 'pure' national States. Like race, they must also be kept pure. Whatever the criterion of purity for the time being, if it is to achieve its ends the policy of transfer must have as its corollary a continuous policy of segregation. Within the State forcible assimilation and the choking of freedom of thought would be the inevitable corollary. Migration or any free movement of people would have to be forbidden lest it should lead to the gradual creation of new and unwanted minorities. The habitual natural adjustments of population would thereby be checked and the new world of pure States would be inaugurated by the suppression of a very old freedom.

THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS

The changing character of 'minorities' makes international protection of their rights especially difficult or invidious. Some countries have few political restrictions but press for assimilation; in the U. S. S. R. racial and cultural distinctions are actually fostered, but political or social minorities are rooted out. As no particular 'minority' claim can cover the many individual claims, it would seem that the end could be achieved better by protecting the individual rights of all, whether minorities or majorities.

In fact the emphasis is now on the protection of individual rights. This was adumbrated in the Atlantic Charter and in the Four Freedoms; and the Charter of the United Nations has, in the Commission on Human Rights, for the first time set up an international organ specially concerned with it. The problem is as difficult as it is appealing. Any international agency charged with it if it is to be effective, must break into the closely guarded domain of domestic jurisdiction. It will have to apply its rules to a large number of countries varying in experience, structure and outlook. At the same time, the organization of society is changing rapidly, and with it the standing of the individual in it. Legal rules, and still more formal procedures, cannot be devised before some clear definition of the principles and ends for which they are intended. The difficulties of definition therefore must be overcome first.

The most frequent view divides individual rights into negative and positive rights, or similarly into universal and particular rights. The first group would include those rights which by tradition are assumed to be inherent in every individual as a sentient human being—an individual capable under free conditions of progress and of developing a personality of his own. In that biological sense they are universal; they are described as negative in a political sense because they merely demand non-interference by the State or other controlling group. They are the kind of rights which traditionally have been proclaimed in declarations of the rights of man or in democratic constitutions. The second group includes those rights depending mainly upon a particular social structure and in a large measure subject to local definition; they are positive because they have to be satisfied not by restraints on authority but on the contrary by some positive action on the part of authority.

Among the rights generally recognized in the first group are freedom of worship, of speech, of association, and the right to the protection of the law. The second group is more changeable and has in recent years, especially during and since the war, benefited from considerable additions. To the old political rights and to the social right to hold property, many recent constitutions have added the right to work, under suitable conditions and for an assured minimum reward, the right to equality of opportunity in education, to adequate leisure, to protection in sickness and old age—all those social claims which are now broadly included within the term social security.¹

It is usually assumed that the first group is the one more suitable for international protection. The report of the American Universities' Committee on Post-War International Problems says that 'only universal rights can lay claim to universal protection. And in a document prepared for the same Committee, Professor Quincy Wright says that 'it is clear that negative freedoms are easier both to define and to realise than the positive freedoms'. This view seems so logical and is so widely accepted that one hesitates to take a different stand. Yet there is both error and danger in it. The error is due first to the fallacy of assuming that universality in theory also means universality in understanding and possible application. Professor Lauterpacht has recognized the difficulty of expressing in general terms principles which have to be applied in particular situations. Religious freedom is not the same in London and Calcutta and Lhasa. The wider the circle of States subscribing to some international bill of rights—and most of them will want to do so—the more general will its terms have to be. Professor Quincy Wright argues that universal negative rights can be preserved by judicial action which checks legislative encroachment; whereas positive rights need legislative and administrative action which depend on conditions prevailing at any particular place and time. Is this a true reading of the position? Universal rights often have been the one object of international interest, especially in the nineteenth century, yet continuously their observance has deteriorated in the measure in which nationalism and the power of the State have hardened. They are mostly abstract and have neither a clear standing in international law and relations nor a clear support in international opinion. They move within and depend on the communal outlook of each particular group. The perennial problem of the Southern negroes in the United States shows how even the strong trinity of constitutional guarantees, judicial decisions and administrative support can remain impotent in the face of inveterate communal attitudes. Internationally these abstract principles make only a moral and traditional appeal; at any time as many may be against as for a particular right, with many more indifferent to it. One cannot escape the conclusion that the negative

¹ Some of the more explicit statements will be found in President Roosevelt's message to Congress, in January 1944, in which he urged a 'New Bill of Rights'; the I.L.O. resolution of 1944 on 'Social Provisions for Inclusion in the Peace Treaty'; and the 'Draft Charter of Social Provisions' for inclusion in the Peace Treaty presented by the TUC to the British Government in the autumn of 1946. In addition to traditional human rights this 'Charter' includes a detailed list of social rights, among them a claim for a share in the control of industry.

human rights which are most universal are also those least capable of being enforced by joint international action.

The second cause of error is due to insufficient attention to the present trend in government. The trend is all for growing action by the State, much of it through administrative law and controls which provide a hundred and one ways of interfering with minorities and individuals without any flagrant breach of constitutional rights. Quoting chapter and verse General Smuts was able to argue before the United Nations that the restrictions on the acquisition and occupation of immovable property 'do not impinge upon any elementary human rights' of Indians in South Africa. General principles cannot cover all these possibilities; still less could they be checked by external supervision. Even in advanced countries the daily and detailed administrative acts often remain outside the knowledge and control of parliament. An international body could not know of them or deal with them unless it had organs on the spot endowed with authority to intervene.

Positive freedoms are by contrast concrete issues; they can be defined clearly and the procedure for safeguarding them can be laid down with corresponding definiteness. In so far as they are brought within international range they become a contractual obligation between States. The beneficiaries—particular sections or professions, trade unions, etc.—are definite and usually organized groups, which would have a direct interest in the observance of a particular right and the standing to bring claim against any default. Such freedoms could become an active element of the international community and a positive element of international law; their protection and enforcement therefore would be a proper function of whatever international organization had charge of them as a matter of right and duty.

These considerations suggest that international action will have to be adapted to the nature of the rights it is meant to secure. A Declaration of Rights is evidently much to be desired, as proclaiming afresh the ideals of the civilized world. At the moment when we are taking steps to lay the foundations of a world society it is fitting to set up at the start a common ideal in regard to human rights. Yet such a declaration could embrace only the most fundamental and general principles; they could not be defined in any specific way so as to be made a proper subject for detailed action by an international authority.¹ The Charter of the United Nations, which in Article II forbids any interference 'within the domestic jurisdiction of any state' gives the organization no power to enforce the observance of human rights. The Human Rights Commission cannot be more than a general watchman and a perennial prompter. By watching and studying the working of these great principles, by reports and recommendations to the central organs, the Com-

¹ Note—It is worth noting that the TUC in its 'Draft Charter of Social Provisions' while declaring that they apply 'to all people' also adds 'with due regard to the stage of social and economic development reached by each people.' And when President Roosevelt pleaded for the four freedoms, the everywhere on which he insisted for the first two, the traditional universal rights, he did not attach to the second pair, which referred to social rights.

mission should be able to bring the attention of the members continuously to bear upon the promotion of these human rights and bring to light any serious falling away from them. It can help to create a world opinion in regard to them and it might hope to work through it, but it is doubtful whether it could do more than that.

Direct international protection is not feasible unless the individual concerned is given the right to appeal to international authority, and many jurists hold that individuals should have direct access to international courts. This would still leave the immense difficulty of defining the rights in such a precise way as to make it possible to ascertain their supposed infringement under the special local conditions. And when that is done, we should have to face the still more difficult problem of how to enforce those findings. It would be a choice between trying to enforce international principles through national courts and police, or of setting up an international enforcing agency. One has only to recollect how jealous are local authorities in Great Britain of their charge of keeping law and order, or how the federal authorities in the United States had to plead income tax infringements to be allowed to apprehend the gangsters of Chicago and New York, to see what an inroad such attempts at international policing of local acts would mean into the existing legal relation of States. The Minorities system proved ineffective in this respect though it was concerned with only one aspect of human rights affecting a limited number of people. A general Bill of Rights would be concerned with the totality of human rights as affecting all people everywhere, and the machinery for its enforcement would have to be correspondingly more comprehensive and intricate. It is true, as Professor Lauterpacht says, that the protection of individual rights would be less invidious than that of minorities. Yet in this case too as in the other a verdict on behalf of an individual would hardly serve to ensure his peace of mind and social well-being in the community against which such a verdict was given.

PROCLAMATION OF RIGHTS OF PROTECTION OF LIFE ?

The rights likely to suffer from an abusive régime are on the whole those civic rights which include religious and political non-conformity. In regard to them the democratic countries could do a great deal more than any international agency simply by a return to a traditional but now neglected practice. In the past many western countries, the United States and England, France and Switzerland, gave unquestioned right of asylum to religious and political refugees. Garibaldi and Mazzini, Marx and Lenin and Massaryk were able to preserve their political rights by taking refuge from persecution in freer political climates. In this way western society without formal rules or special organs gave what amounted to indirect protection by removal from oppression. The totalitarian régimes have made this more difficult because their victims were expelled or ran away in large numbers. Yet it still remains true that a return to that tradition might do more than any formal declaration to preserve an individual's right to his religious and political beliefs. Though

only a palliative, this would show an earnestness beyond the mere subscribing to a fine ideal.

A Declaration of the Rights of Man, as reasserting a civilized standard of conduct, and a watching brief for the Commission on Human Rights, is probably as much as could be done internationally at this stage for those general rights which depend more on social attitudes than on official acts. International action could however, be highly effective in securing those positive rights so many of which have received recognition of late. These are rights which can be concretely defined and concretely dealt with through specific agreements, like those initiated by the I. L. O. Moreover, such specific undertakings could be put under the authority of functional agencies which would act in a field with which they would be familiar, and continuously watching as a necessary part of their task. Such action would also correspond closely to the nature of the problem. Individuals and groups could be helped by specific agreements and agencies in the widening field in which international controls could operate directly. Those agencies would dispose of real means of enforcement—a problem which has slowed down progress through the I. L. O.—because they could deny to defaulters the service which they usually would render. It would moreover be a sanction which would avoid the emotional repercussions usually produced by political sanctions. The Seafarers' Charter, adopted by a conference of seafarers' organizations in 1944, shows the kind of action which is here contemplated. A recent article in *The New Yorker* reported Mr. Curran, the dynamic leader of the United Maritime Workers as professing that action of this specific kind has done more for American seamen than all the provisions of the constitution. In the United States the federal government has found it impossible, for political and practical reasons, to interfere with the working of the universal rights solemnly guaranteed by the constitution in the forty-eight states. But the positive rights granted or acquired through the working of the New Deal have created a new active relationship between individuals and local communities on the one side and the federal administration on the other. Much, for instance, of what the constitution had been unable to assure to the negroes as citizens the Fair Practices Act has secured to them as workers. By similar means a network of international agencies could in time protect large sectors of the daily life of many groups of workers, both in their work and in their leisure, and so gradually came to cover substantial parts of the Four Freedoms.

'Humanitarian intervention,' as Professor Edwin Borchard wrote recently, 'is an exceptional and rarely used device, the danger of which induces hesitation in its employment.' The immense difficulty of reaching agreement on even the most general conception of human rights and the danger that the attempt may actually increase friction, came out clearly at the inaugural meeting of UNESCO in Paris, last November. Its director, Dr. Huxley, placed great weight on the project of the 'sub-section of philosophy' 'to reach some common general set of ideas, and principles on which the majority of the world's peoples could agree.' That brought a passionate protest from the Yugoslav observer, Dr. Ribnikar. To him it seemed an attempt to dictate from one

centre 'an official international philosophy' which would interfere with the development of local cultures; and which disregarded the power of and wide support for dialectical materialism, the official doctrine of the U. S. S. R.¹

We are indeed back to a state of things where belief and thought are bound to a special conception of society, as they were in times of theocratic and autocratic rule. If a Soviet citizen were to say, 'I must be free to think my own thoughts' he implicitly rejects the informed guidance of the official dialectic policy; just as in the Middle Ages a similar attitude would have implied the denial of the inspired guidance of the Church.

Two utterly differing conceptions of social life and organization thus face each other. Which is right and which is wrong? To the dialectical materialist our Western 'freedoms' are both fictitious and insidious; to us his 'scientific' controls are spurious and oppressive. The individual can make his choice, at his own risk. An international body, whose very purpose is to bring about peace through adjustment, is not in a position to do so. A choice, any choice, would only confirm solemnly and finally the division which now exists in adaptable fact. Dr. Ribnikar significantly accused UNESCO of being out to hamper co-operation between the Western countries and the USSR by its philosophical ambitions. He was right in so far as international means and ways are intended not to solace the individual as such but to better the society in which his life is passed. The essential purpose of such ways and means is not the proclamation of rights but the protection of life; and that depends now wholly and in every sense on our success in building up an international society. Each idea and instrument must be looked at not as something possibly attractive in itself, but as serving ill or well that supreme objective. In 1919 the minorities system was part and parcel of the prevailing ideal of self-determination; the first was merely a corrective of the second, for both were based on the acceptance of the sovereign nationalist State. Now we need and aspire rather to international community, and eventual corrections must be seen in this light.

Individual rights have suffered in the recent past not always through any decline in political morality, but simply through accretions to the power of the political community. The two will always stand in a compensatory relation towards each other, and the trend is too universal to be treated as a local lapse. Most modern constitutions in fact empower the executive to suspend constitutional guarantees in times of emergency, and the chief international emergency is war and the danger of it. Therefore international security is the first condition of individual liberty. In the second place, functions and powers of the State are growing apace even in normal times through the widening practice of national planning. It is bound to curtail many individual and local rights, and it cuts across attempts at establishing or reviving internationally

¹ One of the leading Soviet writers Konstantin Sunorov, only recently returned from a visit to the United States warned a Moscow Conference that 'the world to-day was in the throes of the most violent ideological conflict between two systems and two views about the future of humanity. . . . In that ideological war there could be no respite, for the enemy was in an aggressive temper.' (*Manchester Guardian*, 30 November, 1946.)

the rights of individuals and groups. Between the two of them national defence and economic planning are crowding out many a private right. Under them there can be no effective safeguard for individual rights; and the mere re-affirmation of these rights will not check the nationalistic concentration of power. It could only sharpen the maladjustment, internally and internationally, evident in our whole scheme of society. Modern education in democratic countries is set to stimulate individuality, while modern economics daily confine it. Technical advance makes individuals and groups and peoples daily more interdependent and so strains at the particularism innate in each of them. The paradox is inherent in the life of our time.¹ It will not be removed by the barren argument which confronts planning in general with liberty in the abstract. What is planned cannot be individual, what is individual cannot be planned. The present democratic task is to sift the issues anew and agree on fresh division of the field between State and individual, between nations and the world,—so as to increase as far as possible the area of free choice for the common man—rather than pit them against each other with claims which are irrelevant.

Attempts at formal constitutional correction are irrelevant because so much of the decline in individual rights springs not from arbitrary rule but from popular and often perfectly democratic mass pressure. Ours is a pragmatic time. It is marked by as wide a disregard for established constitutional rights, whether of property or of individual choice, as was the revolutionary disregard a century ago for the privileges of aristocracy. The trend is making an in-road even into the new social rights. Hitherto these were meant to protect the rights of the mass of the workers. Now the workers themselves through the policy of the 'closed shop' are creating a new kind of minority, just as the recent strike of some English unionists, because they would not tolerate the religious objection of a member of the Plymouth Brethren to all mundane association, has given a new start to the problem of individual rights. Hence the rising demand that any eventual Bill of Rights should be supplemented by a Bill of Duties. Yet here again the issue is created not by a perversion of social sentiment but by the nature of the new social aspirations—by the anxiety to establish them, and the new power of the workers to do so through unions or government.

The broken pieces of the now despised national constitutions cannot be put together and made to work in an international constitution. It is interesting to note that Mr. Roger Baldwin, who has long been a protagonist of civil liberties in America, not long ago warned against 'the unreal task of trying to secure the adoption by each nation of standards and practices set forth in any

¹ The freedoms of the eighteenth century artisan were lost to him not through political restrictions but through industrial improvements. On the other hand, the parallel improvements in agriculture led to the freeing of the European peasants from the servitudes which had bound him to the soil.—Discussing the various kinds of wastage by human action, Sir John L. Myres argued in a recent article that 'the long vogue of slavery was ended less by moral revolution in regard to the "natural rights" of man, than by the invention of sources of mechanical power—, which made man-power uneconomic, as well as unobtainable, on the scale needed by mechanical industries'. (*Nature* 2 November, 1946.)

international bill of rights.' It is an elementary political maxim not to burden an authority with a policy which it cannot enforce. It is an equally sound rule not to lure groups and individuals into the idea that legal redress could mend social and domestic maladjustments. The more hopeful line of advance is through agreements between nations covering specific rights and activities, such as those embraced by the wide field of communications, or the conventions promoted by the I. L. O. Functional bodies would improve on that as in their particular field they would carry out the arrangements themselves, not leave them to national agencies. Under such joint supervision the functional services could establish, in a direct and practical way, both as regards their employees and their beneficiaries, equality of rights without any distinction of race, sex or creed; and standards of work and conduct which might gradually build up a body of universal social rights.

There is an impossible contradiction between the would-be protection of individual rights by international authority and the control of economic and social life by the national State. The question is: Would the proclamation of a code of human rights, if made a condition of membership, quicken the coming of a world society? Or would the growth of a world society bring these freedoms in its train, in the measure in which it removes suspicion between competing social philosophies? That is the only test for our problem and the only way to resurrect the rights of man. Under present conditions of work—and war, there can be no individual rights and freedoms without peace. Without international order the States have in self-protection to seek power, and power in the State is fear in the home. For the national State, which has become too weak to ensure us security, has become too strong to allow us liberty.

THE HIMALAYAS AND INDIAN DEFENCE

By K. M. PANIKKAR

INTRODUCTION

THERE are no mountain ranges which have so completely dominated the history of a country as the Himalayas have dominated Indian history. It is not only the political life of the people of Hindustan, but the religion, mythology, art and literature of the Hindus that bear the imprint of the great mountain barrier. To the Hindus the Himalayas have been a perpetual source of wonder and veneration. The majesty of the snow-clad peaks, visible from afar, the inaccessibility of even the lesser ranges, the mysteries of the gigantic glaciers and the magnificence of the great rivers that emerge from its gorges have combined to give to the Himalayas a majesty which no other mountain anywhere can claim. The Hindus have invested it with an element of the divine: it is *devatamsa*—a fraction of divine majesty.

It is the abode of the gods to the Hindus, not the friendly Olympus of the Greeks, but the inaccessible seat of the great Siva. From one end to the other

of the great range it is studded with sacred places of pilgrimage—Amarnath, Jwala Mukhi, Hardwar, Kedarnath, Badrinath, Pasupat and the rest, and above all, the great and isolated peak of Kailas, the unapproachable seat of the great God himself. Parvati, the consort of Siva—the Devi whose worship is the popular form of Hinduism—is the daughter of the mountain God. One of the great peaks Gouri Sikhar, identified in popular mind with Mount Everest, is held sacred as the place of her penance. The holy Ganges takes its rise in the Himalayas and girdles it for over 500 miles before it streams into the plains of Hindustan to fertilize and sanctify its soil. The Jumna and the Saraswati, the Brahmaputra and the Indus and their tributaries on which depend the life of India, all have their origin in the Himalayas. Well might Sree Krishna exclaim in the *Gita*: 'Among mountains I am the Himalayas.'

In a very special measure the Himalayas constitute a national mountain as the Ganges is a national river. It is true that on one side there is the great plateau of Tibet, but it is a thinly populated country unimportant except for its size and mystery. The popular mind, not only in India but elsewhere, identifies the Himalayas with India. Not only to-day, but from time immemorial, Himalayas have constituted the mountain of India. The very description of India which has come down to us by tradition is *Himavat Setu Paryantam*—from the Himalayas to Rameswaram. Kautilya in the 4th century B. C. defines India as including the Himalayas. The national character of the great mountain is reflected in the names of every one of its peaks. *Himalaya* itself means the abode of snow; *Gouri Sikhar*, the peak of *Gouri*; *Dhaval Giri*, the white mount, etc.

The conquest of the lower regions of the Himalayas and the exploration of the great range must have been acts of high adventure in the dawn of Indian history. When the story of India unfolds itself we find flourishing Hindu kingdoms already established in Kashmir and Nepal, both being valleys enconced in the Himalayas. The kingdoms of Dwigarta, Trigarta and Madra in the sub-Himalayan regions are already famous in the time of the Mahabharata. The Pandava brothers at their renunciation, it is stated in the epic, marched northwards and 'beheld with heaven-aspiring hearts the mighty mountain, *Himavat*. Beyond its lofty peaks they passed towards a sea of sand.' The holy lake of Manasarovar and the great Kailas itself, both on the Tibetan side, had become familiar long before the Christian era. The great pilgrimage centres on either side had already become popular with the Hindus at least by the first century after Christ. Long before, Hindu *Sanyasins* had established their *Ashramas* in the inner ranges of the Himalayas. In historic times we have Bana in his *Harsha Charita* describing the conquest of the Himalayan Kingdoms by Sri Harsha of Kanauj.

Traffic with Tibet had also developed early. The introduction of Buddhism into that country had brought the tableland spiritually nearer and missionaries and traders traversed the passage in their normal activity. It must have taken centuries of undaunted effort before the great mountain range had been so fully explored, its habitable valleys colonized, and its passes discovered and brought into use. When we consider that the great centres of pilgrimage

which thousands in their devotion visit yearly are situated on steep and inaccessible mountain tops, sometimes as high as 14,000 feet, we can see that all except the great peaks had been explored and tamed by the Hindus.

The dominance of this great mountain range on the mind of the Hindus has only increased with time. Their epic poems describe its glory. Two of Kalidasa's major works are dominated by the spirit of the Himalayas. *Kumarasambhava* is *par excellence* the epic of the mountain. The *Meghaduta* is no less a tribute to its majesty. The scenes of Bharavi's epic are laid in the Himalayas. The *Katha Sarit Sagara*—The Ocean of Stories—contains numerous passages describing the beauty of the great mountain. Nor is this confined to the literature of continental India. Wherever the Hindus colonized they took with them their love of the Himalayas. In Kakavi literature of Java: e.g., in *Smara Dabana*, the same lingering admiration of the snow-clad mountain can be seen. Nor is it to be forgotten that the temple in which the King of Siam is crowned even to-day is known as Mount Kailas.

The late Mr. E. B. Havell was the first to point out the influence of Himalayas on Indian Art. In a brilliant thesis he has demonstrated that the temple architecture of the Hindus is based on the vision of Kailas, the great isolated mountain peak looking like the very temple of the great God.

The following passage from his book well describes the greatness of Kailas and Manasarovar to the Hindus :

It would be strange indeed if such deep and abiding impressions as the mystery and grandeur of the Himalayas obviously made upon the Indian mind had found no reflection in Indian religious art. But it is not too much to say that the feeling of awe and adoration which their majesty inspired gives the key-note to the interpretation of Indian art. Here is the chief clue to the meaning of Indian symbolism. In India, however, one cannot, except in what we call Moghul art, separate æsthetics from religion. Religion is the inspiration of all vital art. The Indians did not admire and worship the Himalayas only because they were beautiful, majestic and wonderful, but chiefly because within their inner fastnesses they guarded the worshipful source of life, the fount of purity which made India a fertile, prosperous, and holy land. The common prayer of humanity, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' the first boon which the Christian asks of his heavenly Father, conveys the thought which inspired Indian worship at the great Himalayan well of life.

Now let us follow more closely the Indian line of thought with regard to the Himalayas. Near the centre of the Himalayan region is the wonderful lake Mansarovar, about 15,500 feet above sea-level, which, according to Indian ideas, was the fountain-head of the whole river system of Asia. This generalization is not perhaps accurate enough to be regarded as scientific geography, but the fact that the Indus, the Brahmaputra, and the Ganges have their sources not far from its shores sufficiently accounts for the veneration with which it was regarded. In this region, says the Vishnu Purana, most significantly for the

student of Indian art, the Creator, Brahma, has his throne, 'like the seed vessel of a lotus.' The shores of the lake are very regularly indented, so that its shape suggests a lotus flower. Towering above it towards the north-west is Mt. Kailasa its great pyramidal snow-peak shaped like the thatched roof of a forest hermit's hut (Pl. VIIIA). Surely here, thought the pious pilgrim, must dwell the Divine Yogi, Siva, and his consort, Parvati, Himalaya's fair daughter, watching together their wonder-making *Lila*, the interplay of cosmic forces which makes and unmakes world's innumerable. It was this suggestion of a Divine Presence in the solitude of the eternal snows, and the situation of the mountain close to the sacred lake, which gave Kailasa its peculiar sanctity.

Nor is this to be wondered at. The life of India is truly dependent on the Himalayas. The plains of the Punjab and the Gangetic Valley derive their source of life from the eternal snows of the great mountain. From the Indus to the Brahmaputra, the two arms that enfold Hindustan, every stream and rivulet has its origin in the Himalayas. The civilization of the Indo-Gangetic valley is its gift. The changed times have not lessened its importance. To-day it is not only for water but for electric power also, Hindustan is dependent on its protective mountain.

II

The Himalayan range, strictly defined, extends from the Indus to the Brahmaputra—a length of 1,500 miles. This is, however, only an artificial distinction. The two props, the Hindukush in the West and the Lushai hills in the East, are continuous with the great central belt to which geographers at the present time confine the name. It has an average width of 150 miles, and within this enormous area the central range rises to an average height of 20,000 feet, eternally snow-bound, magnificent and majestic in its virgin whiteness. Rising above this huge rampart are the great peaks, Everest, Godwin Austen, Nangaparbat, Kinchinjunga and Dhavalagiri, unconquered by human endeavour and challenging the resources of man to climb them. To the south of the central range is a second mountain system where the average elevation is between 12 and 15 thousand feet, also snow-capped and majestic but more friendly to human contacts and less inaccessible to pilgrims, explorers, and *sanyasins*. Gradually they descend into another range, the Sewaliks and the outer Himalayas, pleasant, cool and finally wooded, extending a friendly welcome to human effort and habitation.

Says an English writer :

These are the supreme mountains of the earth, tossed high in some convulsion of the primal age, and stricken immobile, a frozen ocean of lava waves whose crests are on the outer fringes of space, whose depths and hollows are the secret places of the earth unknown and inaccessible; rock-cut gorges set about by forest swamp and interlocking jungle within whose grim recesses life may pullulate shut off for ever

from the outer world, Himalaya—the abode of snow. At least 40 heights exceed 24,000 feet. This mountain continent makes its own weather conditions; so vast is it; has its own variations of climate from the coldest, aimless arid heights to dark, steamy sunless deeps, glaciers whence torrents run through caverns, measureless to man, down to the sun-parched plains of India. Here the Ganges, the Indus, the Brahmaputra, the Alakananda burst smitten from the bound rock to wind a hundred miles through hidden valleys, subterranean gorges, and leagues of treacherous Tarai marsh to spread their healing waters on the plains and so to find the ocean and the end of all things, re-absorption in the Infinite, reincarnation and rebirth—the very symbol of the pantheistic cults that give them adoration.¹

Geologists claim that the Himalayas came into existence as a result of the crumpling of the earth's crust. It is said that there is conclusive geological evidence that some portion of the Himalayas must have been under the sea at some far distant date. These are matters of scientific interest, but the essential geographical fact with regard to this mountain system is that it is the culmination of a vast elevated plateau, Tibet, the average height of which is 15,000 feet above the sea level.

There are two aspects of the Tibetan plateau, which are of great significance when we consider the Himalayas as a protective barrier of India. The first is the fact that the plateau of Tibet has Kuenlun mountains as its boundary in the north, the Karakorum in the west and in the south the Himalayas and the east is equally mountain-bound. Secondly, its own elevation is above that of ordinary mountain ranges. The mountainous area north of India has to be considered strategically as one—a great quadrilateral, the middle of which is an elevated plateau of 15,000 feet above sea level, and the southern ramparts, an invulnerable range of an average height of 20,000 feet. The area enclosed is 5,00,000 square miles, frightening and formidable in its geographical features, an arid waste, wind-swept and waterless where trees do not grow—snow steppes inhospitable to man.

In the Himalayas so far surveyed there are, we are told,—

74 peaks over 24,000 feet				
48	„	„	25,000	„
16	„	„	26,000	„
5	„	„	27,000	„
and 3	„	„	28,000	„

and in all 146 peaks which are among the highest in the world. 'This vast 2,000 miles of mountain sprawl,' says McIntyre, 'would stretch from Calais to the Caspian Sea; valley, plateau and pinnacle, nature in her most savage and gentle moods, hot hells of steaming jungle lands, cold hells of the high reaches: lovely flower-carpeted valley, bleak wind-swept plateau, deep gorge where glaciers 1,000 feet thick have cut the mountain-side like a bruin, ice ledges

* ¹ McIntyre—*Attack on Everest* (Methuen,) P. 10-11.

overhanging frightful precipices from which they crash with cataclysmic force, incalculable variations of weather and climate.' These are the Himalayas.

But the quadrilateral of which the Himalayas are the southern rampart is something which no geographer has yet fully described. Sven Hedin's '*Trans-Himalaya*' gives us a graphic idea of this strange wilderness placed on the roof of the world. It was after 79 days of march that Hedin and his party came across a human being. The extraordinary adventures of that singular journey pass beyond the realms of belief: wolves howling close at hand, wild yaks charging, kaleidoscopic changes of weather from extreme heat to extreme cold, sudden storms and equally sudden stillnesses, physical features which are enough to frighten men and 79 days of isolation. The following description of one of the days—not by any means the worst of his journey—may give an impression of what Tibetan weather is like.

We marched to the south-east in a strong south-west storm and were almost suffocated in the gusts of dust-laden air, which swept along the ground. We suffer greatly and cannot use our hands, the map sheet is torn in pieces and we wonder if we shall live to reach the next camp. Our faces are distorted and assume quite a different expression... The eyes are bloodshot and water, tears run down our cheeks, catch the dust and freeze. The lips swell and burst, and the skin round the nails cracks so that the finger tips bleed. At last more dead than alive we reach the camp. We hasten to restore the circulation but it takes time. By degrees our facial muscles recover their elasticity and return to their proper position and we regain our former aspect.¹

This enormous expanse lies to the north of the Himalayas, inaccessible to man and beast. Its Northern rampart is the Kuenlun mountains, in themselves only a little less formidable than the Himalayas; beyond them lies Mongolia and the Gobi desert. Thus for over a thousand miles to the north Hindustan has a protective area which no other country possesses.

III

What has been the political effect of this outstanding characteristic? No other fact has had a greater significance on the evolution of Indian history. It has cut India off from its continental affiliations. To the Hindus the world ended with the Himalayas. What lay beyond was the region of unexplored mystery. The great Empire of China was cut off from her for all practical purposes. The repercussions of events on the other side of Tibet did not penetrate into India.

The ocean while it separates also provides the highway of commerce and contact. The mountain where it does separate, as in the case of the Himalayas, becomes an impenetrable barrier. In the result, politically India was isolated from the rest of the continent and became introspective in its attitude. There

¹ Sven Hedin, *Trans-Himalaya*, p. 197.

was no appreciation of the point of view of other nations who virtually did not exist or were known only by distant rumour. The contact of cultures which renovates and revives the free association of different peoples, which gives rise to an international outlook, and the interplay of political factors on a wider scale which helps a nation to understand the strength and weakness of different peoples, were conspicuously absent in India. Behind the barrier of the Himalayas the Hindus lived a life of isolation, generally convinced that *Jambu Dweepa* (India) was the only area that mattered.

It is a matter of significance that there has never been the slightest disturbance of social life by invasion from the side of the Himalayas. It is true that on one occasion in 637, a Chinese general from Tibet did raid a few districts and then withdrew. It is equally true that in 1834 the armies of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu, under that intrepid general Zorawar Singh, ventured across western Tibet no less than 6 times and annexed Baltistan and Ladak. But these were not invasions of conquest but border affrays which had no historical and military significance. The Himalayas have been indeed the most effective land barrier in history.

Nor is it true to say that the Hindukush has not been effective as a protective chain. The view which looks upon Indian history as a continuous series of invasions from the more 'vigorous' people of the north-west through the Khyber pass is essentially a wrong one. *Properly examined, it will be seen that India is one of the least invaded countries in the world.* To add up the number of invasions of India by the frontier raids, or the plundering expeditions of a Mahmood is like adding up the annual raids of the Danes on the English coast in the 8th century and calling them invasions. In fact, only when the north-western area has been organized into a powerful State as in the time of Selucus (wrongly known, at least in regard to India, as the Nikator) or 1200 years later at the time of Mahmood of Ghazni, or again in the time of Babar, there has been a regular invasion of India. The empires of Kanishka, and later of Mahmood were actually in the same area and their power extended to the Punjab. The early Mussalman Sultans established themselves in Delhi and though they called themselves Kings and Emperors of India and occasionally as in the case of Allaudin Khilji attempted to conquer the rest of India, the conquest from outside was only of the Punjab area by powers on its border.

The essential point would appear to be that even these 'conquests' and 'invasions' were at long intervals and not of a character or size which uprooted the social conditions or modified in any sudden manner the structure and pattern of Indian life. The great movement of peoples like the eruption of the Sakas and the Huns affected India less than other countries. While the barbarian hordes spread like a flood over areas in the Central Asian plain causing ruin and devastation, the Sakas were driven off from the Indian borders, and the momentum of the Hun migration was already lost when it reached the Punjab. India was singularly fortunate throughout her history owing largely to her mountain barrier from the eruption of barbarian hordes.

• Even in respect of Islam, the following facts are important. Leaving aside the conquest of Sind, the invasion of India by a Mussalman ruler took place

350 years after Mohammad while Persia and Egypt and Africa were conquered within the first century of Hijri. Mohammad Ghorî's invasion of the Punjab and Delhi for the purpose of conquest took place only in 1190. It was only after the impetus of conquest for religion was over that the Ghorî Kings found an opportunity to invade the provinces lying next to them as a matter of dynastic ambition. When Islam conquered half the known world under the authority of the Khalifs, what was the reason that even after the occupation of Sind, India remained outside the Islamic empire? The first is, India is not easily open to invasion from outside. It is only when the Hindukush area has been organized into a base that the tortuous paths of the Khyber could be used for invasion. When the Afghan area was finally organized and the passes controlled, it became easy to debouch into the Punjab.

The idea that India is one of the most invaded countries has its origin in the writing of Indian history from foreign sources. Elliot and Dawson who translated the Islamic historians who confined themselves to the limited period of the *rivalry of the Muslim Rulers* of the north-west, naturally accepted their version and popularized the impression that India was always being invaded. Even if we take the period of 1190 to 1525 (from Mohammad Ghorî to Babar), there are only 4 invasions (omitting the raid of Timur) and these, let it be remembered, were invasions to displace the Muslim kings. If we take any European continental country for a similar period, what would be the result? How many times was France, for example, invaded by foreign Powers during that time? The Angevin conquests, the Burgundian invasions, the Hundred Years' War—the list will indeed be imposing. In the case of India, after Babar, the only serious invasion from the land side was that of Nadirshah in 1737 (212 years later). Germany, France, Italy, the main European countries, were scenes of numerous invasions and wars in practically every century. In the 19th century France was invaded and Paris occupied twice. In the 20th century again France was invaded twice and Paris occupied once. Germany was invaded and occupied twice during the last 20 years. Italy has been the cockpit of Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire. Even the United States in its short history was invaded and the White House burnt in 1812. Compared to these States, India can legitimately claim to be the least invaded of countries. The great movement of peoples like the conquest of Britain by the Angles and the Saxons, the Frankish conquest of France, the uprooting of social life by the Goths and the Visigoths, the eruption of the Huns in Eastern Europe and the march of Chengiz's hordes—India in her long history has nothing like these to show and lament.

Indian society has been continuous from the Vedas, and even earlier, to to-day. The same social structure which Buddha witnessed 2,500 years ago continues with minor modifications. People argue about the same questions of Karma and Maya, believe fundamentally the same things and live basically the same life. The rules of marriage, the rituals of burial, the organization of social relationships continue in the same manner. The cities of that time, Benares, Muttra, Gaya and others still exist. The Himalayas together with the subsidiary mountains of the Hindukush and the Lushai ranges are responsible

for this continuity. No large-scale invasion of peoples was possible when these mountain barriers protected the land of Hindustan.

While it will be true to hold that Hinduism and the Hindu people have been saved by the Himalayas, there have been other results from the impenetrability of these ranges which have not been so advantageous. In the first place, it gave the Hindus and Indians in general a sense of contempt for the foreigner, which is the inevitable result of isolation. The rest of the world did not exist; if it did, they were not concerned with it. In the second place, it developed in them a false sense of security, a Maginot-line mentality. They were surprised when an invasion took place, as they never looked beyond their mountain barriers. The strange fact is that, while in every other country the decisive battle that settles its fate takes place outside its own territory—Bouvines, Leipsic, Waterloo—, in India the decisive battle has taken place well in the interior, at Panipat. The reason for this phenomenon is obviously that India never considered her neighbours. The possibility of attack seemed distant to the Indians and it was only when the Army entrenched behind the Hindukush marched into the Punjab that they awoke and began their hasty preparations. It was the Himalayan Maginot-line that was responsible for this attitude towards India's security.

Thirdly, India never developed a proper system of international relations. Her only immediate neighbour was Afghanistan which except during short periods never was organized into a single State. The interest of Persia was limited and China was altogether inaccessible. In the result, the great traditions of diplomacy which China cultivated in her relations with her neighbours and Persia developed as a result of continuous intercourse with Greece, Rome and Byzantium were unknown to Indian statecraft. A continental attitude of being one among a number of other States of varying power was not in the conception of Indian politics. The only doctrine to which Indian rulers adhered was that of the *Chakravartin*, one who brought the whole of *Bharatavarsha* under one control. Where such a conquest was achieved and the unity of India reasserted, they never entered into permanent relationships with States outside India.

(To be Continued)

NATIONAL MOVEMENT FOR FREEDOM IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE

By BURHAN DAJANI

INTRODUCTION

THE national movement for freedom in both Syria and Palestine is a part of a wider national struggle, the struggle of the whole Arab people for freedom. It is an aspect of Arab nationalism, which permeates the whole Arab world and is the main factor behind all recent political events in it.

Arab nationalism is a new movement. It started at the end of the nineteenth century, and showed signs of strength and activity only at the beginning of the twentieth century. Its objects then were to free the Arab countries from the rule of the Ottoman Turks and to establish in the whole of the Asiatic part of the Arab world one or more independent Arab States, with close ties and effective co-operation in all spheres of life between them.

The first phase of Arab nationalism culminated in the Arab revolt of 1916-18 in which the Arabs, acting on the faith of solid promises for independence given by Great Britain on behalf of the Allied Powers, took up arms against the Ottoman Turks and, fighting side by side with the Allies, made an appreciable contribution to the common victory.

When the war came to an end, however, it became obvious that the Allies had no intention of fulfilling their promises. Acting on a previous agreement between them for the division of the Ottoman Empire among the Allies once victory was achieved (namely, the Sykes-Picot Agreement 1915) rather than on their promises of independence to the Arabs, they divided the Arab countries between them. Geographical Syria was divided between Great Britain and France, the Southern part being given to the former, and the Northern part to the latter. The régimes set up by both Powers were called mandatory, they were allegedly granted to them by the League of Nations and were presumed to be in the interest of the indigenous population, the object being to train them for self-government and to give them independence by gradual stages.

In her section, France at first set up six autonomous States, but later reduced them to two: the state of Syria and the state of Lebanon. In her section Great Britain also set up two units. One was Trans-jordan, which was given a kind of internal autonomy; the other was Palestine, the story of which needs special attention.

In breach not only of its promises of independence to the Arabs, but also in flagrant violation of the natural rights of the Arabs, the indigenous population of Palestine, the British Government in 1917 gave the Zionists a promise of sympathy known as the Balfour Declaration, to the effect that the British Government favoured the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. Acting on this promise, Britain, in defiance of the wishes of the Arabs of Palestine and in the face of their determined opposition, opened the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration.

The struggle of Syria and Lebanon against the French, and of the Arabs of Palestine against the British and the Zionists, marks the second phase of the Arab national movement. In the former two countries the struggle was brought to a successful conclusion, with the help of Britain, during the last war. Both are now completely independent countries and members of the Arab League. Trans-jordan was also recognized as independent by Great Britain and a treaty defining its relations with Britain was signed in 1946. Trans-jordan is now also a member of the Arab League.

The problem of Palestine however remains as far from a satisfactory solution as ever. It is still the source of unrest and bitterness in the whole Arab

world, and all Arab countries are united in their determination to defend it and preserve its Arab character.

THE ARAB WORLD AND ARAB NATIONALISM

Syria, as we have seen, is a part of the Arab world. Its people are Arabs and its struggle has been a part of the Arab national movement. To understand its national movement, therefore, it is necessary to know what the Arab world and Arab nationalism are.

The Arab world is that stretch of territory lying between the shore of the Atlantic in the west and the frontiers of Persia in the east; the Turkish Taurus mountains and the Mediterranean in the north, and the Great African desert, the southern fringes of the Sudan and the Indian Ocean in the south. All this vast stretch of territory has one essential unity behind it, arising from the fact that its inhabitants speak the Arabic language, have adopted the Arab-Islamic culture and are mainly Moslems by religion.

This world was formed as a result of a great historic process which began long before Islam and culminated in the 7th century A. D. when the Arabs of the Arabian Peninsula, united by Islam, conquered all the above countries and many others in addition. On almost all the countries which were invaded by them, the Arabs have left a permanent impression in one way or other. The Arab world to-day consists of those countries in which the impression was the deepest, for it took the shape not only of the adoption of Islam as their religion by the inhabitants of these countries, but further the adoption of the Arabic language as their mother tongue with all that it implies. Moreover there has been much racial diffusion of Arab blood in varying degrees among them, for the Arab-Islamic conquest was accompanied by migrations and inter-marriages.

For three hundred years, the Arab world was ruled by one government; at first its capital was Medina in Hejaz, then, under the Umayyad rule, Damascus in Syria, and later, under the Abbassid rule, Baghdad in Iraq. Later however a number of independent States arose, and in the beginning of the 16th century the Arab countries, which had previously been ravaged by Mongol invasions, were finally conquered by the Ottoman Turks. From that date till 1918 the whole of Syria was ruled by the Ottoman Turks.

While the period of Arab rule was marked by great cultural activity and resulted in many important contributions to science, philosophy and art, that of Turkish rule was one of stagnation and gradual degradation. The once flourishing universities and centres of learning disappeared one after the other. Hundreds of years passed without even elementary schools being opened. Arab civilization fell into decay.

At the end of the eighteenth century the French, under Napoleon, invaded Egypt and attempted to invade Syria. This invasion brought about a great shock to the Arab world, for contact with the West for the first time for hundreds of years gradually revealed to them the degree of decay to which their life had fallen.

In the nineteenth century European missionaries began to show an increas-

ing interest in Syria, from religious and political motives. They opened schools and published books, and introduced the Arabs to the wonders of Western thought, ways of life, science and technical advance. Under the impact of this contact, the spirit of learning was re-kindled and a fresh interest in ancient Arab tradition was created. A craving for freedom was now born in the Arab soul, and the love of freedom, the new consciousness of their own character created among the Arabs by the revival of medieval Arab tradition, together with the feeling of wounded pride for being under foreign rule, created Arab nationalism, and made the Arab struggle against the Ottomans imminent. Among the distinguished names which brought about this revival, one must mention the Yazijis, father and son, who were poets and writers, and Bustani, whose cultural achievements were astonishing. Kawakibi was the great thinker of freedom; Sheikh Jamal Ud-Din Afghani and Sheikh Muhammad Abdo in Egypt were two great religious reformers, and their religious thought gave a further impetus to Arab thought.

This cultural revival was translated into political thought and action in the early years of the twentieth century. The first centre of the political movement was naturally Syria (which until then also included Lebanon), for in Syria the intellectual revival was most intensely felt. The object which the Arab movement first adopted was autonomy within the Ottoman Empire, or decentralization as it was called, together with an improved administration; the triumph of the Committee of Union and Progress in attaining power and obtaining a constitution for the Ottoman Empire was hailed by the Arabs and considered as the dawn of a new era. It soon became evident that the Committee for Union and Progress was determined to retain the supremacy of the Turks and crush every other national movement within the Ottoman Empire. Arab cultural societies were banned or discouraged. For this reason an Arab underground movement was formed. The two most important underground societies were *Al-Fatat*, composed of eminent Arab civilians, and *Al-Qabaniya*, which was later reorganized under the name of *Al-Ahd* and which was mainly composed of Arab officers in the Ottoman Army. These two societies first defined Arab aims and were behind the great Arab revolution of 1916. It must be noted that the Arab nationalists never thought of the idea of breaking their bond with the Ottoman Empire. They always considered themselves as partners in it and bound to it by strong religious and historical ties. It was only when the Young Turks tried to discard the religious and historical background of their Empire that the Arabs thought it necessary to oppose the Turks and fight for their own liberation.

During the first world war the Ottomans created in the Arab countries a reign of terror, and hanged a number of Arab leaders. The Arab secret societies thought that the time was ripe for a national rising, and accordingly sent their emissaries to Sherif Hussain who enjoyed a limited amount of autonomy as the ruler of Hejaz, inciting him to take the lead in an Arab rising and promising all possible help. He thus became the leader of the Arab movement, and conducted long negotiations on its behalf with Great Britain to ensure the willingness of Great Britain and the other Allies to recognize the independence

of the Arab World, before joining hands with them and striking at the Turks.

Sir Henry MacMahon, who was negotiating with the Sharif on behalf of the British Government and the Allies, accepted with some reservations, the delimitation of the area in which Arab independence was to be recognized. The reservations he laid down were made in the following terms: 'The districts of Mersin and Alexandretta, and portions of Syria lying to the West of Homs, Hama, Aleppo and Damascus, cannot be said to be purely Arab, and must on that account be excepted from the proposed delimitation.' Otherwise all Arab countries, i.e., the Arab Peninsula (with the exception of Aden), Iraq, the interior of Syria, Trans-jordan and Palestine were all included in the area in which independence was promised.

Acting on the faith of these promises the Sharif of Mecca started the great Arab revolution. Arab forces rendered invaluable help to the Allied cause, and at the end of November 1918 they entered the Syrian capital Damascus, and an Arab Government was established in Syria with King Feisal, son of the Sharif of Mecca and Commander-in-Chief of the Arab forces, as its constitutional monarch.

However, the Allied Powers, as soon as they had completed their deal with Sharif Hussein, had set to work among themselves with the object of dividing the Ottoman Empire. In the spring of 1916 an agreement was signed between them in which Syria and Northern Iraq were assigned to France, while Southern Syria and Southern Iraq were assigned to Britain; and finally a part of Palestine was reserved as an international area. It was this document, with adjustments, that was put into effect after the war. Britain eventually got the whole of Palestine and Northern Iraq, in return for a promise not to support the recently-established Arab Kingdom in Syria. This latter kingdom was then left to its fate and in July 1920 was invaded by French forces. To give a finishing touch to the deal, a pretence was made that France and Britain occupied Syrian land in the interest of the inhabitants, and each was to rule its slice by means of a mandate, which was granted to it by the League of Nations.

SYRIA AND LEBANON UNDER FRENCH MANDATE

The French were from the beginning bent on ruling their mandated territories by dividing them. Five units were created:

- (i) Grand Lebanon (later known as the Lebanese Republic) was formed from the formerly autonomous Turkish province with the addition to it of some Syrian districts
- (ii) The State of Syria
- (iii) The State of Jabal al-Druze
- (iv) The Government of Latakia and
- (v) The Sanjaq of Alexandretta

The states of Syria and Jabal al-Druze, together with the government of Latakia, comprise what is now known as the State of Syria.

The Syrians and the Lebanese naturally resented French rule which proved to be corrupt, inefficient and tyrannical. In 1925 a nation-wide revolution

took place in Syria and continued for two years. It was suppressed only after heavy fighting and great losses on both sides.

In 1936, as restlessness was again spreading in Syria, the French Government of that time (it was a socialist government of the Popular Front) decided that it was in the interests of both parties that independence should be granted to Syria, and that the mandate should be replaced by treaties of alliance. Treaties were negotiated and signed. Syrian sovereignty was proclaimed over areas (ii) to (v) and only two States were recognized in Northern Syria, the Republic of Syria and the Republic of Lebanon. It looked as though a new era of understanding and co-operation was being inaugurated between the two republics and France. However, though the two treaties were ratified by the parliaments of both republics, it became clearer every day that the French Government (no longer socialist) was not willing to submit them to the French Parliament. New concessions were demanded from Syria daily as the price of this submission and although the Syrian Government gave these concessions, in the face of popular agitation, the treaties were as far from being ratified by the French as ever. At the outbreak of the war, the popular parliaments and governments established in Syria and Lebanon were dissolved and dismissed, and new administrations under direct French control were set up. Meanwhile the Sanjaq of Alexandretta had finally been ceded to Turkey as a prize for her friendship in the war. Thus when the war broke out the relations between France and the Syrian and Lebanese peoples were at their worst.

SYRIA AND LEBANON DURING THE LAST WAR

When the last war broke out, Syria and Lebanon were in a restless condition, owing to the mounting anxiety over French intentions in both countries now that the prospects of the ratification of their treaties with France had completely faded away. Below the surface of apparent quiet, the nationalist forces were slowly fermenting, and days of trouble were looming ahead. When France capitulated in 1940, her prestige suffered a heavy blow, which, together with the bad food situation, gave rise to strikes in all Syria, and the country seemed on the verge of a new rising when the British decided to occupy both countries. The Free French movement, which was supposed to represent French interests on the side of the Allies, gave a promise of independence which was endorsed and guaranteed by Great Britain. When Syria and Lebanon were occupied in 1941, the Free French took the place of the Vichy régime in the administration of these countries.

At first the Free French tried to maintain their influence by setting up in both countries governments well disposed towards them. In 1943 however they yielded to the popular clamour for freely-elected governments and as a result of the elections nationalist governments, by no means trusting France or well disposed towards her, came to power. The months that followed witnessed a struggle between these governments supported by the two peoples and France. The French wanted to conclude treaties, which would retain their influence in the two countries. The Syrian and Lebanese Governments,

with the bitter experience of the 1936 treaties behind them, refused to negotiate any treaties of the kind and insisted on full unhampered independence.

The French took the opportunity of the Lebanese Government's statement of its intention to amend the Lebanese constitution to strike at the Lebanese nationalists, by insisting that such a revision could only be made with French agreement. When the amendments were passed in the Lebanese Chamber, the French High Commissioner ordered the arrest of the Lebanese president and all members of the government. The arrest was effected on 10 November, 1943 and was followed by disturbances all over Lebanon. After ten days the French found themselves obliged to yield to popular pressure and pressure from the British Government and the detained Lebanese were released.

In 1945 the French Government tried again to reimplant itself in the two countries, choosing this time to insist that Syria should sign a treaty which was by no means compatible with its sovereignty. When the Syrian Government rejected the French proposals, fighting broke out between French forces and Syrian nationalists. After a few days' fighting, the British Government, which was interested in peace and quiet in the Middle East during the war interfered, and French forces were ordered to be withdrawn.

From then it became clear that France was unable to maintain her position in Syria and Lebanon, and when the Security Council of the United Nations showed early in 1946 that it favoured the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the two countries, France immediately began withdrawing from Syria, and later from Lebanon. The withdrawal of all foreign forces from the two countries is now complete and both enjoy absolute liberty and full independence.

A factor that helped Syria and Lebanon in their national struggle was the formation of the Arab League early in 1944. The Arab League is composed of all the independent Arab States (Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Yemen, and Trans-Jordan) and it lent its strong support to Syria and Lebanon in their national struggle.

TRANS-JORDAN

After the first world war Trans-Jordan—which was a part of the Ottoman Empire—was entrusted to Great Britain as a mandatory power. A semi-independent Emirate was established with Emir Abdullah, son of King Hussein of Hejaz, as head of the Emirate; a legislative council was also formed to help Emir Abdullah in administering the country.

In 1946 the Mandate was substituted by a Treaty of Independence between Trans-Jordan and Great Britain in which the interests of both parties were guaranteed. Emir Abdullah declared himself King of the Hashimite Kingdom of Trans-Jordan.

PALESTINE

Palestine was part of the Arab territory for whose liberation from the Turks the Arabs, under King Hussein, fought on the side of the Allies during the first world war. In the Hussein-MacMahon correspondence which preceded the Arab Revolt of 1915, Palestine was included in the would-be Arab State after its liberation from the Turks, but during the 1914-18 war, H. M. G.,

in order to obtain the help of world Jewry, issued the Balfour Declaration in which H. M. G. undertook to facilitate the creation of a national home for the Jews in Palestine without prejudicing the civil and religious rights of the original Arab inhabitants. King Hussein objected to the declaration on the grounds that Palestine was an Arab territory and the Balfour Declaration was contrary to the terms on which King Hussein had agreed to come into the war on the side of the Allies, and it was explained to him that the declaration did not affect the political character of Palestine but that it was merely intended to be a declaration of sympathy to provide a refuge for a few Jews who wished to go to Palestine for religious and spiritual reasons. After the first world war the mandate for Palestine was entrusted to Great Britain. The policy of the Mandate, in spite of continuous Arab opposition, helped the Jews to enter Palestine in large numbers and to colonize and settle there in complete disregard of the interests of the Arabs who opposed the policy of the Mandatory Power by every possible means. After a series of revolts and commissions of enquiry the Arabs, in an effort to support their just claims by force, broke out into open rebellion in 1936. A Royal Commission was sent to Palestine to enquire into the causes of the rebellion and to recommend a settlement to the Palestine problem. The partition of Palestine into an Arab State, a Jewish State and a mandated section was suggested, but the scheme was rejected by the Arabs and the Arab rebellion continued.

In 1939 a conference was called in London, to which representatives of the Arabs of Palestine and the Arab States, as well as Jewish representatives, were invited and a statement of policy, known as the White Paper, was issued by H. M. G. This stated that Palestine was to be granted independence at the end of ten years and self-governing institutions were to be established at the end of five. In these five years 75,000 Jews were to be admitted in yearly quotas, after which no more Jews were to enter the country except with Arab acquiescence. In 1945, as a result of Jewish and American pressure on H. M. G., Mr. Bevin made a statement which implied the abolition of the White Paper policy and an Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry was appointed to investigate the problem with special consideration of the state of Jews in Europe. This Committee issued a report recommending the continuation of the status quo in Palestine but, in view of the sad plight of the Jews in Europe, it also recommended the immediate entry of 100,000 more Jews into Palestine. The recommendations were violently rejected by the Arabs, and the Arab States asked Britain for negotiation in regard to the Palestine problem and that the question might be taken to U. N. O. if no agreement was reached. The Conference met in London in October 1946 and was attended by representatives of all the Arab States. The Jews formally refused invitations to this Conference. H. M. G. submitted a federal plan, which was rejected by the Arabs who in turn submitted their counter-proposals envisaging the establishment of an independent democratic Arab State in Palestine in which all genuine citizens would have equal rights and obligations. Immigration however must definitely cease.

During the 25 years following the end of the first world war, owing to the

policy followed by the Mandatory Power in Palestine, the number of Jews in the country increased from 55,000 to about 700,000, i.e., from 9 to 35 per cent of the total population. Zionism, which started merely as a movement of Jews seeking refuge in Palestine and the help and co-operation of the Arabs, turned into an aggressive movement which demanded a Jewish State in the whole of Palestine and unveiled all its claims of expansion and aggression in spite of the humane pretences through which the Zionists tried to win the favour of the civilized world. On the other hand the Arabs and the Arab League are aware now more than at any previous time of the danger which is facing them in the Zionist claim, and are fully determined to repel, with all the means in their power, this danger which is threatening not only Palestine but also the whole Arab world.

RECONSTRUCTION PLANS IN AUSTRALIA

By BILL JACKSON

IN Australia, as elsewhere, reconstruction plans have two aspects firstly, securing a speedy and ordered transition from war to peace, and secondly, the fashioning of an economy that will meet the current demand for a 'new and better world.'

This desire for a better world first expressed itself in the demand for a more specific definition of war aims. More recently, it has found expression at conferences of the I. L. O., and in the Charter of the U. N. O. and its ancillary bodies.

In the present post-war period, certain fears dog the peoples of every land,—the fear of inflation, fear of depression, fear of unemployment, fear of insecurity and want, the fear of economic domination by more powerful nations—through international trade systems directed towards securing 'corners' and strangleholds, and, above all, the growing fear of atomic war. It is the progressive elimination of these fears that constitutes the '*leit motif*' of all post-war governmental planning, both national and international.

Apart from the problem of resolving conflicting interests, the basic question today is whether the end is to be achieved by complete, over-all governmental planning and control, or merely by advisory assistance to private enterprise.

In Australia, the demand for a better world has crystallized into a demand for the three following fundamentals:

- (1) Full employment
- (2) Improved living standards and
- (3) Social security

The responsibility of ensuring these three fundamentals and establishing them on a firm basis throughout the country has been accepted as the duty of successive Australian Governments. These objectives, however, pertaining primarily to the Australian social and economic set-up, are relatively

short-term in character. Australia's long-term plans (like India's and every other country's) are to develop her resources and industries to the full, and to build up her population and national wealth. This development, however, is to take place within the framework of full employment and social security; it is not to be the preliminary step to their attainment.

The immediate transitional problems now being faced in Australia are similar to those in every part of the world to-day. A typical problem is that of reinstating service men and women, training them for various avenues of employment. The industries which expanded enormously during the war have to be switched to peacetime purposes, and thousands of munitions factory employees have to be re-trained. Costs of production have to be modified so that the products can compete on a type of market different from that which existed under war conditions.

During the war, also, there was a great increase in the creation of money, by the Commonwealth Bank, and now, with this accumulated purchasing power, there is a greatly enhanced demand for goods which are in short supply particularly durable consumers' goods, the production of which practically ceased during war years. This wide gap between the demand and 'supply of goods would readily lead to inflation if the Government did not continue its policy of rationing essential commodities and of maintaining a control of prices, rents and wages.

The Australian Government proposes therefore to continue its system of controls until the change-over is complete and the difference between the supply of goods and their demand has been sufficiently reduced to prevent the market price being excessive.

As an additional step towards reducing the peoples' purchasing power, that is, their 'liquidity', constant efforts are being made to induce them to invest their money in Government loans. There has also been a marked change in the incomes of certain classes of persons during the war; that is, persons who previously composed the lower income groups are now occupying higher income groups. The Government is finding it important to ascertain to what extent the 'liquidity preferences' of these persons have changed with their increased incomes, that is, whether they are maintaining larger bank accounts at stable levels, or whether they are using their money to purchase luxury goods which they formerly went without. The evidence available at present tends to show that they are maintaining fairly stable bank balances.

In the international sphere also, Australia has to be on guard during this transitional period. The national income, which has always borne a steady relationship to the demand for imports, has increased from LA 930,000,000 (Rs. 1,000 crores) in 1938-39 to LA 1,434,000,000 (Rs. 1,500 crores) in 1945-46. If the importation of goods was to be unbridled there would soon be a reversal of Australia's overseas balance of payments, for production, while reorientating to provide goods demanded on the home market, cannot at the same time provide the export surplus that would pay for needed imports. Australia must, therefore, maintain exchange controls until organizations

having as their object the regulation of matters concerned with world trade are in full operation.

Furthermore, when the constitutions of these organizations are being drawn up, Australia must see that her interests will be adequately safeguarded. For instance, the long-run plan in Australia is to increase secondary production, but this might be defeated if Australia was committed to immediate and severe tariff reductions.

Again, at any time there might be a deficit in the balance of payments due to a reduction in exports. This balance was restored in the past by a series of natural consequences, that is, as the incomes of export producers fell, total spending would fall, there would be unemployment, and less demand for imports. In a full-employment economy this deflationary method cannot be tolerated. If, therefore, there is a fall in export incomes, Australia must have power either to alter the exchange rate or impose a quantitative restriction on imports, using whichever measure is considered expedient in the circumstances.

FULL EMPLOYMENT

This is the main item in Australia's reconstruction programme. The Australian Government believes that every person has the right to work, and that, apart from the existence of a small amount of transitional and self-imposed unemployment, full employment both can and must be immediately achieved. The Australian plan for achieving full employment may be summarized as follows:

In order to give work to persons who would otherwise be unemployed, there must be more factories and workshops; that is, to increase employment there must be a proportional increase in production. In Australia, the initiative for increasing output remains largely with private enterprise. The amount of production directly under governmental control has always been relatively low, since, apart from certain special war-industries, the Government's control has been confined mainly to public works and transport services.

There are thus two main kinds of expenditure—(a) Government-controlled expenditure of public capital on such items as railways, roads, bridges, buildings, land development, power and light, water conservation and irrigation, etc., and (b) the expenditure of private capital on projects and enterprises of private individuals or companies.

In a fully socialistic country, the expenditure of private capital would be virtually nil. The Government could increase public capital expenditure at will, and need not be confined, for example, to transport and public works.

In Australia there is always a relationship between the amount of public capital expenditure and that of private capital expenditure, and, (neglecting for the time the effects of expenditure involved in overseas trade), the proportion between these two items will be of considerable importance when investment has reached the level necessary to create full employment.

Private capital expenditure, because it is uncontrolled, and because by its very nature it depends on the will to produce of thousands of individuals dealing not always on a perfect market, is most liable to serious fluctuations. More-

over, when for various reasons private capital expenditure begins to fall off, it brings in its wake unemployment which has a snowballing effect as the fear of depression approaches.

Provided that the Government maintains a workable ratio between these two items of expenditure, that is provided the private sphere is not out of all proportion to the public sphere, the Government, when depression is approaching can thrust a wedge into the system by immediately increasing public capital expenditure. The effect of this is to absorb the initial unemployment, restore the level of purchasing power, and renew confidence in the future which provide the incentive necessary for the restoration of private capital expenditure to its original level.

If a very great increase must take place in the private sphere of investment to create full employment, then there is a case for great public works programmes. There is in addition an urgent need as such for huge irrigation projects in order that certain sparsely populated areas in the dry inland country of Australia shall be made more hospitable, and for the building of dams so that the effect of droughts, which in an agricultural country like Australia deal such a severe blow to the economy as a whole, shall be minimised.

The Commonwealth Government, in co-operation with the various State Governments, has therefore prepared public works programmes involving the expenditure of LA 200,000,000 (Rs. 2,14,16,66,666/10/8). A number of these items are to be put into operation immediately, some as the need of a rising population requires, and others are to be kept in reserve to absorb unemployment arising at any time. Public works programmes are, therefore being regarded as national objectives, carefully directed from the centre in accordance with the needs of the economy as a whole.

The plans for spending money have been drawn up by each State acting separately, and then co-ordinated by discussion and co-operation with the Commonwealth Government. The transport services also receive much consideration in this respect. In addition to reconstructing roads neglected during the war years, a plan, involving huge expenditure, has been prepared to overcome the weakness created through the existence of different railway gauges in each State.

Looking again towards the realm of private enterprise, the Government has realized that fluctuations and upsets can be to some extent overcome, if private individuals are in a better position to make important decisions. In order therefore to have knowledge made available of the best materials and equipment that can be provided, the Government is prepared to assist private enterprise by advancing plans for agricultural, scientific and industrial research; according to these, efficiency can be increased, and better opportunities afforded for competing in a world market.

BANKING AND RECONSTRUCTION

Banking business is controlled by a Commonwealth Bank, created in 1912, and a number of private trading banks. Until recently, the Commonwealth had no control over the Commonwealth Bank or over trading banks; the latter were quite independent and the former was controlled by a small committee

itself free of political control and therefore able to refuse to follow a financial policy favoured by the Government for the time being in power.

An example of this occurred during the depression in 1932, when the Government was desirous of adopting inflationary measures by increasing the quantity of money in circulation with the object of creating employment and increasing expenditure. It was only with great difficulty and delay that the Government was able to have its policy implemented by the Commonwealth Bank.

There are many ways in which a full employment policy may be defeated if some control is not held over the activities of Bankers. On 3 August, 1945, therefore, two Acts, the Commonwealth Bank Act and the Banking Act, were passed.

In the first of these Acts the Government has stated that it shall henceforth be the duty of the Commonwealth Bank to pursue a monetary and banking policy directed, *inter alia*, to the maintenance of full employment in Australia. The Government, under this legislation, is to have the final word as regards the financial policy followed by the Commonwealth. For instance, in case of a deadlock with the Bank, the Government can now inform the Bank that it accepts responsibility for the adoption of a policy in accordance with its views, and this policy must be put into operation.

Under conditions of full employment the rate of interest on advances should be low, and it is considered essential to be able to prevent its sudden rise as soon as a slump threatens and money tends to become scarce.

Power is, therefore, given to control the rate of interest directly, by regulation. A second method is involved in the decision that the Commonwealth Bank will develop its general banking business, which previously was conducted on only a limited scale. Here, by competition with the trading banks, and with the resources of the Government in support, the Commonwealth Bank can maintain an interest rate which the trading banks would be obliged to follow. This indirect method will probably prove sufficient and it may not be necessary to have recourse to the direct method.

Again, the Commonwealth Bank is given power to determine the policy to be followed by the trading banks with respect to advances when it is satisfied that it is necessary or expedient to do so in the public interest, a power enabling it to give directions as to the classes of purposes for which advances may or may not be made.²

Another important power given in this legislation is that to make regulations, when it is considered expedient, to control foreign exchange and foreign exchange transactions, including the prohibition of the import or export of goods unless a licence is obtained.

RECONSTRUCTION AND CONTROLS

As in other countries, so in Australia the whole economy was subjected to a rigid system of controls soon after commencement of hostilities in World War II. This system was maintained with eminent success, for despite the terrific increases in the purchasing power of individuals during the war, the cost of living rose only 25% above the 1939 level.

Since the termination of war there has been a consistent demand to withdraw these controls, and in face of this, many have indeed been abolished. There is still, however, a very large amount of money in circulation, as can be seen when it is noted that the national income rose from LA 950,000,000 (Rs. 9,95,87,50,000) in 1938-39 to LA 1,434,000,000 (Rs. 15,35,57,50,000) in 1945-46.

The increase in secondary production was from goods having a net value of LA 203,000,000 (Rs. 2,15,37,71,670) in 1938-39 to LA 362,000,000 (Rs. 3,87,64,16,670) in 1944-45. Primary production increased from LA 185,000,000 (Rs. 1,98,10,41,670) in 1938-39 to LA 278,000,000 (Rs. 2,97,69,16,670) in 1944-45.

The National Security Act, under which the war-time controls were made, expired on 31 December, 1946. The Government was determined to maintain certain of these controls beyond this period, while the economy is so favourably staged for inflation. It therefore enacted the Defence (Transitional Provisions) Act, December 1946, which came into operation on 1 January, 1947, and by which certain groups of regulations made under the National Security Act were extended for a further period of twelve months.

In all, these powers retained are derived from 61 sets of regulations, divided into eight groups; the most important of these groups deals with those matters which may lead directly to inflation when uncontrolled, such as control over prices, wages, rents, land values, capital issued and interest rates.

Important controls maintained by the other groups relate to rationing, to enable both the allocation of scarce commodities, and the restriction of home consumption of other commodities to enable exports to relieve the world food shortage, and marketing, to enable the Commonwealth Government to carry out schemes such as that outlined in wheat marketing legislation.

There is also a retention of control in matters appertaining to industrial arbitration, to the settlement of compensation claims arising from the war, to matters concerned with the demobilization of the military forces, to the occupation forces and the control of aliens.

RECONSTRUCTION AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE

For a short-run period at least, there appear to be ample opportunities for export trade, since in most commodities there is a world shortage. Australia is therefore striving rapidly to adjust her war machinery to compete in the new international market, and provide the goods which are everywhere required.

The Commonwealth Government is, therefore, assisting trade by carrying out research, as stated above, to enable producers to have knowledge of new processes, and by their use, reduce costs and increase efficiency.

Similarly the Government has entered into trade agreements to supply goods over a period of years at a fixed price. In doing this the Government is aware that one of the gravest causes of unemployment is the instability of the incomes of persons engaged in primary production. The prices offered for primary products have shown a tendency in the past to vary considerably from year to year and fluctuations of this kind, shown first in the incomes of primary

producers quickly lead to a fall in total spending within the country and thence to unemployment. This fluctuation was noticed particularly during the depression years (1929-33) when world prices for primary products fell much lower than those of the products of secondary industry.

Governmental trading agreements are one method by which the incomes of primary producers can be stabilized. Another method now being practised in Australia is that of governmental marketing schemes, an example of this being the Commonwealth Wheat Stabilization Scheme. Under this wheat farmers are guaranteed a minimum price for wheat. If the export price in any year exceeds this, then a tax is levied on the excess; if the export price is less, the Government makes up the difference, offsetting against its payments the amount received from the tax levied in good years.

A third method of stabilization is by active co-operation in international organizations having as their object the assistance of world trade, and solution of problems on a multilateral basis. The necessity for such an organization for this reason, and above all in order to prevent monopolisation and strangling of markets which was so prevalent in the thirties, and indeed, a cause of war, is well realized in Australia; for that reason every endeavour is being made to help such organizations to establishment and success.

Most important of all in the international sphere, has been Australia's drive to persuade other nations of the necessity of actively promulgating full-employment policies. This policy was urged at every international conference from San Francisco onwards, and it has now received recognition by the International Labour Organization and by incorporation in the United Nations Charter itself. If a country maintains full employment, it must necessarily increase its demand for imports; it is always with the decline in the number of those employed in a country that demand for imports decreases. If countries which might reasonably be expected to maintain full employment fail to do so, then the full-employment plans of other countries would for many reasons be seriously threatened.

It is, of course, not practicable to expect full-employment to be a goal, at least for years to come, in many of the countries of Asia, including India, and parts of Latin America, where emphasis must be placed on increasing productivity and industrialization. In countries where standards of living are already relatively high it is essential in the post-war era, that full-employment plans be actively pursued.

THE COMMONWEALTH EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

This service was established in Australia by the Commonwealth Re-Establishment and Employment Act 1945. The duties with which it was immediately charged were the re-accommodation of ex-service personnel in civilian employment, and of civilians who in war-time were employed in occupations which expired with the termination of hostilities.

In principle the establishment of such an agency as the Commonwealth Employment Service is essential in creating and maintaining a full-employment policy. As such the service provides facilities for the benefit of persons seek-

ing employment, or desirous of changing their employment, as well as to employers who are seeking labour of different kinds. In addition it provides occupational advice, vocational guidance and information services.

Success has attended the initial efforts of the service. One would have expected a considerable amount of unemployment, especially of a temporary nature, during demobilization and re-accommodation. The number of persons who drew on the unemployment benefit scheme, however, was less than 11,000 on 14 September, 1946, despite the demobilization of over 500,000 persons from the armed forces. At this same date there were 296,000 more persons in employment than in 1939. Australia is already, in fact, due to the demands of post-war production, experiencing conditions very near to full employment.

The Service has offices throughout all the capital cities and large towns in each State, numbering over 150 in all, as well as some 500 agents operating in smaller towns and districts. In this way statistics can be compiled as to the number of persons which can at any time be absorbed within a particular industry, and in what areas these employees can be found. This function has become most important in recent months, for with full employment in sight employers, particularly in city areas, are finding that they cannot obtain sufficient labour to enable them to maximize their production. The answer to this problem is in the decentralization of industry by creating small units of production in country towns where labour is available. Decentralization of industry is favoured for many reasons, such as in order to prevent the overcrowding of cities, and to develop outlying districts, but it is indeed strange to see that it is now the turn of industry to seek out its employees and not *vice versa*.

Another aspect of the work of the Commonwealth Employment Services will be in providing courses of certain types of training. Under conditions of full employment, progress will depend on gaining the utmost efficiency from the factors of production available, and there will conceivably be a reluctance by people to transfer from one occupation to another.

These courses of training will, therefore, be designed to attract persons out of occupations the need for which is diminishing and employ them where their services could be better utilized.

Special courses of free training are made available for ex-service personnel, either at Universities or technical colleges, and advice can be given so as to direct persons into channels of training which are likely to offer the most favourable opportunities.

RECONSTRUCTION AND THE COMMONWEALTH CONSTITUTION

Under the Federal system initiated by the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act 1900, certain specific powers are given to the Central Government, while residuary powers remain with the States.

In order therefore that the Commonwealth Government may initiate plans of reconstruction, it must first decide whether it has the necessary power to do so in its own right, or whether it must rely on the six States to promulgate

legislation of a uniform character along lines blue-printed according to its own policy.

The Commonwealth Government believes that in order to initiate reconstruction plans and to maintain stable conditions of full employment, central planning is essential. In order that no loop-hole should be left, that is in order that plans under initiation should not be left to the tender mercies of the High Court, a referendum was proposed in 1944 by which an endeavour was made to amend the Constitution by granting the Commonwealth certain additional powers.

These are here summarized as they give some idea of the powers the Commonwealth Government thought necessary to acquire in order to pursue an adequate reconstruction policy, free of the fear that certain aspects of it would be declared *ultra vires* by the High Court.

- (1) Reinstatement of servicemen and their dependents
- (2) Employment and unemployment
- (3) Organized marketing of commodities
- (4) Uniform company legislation
- (5) Trusts, combines and monopolies
- (6) Profiteering and prices
- (7) The production and distribution of goods
- (8) The control of (a) overseas exchange (b) overseas investment
- (9) Air transport
- (10) Uniformity of railway gauges
- (11) National works
- (12) National health
- (13) Family allowances
- (14) The people of the aboriginal races.

The people were required to vote for or against all these powers together, and, as a result, they were rejected. A further referendum was then held in 1946, when the following powers were requested:

- (1) Organized marketing of primary products.
- (2) The provision of maternity allowances, widows' pensions, child endowment, unemployment, pharmaceutical, sickness and hospital benefits, medical and dental services (but not so as to authorize any form of civil conscription), benefits to students and family allowances.
- (3) Terms and conditions of employment in industry.

In this case the vote was cast for each matter individually, and the second subject, relating to social services, was conceded, although the others were rejected by only a small majority of both people and States.

Having failed to acquire additional powers the Commonwealth is relying on its power to make laws for the peace, order and good Government of Australia with respect to 'defence' to give effect to its reconstruction plans. This is the power which is all important during war, according to which the

many war-time controls were initiated, and by which the Defence (Transitional Provisions) Act, 1946, was enacted. It has been established by the High Court that the Commonwealth power with regard to defence does not drop away immediately hostilities cease, but it is nevertheless dangerous to rely on it to a very great extent as conditions of actual warfare recede into the past.

The alternatives before the Commonwealth Government are therefore to exercise the powers it desires, and trust that the High Court will find a peg upon which to hang them by giving a wide and progressive interpretation to the Constitution, or by joining with the States in formulating a co-operative plan for giving them effect. There is no reason to believe that this first alternative would be effective, for no blanket clause has been as yet revealed in the Australian Constitution which will countenance extensive plans of central government origin.

In 1935 the High Court did establish the fact that the Commonwealth Government had power to create legislation binding within the States on matters which were the subject of an International Convention to which Australia is a party, notwithstanding the fact that the subject matter of the Convention was one over which the Commonwealth had no specific power.

In 1943 the power to appropriate money for the purposes of the Commonwealth was held not to include appropriation for purposes not specifically within its powers, and the Pharmaceutical Benefits Act was invalidated.

One method frequently used by the Commonwealth is that of granting monies to the States subject to specified conditions. Thus monies might be granted to the States to be used for educational purposes, and, if accepted, such conditions must be followed, even though the Commonwealth Government has no specific power to make laws with respect to education.

Above all, however, with the failure of the referenda, the Commonwealth Government must rely more and more on close co-operation with the Governments of the States. This in Australia does not necessarily mean that reconstruction planning will be wrecked. It is undoubtedly true that one central government can act more speedily than seven separate governments, but the spirit of compromise between centre and units, which is so fundamental to the Australian Federal system, has already been manifest by willingness of the States to co-operate in certain respects. This has been expressed in conference between State premiers, Commonwealth and State Ministers, and senior departmental officers.

SOCIAL SECURITY

If the offer of work to all is the main postulate to a better world, then of almost equal importance is the offer of social security. These two matters combined will give the two essential freedoms, namely freedom from want and freedom from fear.

In order that uniformity might be afforded in measures of this kind, the Commonwealth Government has taken upon itself the onus of creating and carrying out the policy, an acceptance of responsibility which as aforesaid was approved by the Australian people at the 1946 referendum.

Prior to the war the expenditure of the Commonwealth Government on social security amounted to LA 17,000,000 approximately (Rs. 16,20,41,666/10/8) per annum, and the important benefits provided were invalid and old-age pensions and maternity allowances.

In the financial year 1945-46 this item of expenditure had risen to LA 72,000,000 approximately (Rs. 77,10,00,000) and as illustrative of Government policy the present Prime Minister has announced that he will not be content until it has reached LA 100,000,000 (Rs. 1,07,08,33,333/5/4).

It can be seen then that the plans to expand social security measures were not shelved until the post-war period was reached, but went hand in hand with the demand that the war must be fought, to achieve greater security. Social security was implemented despite the terrific expenditure on war.

It was at first the Government's intention that payment for social services would be made entirely from Commonwealth Revenue Funds, but in 1945 a contributory scheme was introduced, and subsequently revised in 1946. According to this, a contribution graduated to a maximum of 1/6d. in the pound is assessed on income; this contribution commences at an assessment of 3d. in the pound, and increases by one-eighth of a penny for every L1 of income in excess of L100. A concessional rate is made in order to preserve the concessions at present allowed to contributors for such matters as dependants, life assurance, superannuation and medical expenses, but in no case will this concessional rate exceed 1/6d. in the pound.

The maternity allowances given amount to LA 5 (Rs. 53/8/8) for the first child, LA 6 (Rs. 64/4) for the second and LA 7/10/- (Rs. 80/5/-) for each subsequent child, plus an additional sum of from LA 10 (Rs. 107/1/4) to LA 20 (Rs. 214/2/8) in every case. Legislation on this subject was originally enacted in 1912, but was extended by amendments in March, 1943.

Child Endowment came into operation on July, 1941, and is granted to an amount of 7/6d. (Rs. 4/-) per week in respect of each child in excess of one.

Widows' pensions are payable subject to a means test and a residential qualification of five years. According to initiating legislation enacted on 5 June, 1942, they average from LA 1-7-0 (Rs. 14/8/-) per week to LA 1/17/6 (Rs. 20/1/3) per week.

On 5 April, 1944 the Unemployment and Sickness Benefits Act was enacted under which benefits are granted up to LA 1/5/- (Rs. 13/6) per week for an adult plus an additional LA 1 (Rs. 10/11/4) for a dependant wife, and LA 5/- (Rs. 2/10/10) for one child under the age of 16. Lower rates are paid for minors. Hospital benefits, including free treatment for those occupying beds in public wards in public hospitals, without the imposition of a means test also form part of this legislation. Deductions are made for those in private wards of public hospitals, or in private hospitals.

Although these benefits cover a wide field, there is still scope for extension, and the Commonwealth Government is considering, now that it has complete constitutional powers, the extension of these services to include pharmaceutical benefits, free medical treatment and national insurance.

CONCLUSION

The progress which has taken place in the period which has elapsed since the termination of hostilities has given every encouragement to the continuation of reconstruction plans along the lines indicated. The great economic confusion and social instability predicted by persons during the war has not assumed any large proportions in Australia. True it is that full-employment conditions and social security measures on the extent planned will present the Government with problems which have hitherto been only theoretical; but being clear on the objectives sought, and determined to find a way of overcoming such difficulties, the Government is confident of success in reaching its objectives.

JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY (1937—1941)

By AMAR LAHIRI

I

THE diplomatic proscenium of the world had become feeble by 1937: the Versailles peace structure, so painstakingly erected by Britain, France and the United States, had caved in to all intents and purposes due to the broadsides hurled against it by the proponents of totalitarianism. The stupendous strides made by Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and totalitarian Japan sprouted the rapid germination of a new international diplomacy incompatible with the tenets of democracy. Britain, France and the United States, the 'Big Three' champions of international democracy, assiduously maintaining that totalitarianism was a menace to the peace and security of the world, swung to conjoint action to depotentiate it by using high-voltage economic and diplomatic pressure as the most effective weapon short of war. They firmly held that all the legitimate economic demands and aspirations of the totalitarian States could be met by means of peaceful negotiations. Conversely, they desired that the totalitarian States should acknowledge their superior authority in settling international disputes and in preserving international equilibrium.

Inasmuch as totalitarianism grew up in the world pre-eminently with the inflexible objective of reducing the power of international democracy, it was not surprising that Japan, Germany and Italy declined to enter into any partnership with Britain, France and the United States. While Germany and Italy resolved to organize a totalitarian *bloc* in Europe, Japan set in motion a plan to actualize the materialization of a Far Eastern yen *bloc* in order to prevent a permanent Anglo-American economic-political entrenchment in China. In the face of the apparent diplomatic rift, it was sheer wishful thinking to expect a democratic-totalitarian *rapprochement*. The gap was too wide to be bridged. The question was how long both sides could avoid an armed showdown. Owing to constant democratic-totalitarian friction, the international situation gradually drifted toward the eventuation of an Axis-Democracy war.

There is no doubt that a war was needed to liquidate the irreconcilable differences one way or the other. It is undeniable that the undeclared war in China hardened the resolution of Japan to end the rôle of Anglo-American power politics in the Far East. That war was essentially a showfight between dollar diplomacy and yen autarchy, with China, playing the part of a helpless pawn.

In observing Japan's foreign policy from 1937 onward, one should not lose sight of the afore-mentioned background of international diplomacy. Before the Lukuochiao Incident broke out on July, 1937, four events of far-reaching importance had taken place in the Far East. They were: (1) the Washington Naval Treaty which forced Japan to accept a 3 : 5 : 5 ratio with regard to capital ships; (2) the Four Power Treaty which replaced the long-standing Anglo-Japanese Alliance; (3) the Nine Power Treaty which stipulated respect for China's independence and sovereignty and recognition of the principles of the Open Door or equality of opportunity for the trade and industry of all nations; and (4) the founding of Manchukuo by Japan as a corporate State.

Japan strongly resented the first three agreements, for these she claimed, illegitimized her special position and interest in China. By virtue of these agreements, directly inspired by the United States, Washington at one stroke replaced Britain as the boss of Far Eastern diplomacy. As a reaction, the Japanese Government implemented a policy of elimination of third-Power intervention in Far Eastern affairs. The international serfdom of China was partly engendered by third-Power interference and Japanese expansionism and partly by the civil strife.

Whereas the sober political and bureaucratic elements in Japan favoured diplomatic manoeuvres to put an end to third-Power intervention, the nationalist elements and the younger military clique demanded positive action against Britain and the United States, as well as direct dealing with China with accent laid on positivism. In the meantime political squabbles in Japan had become acute. Neither the Seiyukai Party nor the newly formed Minseito Party—the two largest political denominations—could restrain the upsurge of militant nationalism in the country. On top of this, the world economic depression hit Japan so badly that the slogan, 'Living Space for Japan',—forerunner of Nazis *Lebensraum*—became exceedingly popular. As a result, military pressure not only found its way in the Diet but also in the conduct of diplomacy; and for the first time Japanese diplomacy was directly affected by the acquisitive aspirations of the military.

Contrary arguments apart, the Manchurian Incident in parlance of power politics signified a patriotic outburst on the part of the Japanese people to secure a free hand in the disposal of Far Eastern affairs. The antagonism showed by Japan was directed not so much against China as against Britain and the United States.¹ By founding Manchukuo and by withdrawing from the League of Nations on that score, Japan served a positive warning on third nations, particularly the United States, that she would not brook any outside interference in China in view of her geographical contiguity with the continent. Japan wanted China to be her linchpin, for she desired to stabilize a Far Eastern harmony suited to her geopolitical taste. Therefore, she followed

the pattern of Britain's empire policy in pushing her way into the East Asian continent.

What can be labelled as Japanese Fascism registered its first protest against parliamentarism and liberal diplomacy on 15 May, 1932, when Premier Inukai was shot dead at his Tokyo residence. Again on 26 February, 1936, there occurred a short-lived military uprising in Tokyo and several prominent statesmen were assassinated. The uprising led to a thorough revamping of the military structure and the introduction of Fascist tendency into diplomacy. Very soon totalitarianism sprang up as a to be reckoned with force. The emergence of a Fascism in Japan denoted the failure of Anglo-American diplomacy in the Far East. Tokyo, long a watchdog of Britain and the United States in the Pacific zone, was cashiered in favour of more pliable Nanking. Japan refused to take this dismissal lying down. She wanted to get even with Britain and the United States, if necessary by resorting to arms. Later events proved which way the straw was shifting.

The birth of Manchukuo synchronized with the inauguration of the Roosevelt Administration in the United States. The preceding Hoover Administration through its Secretary of State Stimson had dispatched a note of non-recognition of Manchukuo to Japan. This policy of non-recognition formed the key-note of America's Far Eastern policy under the Roosevelt Administration. Harassed by the economic slump President Roosevelt enunciated his 'new deal' policy for national recovery; and that policy intensified trade with China and Europe as its *Leitmotif*. In the Far East he found Japan determined to have a yen *bloc*. The market of China thenceforward became a bone of contention between dollar diplomacy and yen autarchy. This economic rivalry² stimulated the prolongation of the subsequent Sino-Japanese war which, in turn, spurred the culmination of a total war in the Pacific.

On 17 April, 1934, Japanese Foreign Office spokesman Amau in a statement categorically declared that Japan would not tolerate any third-Power interference in China. The Amau Statement was bitterly assailed in the United States, and it was characterized as the 'Monroe Doctrine of Japan.' The Japanese people could not understand why the United States, who had all along resisted third-Power intervention in the Western Hemisphere standing firm on her Monroe Doctrine should object to the development of a similar *bloc* in the Far East with Japan as the sponsor-nation. They contended that if Britain could have a sterling *bloc*, the United States a dollar *bloc*, it stood to reason that Japan could also have a yen *bloc*. Japanese statesmen clarified that if such a yen *bloc* would prove inimical to China it was the business of China, not Britain or the United States, to enter into negotiations with Japan to reach a mutually beneficial accord. This Japanese stand was undoubtedly imperialistic. Japan, instead of forsaking expansionist imperialism justified its adoption simply because Britain and the United States had evolved sphere politics of their own. By adopting such an attitude, Japan at once forfeited the goodwill of all non-imperialistic nations.

The dollar-yen duel, the apprehension of a Soviet push into Manchuria and North-west China³ and the presence of a powerful Communist régime⁴

in Yen-an—all impelled Japan to nurture positive diplomacy and alignment with those nations which were opposed to Communism and the Anglo-American economic *cordon sanitaire*. The Amau Statement obviously disclosed the influence of the Fascist elements on diplomacy. Since Japanese diplomacy reflected a Fascist tinge, it became completely out of tune with either Chinese diplomacy or with the Anglo-American Far Eastern policy.

The virulent anti-Japanese rancour in China, leading to incidents involving Japanese life and property prompted the Japanese Government to assume a critical attitude toward the Chinese Government. And when Marshal Chang Hseuh-liang kidnapped Marshal Chiang Kai-shek at Sianfu in 1936 and the latter secured his release after agreeing to the Communist policy of embittering China's relations with Japan, it became more than evident that another Sino-Japanese armed conflict was in the offing.⁵ Concomitantly, the Soviet attitude toward Japan remained unsatisfactory, although earlier by virtue of a sale agreement the Soviet Union transferred the North Manchuria Railway to Manchukuo.

II

According to Japanese Foreign Office estimates, no less than 280 Soviet-Manchukuoan border disputes occurred in 1935 closely followed by another 30 in 1936. Herein is to be found the reason why Japan took up an anti-Comintern stand and opened negotiations with Germany to decide on a fundamental policy of creating a common front against Communism. On 25 November, 1936, a German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Pact was formally signed. It attracted public attention throughout the world as the most important diplomatic step taken by Japan since her withdrawal from the League. The joint front did not mean that Japan had become a diplomatic ally of Germany, for she did not wholly concur with Germany's China policy, especially her policy of permitting German instructors to train Chinese armies. The anti-Communist stand of Japan alienated her from the Soviet Union. The Kremlin rightly became suspicious of the intention of the Kasumigaseki (Japanese Foreign Office). Tokyo adopted such a policy as to open a way of appeasement with London and Washington. But its approach evoked no startling response, because London and Washington declined to be trapped into thin edged placidity. By antagonizing the Soviet Union, Japan all the more enlarged her diplomatic muddle.

In the first half of 1937 there occurred as many as 30 Russo-Manchukuoan frontier disputes. On 30 June, 1937, when the Soviet Union occupied two Manchukuoan islands in the Amur region, it appeared as though there was going to be a sudden worsening of Soviet-Japanese relations. The affair, known as the Amur Incident, was spot-lighted in the world press. Fortunately, on 3 July a satisfactory agreement was arrived at between the two disputants and the Russian troops evacuated the islands. Four days later, that is, on 7 July the Luckuchiao Incident broke out heralding the start of a long-drawn-out undeclared war. The swift aggravation of the hostility provided the background for the possibility of a local settlement. The incident developed into a fight to the finish, and Japan named it 'Shina Jihén' China Affair. It is to be

noted that the Japanese-Soviet disputes had always been settled without third Power intervention—a diplomatic approach which was not discernible in the case of Sino-Japanese discords.

The Lukuochiao Incident was a minor affair. It could have been very easily settled by means of negotiations on the spot. It is indeed true that the Fascist elements in Japan not only opposed the termination of the incident, but also took such steps as would insure its aggravation. At the same time, one cannot brush aside the fact that the simultaneous movements of Chinese forces precluded the possibility of reaching a peaceful settlement.⁶ Impartial investigations⁷ had proved conclusively that the firing, whether 'accidental or not, was begun on the Chinese side. This verdict, however, was not accepted by China, for she regarded it as a minority opinion. Moreover, being assured of the Anglo-American support, she told Japan to 'lay off.' Over and above, the Communist forces agitated that the time had come to launch a war of resistance against Japan. Under the circumstances, it was not astonishing that the fighting soon spread to Shanghai, and Japan and China became involved in full-scale hostilities.

It was the Chinese side which spread hostilities to Shanghai.⁸ Strangely enough, third Powers, especially Britain and the United States, instead of demanding the evacuation of Chinese forces from the Shanghai zone, openly exhibited sympathy for China. They conveniently overlooked China's violation of treaty provisions in respect of the Shanghai demilitarized zone, because they wanted to marshal the world public opinion on the side of the Chinese Government. Such an Anglo-American manoeuvre enraged Japan, and the Japanese Fascist elements by taking prompt advantage of the national indignation lined up the Japanese people to resort to a policy of aggressive imperialism toward the continent. Hence, the success of the Anglo-American manoeuvre meant the success of Japanese Fascists. One can, therefore, understand why Japan declined to attend the Nine Power Brussels Conference, which was convened at the instance of the United States to censure Japan.

Both London and Washington severally adopted a looker-on attitude towards the Shanghai fighting and unleashed an international campaign of words to present China as the victim and Japan as the aggressor. The Roosevelt Administration informed Marshal Chiang Kai-shek that it would extend all possible material and financial help to his government to support his policy of resistance against Japan. The British Government took up an identical stand chiefly to solidify British-American relations on an unshakable basis. Japan's rejection of the Brussels Conference practically invalidated the Nine Power Treaty and high-lighted her determination not to agree to third-party participation in Sino-Japanese matters. Consequently, she made herself vulnerable to well-founded diplomatic attacks. The more such attacks were made the more the Japanese Fascists consolidated their power. Before the fall of Nanking, national regimentation had appeared on the surface in Japan in full vigour and emergency steps had been taken to gear up the national fighting potentiality.

Tariff barriers were placed in the path of Japan by both Britain and the United States as a measure of restricting her foreign trade. Confronted with tariff

walls,⁹ Japan increased her trade with China. When the Sino-Japanese hostilities got under way the security of Japanese economy had become dependent on the China trade. In fact, the China trade had become Japan's economic life-line. To Britain and the United States their China trade was of secondary importance. The United States discountenanced Japan's economic penetration in China, because she objected to the organization of a Far Eastern yen *bloc*. Therefore she supported China, and Japan registered her emphatic 'no' to America's Far Eastern policy.

The start of hostilities offered the United States a propitious opportunity to begin the stabilisation of dollar diplomacy in the Far East. Naturally, the Roosevelt Administration and Marshal Chiang Kai-shek made common cause against Japan. Furthermore, such an understanding assured Marshal Chiang of continuous flow of American material and financial aids, which caused the linking of Chinese economy to that of the United States. Britain followed suit, because President Roosevelt consented to combat the consolidation of Nazi-Fascist diplomacy and politics in Europe. The Sino-Japanese hostilities would have terminated either before or after the fall of Nanking had the growing Fascist reactionaries in Japan been securely muzzled and had President Roosevelt remained a passive spectator in the Far East. Inasmuch as President Roosevelt viewed the Far East as America's Pacific security line and insisted on the application of the Nine Power Treaty to the impasse, Japan there and then decided to follow a long course in China. This decision catapulted the rise of Fascism on a national scale, and Japan went totalitarian.

After the fall of Nanking, the liberal and sober elements in Japan, which included certain elder military circles, hoped for a speedy settlement of the continental imbroglio. Their hope went to the rocks, because the Fascist military group, enjoying the support of the younger military elements, strongly agitated for the continuation of the hostilities until China gave up her dependence on Britain and the United States. Public opinion in the country, too, favoured such a line of action, for the general populace thought that China's resistance could be smashed to smithereens. Since Anglo-American assistance to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek had been assured, Japan decided to levigate the appearance of a central régime in the occupied territory—a régime which would execute her China policy in a consilient manner. This is how she came to enunciate the policy of a new order in East Asia, the blue-print of which was revealed by Premier Konoye in a statement on 16 January, 1938. He declared that Japan would no longer deal with the Chinese Government. The enunciation of the new order in East Asia policy was the signpost which pointed the birth of new Japanese imperialism in China.

The colour of Japanese diplomacy changed drastically with the formulation of the new order in East Asia policy. Japan devoted her entire diplomatic and economic resources to the consummation of that policy and simultaneously switched to strengthening her relations with the totalitarian States in Europe. The immediate effect of the changed diplomacy was the formation of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo anti-Comintern front and the establishment of a Provisional Government of China in Peiping. The acquiring of Italo-German sympathy

brought about a proportionate deterioration in Japan's relations with Britain and the United States, as well as the Soviet Union. While London opened the Lashio-Kunming highway as the gun road to Chunking, Washington instituted a moral embargo on Japan. The Soviet Union, though denouncing Japan, took shelter behind a watch-and-wait attitude. For the Russian amoeba was not yet ready to spread its protoplasm. The opportunity to do so came with the outbreak of the Nomonhan Incident. But even then the Russian amoeba withdrew, because the action was ill-timed.

In July 1938 a border trouble occurred with the Soviet Union at Changkufeng Hill in Manchukuo. The incident, however, was settled without much difficulty. But the formation of the tripartite anti-Comintern front evoked distrust in the mind of the Kremlin. In consequence, the Soviet Union declined to sign a new fishery agreement with Japan. The Japanese diplomats and statesmen realized that steps should be integrated to avoid friction with the Soviet Union, particularly in the midst of the China Affair and in view of Japan's friendship with Italy and Germany. Swayed by that realization Japan took care not to irritate Soviet Russia.

III

On 3 November, 1938, Premier Konoye in a radio address declared: 'What Japan seeks is the establishment of a new order which will insure the permanent stability of East Asia.' He made this specific declaration after examining carefully the international political situation. He interpreted British pre-occupation in Europe arising out of German *Anschluss* with Austria and the conclusion of the Four Power Munich Pact as a definite sign that a totalitarian *bloc* would soon come to prevail in that part of the globe. He also calculated that the Roosevelt Administration, in order not to excite the temper of the isolationists, would refrain from aligning itself positively with Britain and China. Subsequent events demonstrated that he had thoroughly misjudged the intensity of President Roosevelt's opposition to totalitarianism.

Japan's new order gained momentum when Wang Ching-wei broke away from Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and issued a Sino-Japanese peace statement from Hanoi on 30 December, 1938. Meanwhile, the Fascist military group exhorted Premier Konoye to adopt a stiff attitude toward Britain and the United States. It also urged intensification of hostilities with China by placing Japan on a total-war footing. Unable to cope with the Fascist opposition, he resigned. The official communique, however, attributed the resignation of the Konoye Cabinet to the difficulty in carrying out war-time political, economic and social renovation measures. The resignation of the Konoye Cabinet coincided with a movement for reinforcing relations with Germany and Italy and converting the national fabric into a defence State structure.

On 5 January, 1939, Baron Hiranuma formed a Cabinet. Britain at this juncture sought to placate Japan. She showed astute statesmanship by facilitating the settlement of the Tientsin dispute. Immediately the United States stymied the probability of an Anglo-Japanese conciliation by notifying the abrogation of the American-Japanese Commercial Treaty. Japan was consequently ob-

liged to sign a trade pact with Germany. While Premier Hiranuma was trying to restrain the Fascist group, Germany signed a Non-Aggression Pact with the Soviet Union on 23 August, 1939. Premier Hiranuma found the new development 'too complicated and mysterious.' So he tendered the resignation of his Ministry. The succeeding Abé Cabinet was confronted with the European war externally and domestic opposition internally. By announcing the policy of non-involvement in the European war, it attempted to improve Japan's relations with Britain and the United States, but to no avail. Very soon it forfeited the popular confidence and became involved in the Nomonhan Incident with the Soviet Union. It linked the yen to the dollar to betoken to Washington that Japan was willing to reconcile the mutual economic differences in the Far East. Washington paid no serious attention to the yen-dollar link, for it had irrevocably committed itself to supporting China financially and materially to hamstring, what it called, the 'economic imperialism' of Japan. Characterizing the international situation as 'confused and kaleidoscopic,' premier Abé tendered the resignation of his Cabinet.

Prior to the formation of the second Konoye Cabinet, the previous Yonai Ministry, faced with the abrogation of the American-Japanese Commercial Treaty, found it well-nigh impossible to mitigate the mounting economic difficulties. A diplomatic whispering campaign was initiated by the Anglo-American nations to put Japan on the wrong side of the international democratic public on the one hand and to stir up an internal defection on the other. While the first objective was realized *in toto*, no least sign of internal diversionism was noticeable.

The swift change in the European war situation as a sequel to the capitulation of France and the concurrent emergence of Germany as the supreme Power in Europe perplexed the Yonai Cabinet to such an extent that it hesitated to make up its mind one way or the other. Furthermore, the rapid upsoar of the Anglo-American joint front against Germany and the incurable Fascist swing in the country favouring the conclusion of an alliance with the Third Reich spiked the continuation of the non-involvement policy; so the Yonai Cabinet handed over the reins of the government to the second Konoye Ministry.

It was during the tenure of the Yonai Administration that a Central Government of China was established in Nanking with Wang Ching-wei as President. This denoted a concrete step forward toward the organization of a new order in East Asia on the basis of yen autarchy. In other words, it showed that Japan had begun translating into action her new imperialism toward the continent. Secretary of State Hull immediately issued a statement announcing America's non-recognition of the new régime. A little earlier, an American loan of 200,000,000 dollars was granted to Chungking to boost its war prosecution power. Thenceforward the financial existence of Chungking was kept alive by the periodic granting of Anglo-American loans.

The second Konoye Cabinet was formed in consultation with the Fascist group. Premier Konoye realized that, in view of the cataclysmic changes in German-controlled Europe, it would be fatal to antagonize the Fascist elements.

He entered into a compromise with them and accepted their programme of establishing a national totalitarian structure and also the diplomatic aspect of their policy concerning Germany and Italy, that is, he agreed to an alliance with Germany and Italy short of war provided Germany undertook to harmonize Japan's relations with the Soviet Union. To propel the projected new order in East Asia, the Konoye Ministry exerted its very best to stabilize the power of the Nanking régime and, at the same time, executed a policy of southward expansion to improve the economic position of Japan.

The totalitarian make-up of the Konoye Cabinet was relieved on the international diplomatic horizon with the conclusion of the Japan-Germany-Italy Pact of Alliance on 20 September, 1940, and the setting-up of a totalitarian political structure by dissolving all political parties in the country. The new totalitarian Party—'Taisei Yokusan Kai'—was inaugurated on 12 October. The positive manifestation of the southward expansion policy was seen in the solemnization of close Japanese-Siamese relations and in Japan's mediation in the Indo-China-Siam border dispute. By means of a diplomatic purge, all those diplomats who were opposed to an alliance with Germany and Italy were removed from office and they were replaced by nominees of the Fascist group. Only Admiral Nomura, regarded as a non-party man, continued to be the Ambassador in the United States.

Before 1940 was torn off the calendar, Japan had contracted close relations with all the Axis adherents in Europe. Early in 1941 President Roosevelt made the United States the arsenal for 'the Democracies' in order to prevent the fruition of Japanese-German new orders, one in East Asia and the other in Europe. In that year Japanese-American relations began to be strained progressively on account of the mutually irreconcilable Far Eastern policies. On 13 April, a Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact was signed—a development which enabled Japan to concentrate all her efforts on the reconstruction of conquered China within the framework of unilateral Sino-Japanese collaboration and non-recognition of third party participation. In the month of June, while the Japanese-Dutch East Indies economic parleys broke down, a Soviet-Japanese Commercial Pact was signed. The latter development megaphoned a crop of conjectures and speculations in Washington circles.

Both Britain and the United States regarded the conclusion of the Tripartite Axis Pact as a definite indication that Japan was getting ready to unlimber an attack on the Anglo-American possessions in the Pacific and in East Asia with the view of evaginating a formidable yen *bloc* stretching from the Philippines to Burma. Being apprehensive of a Japanese invasion, both London and Washington expedited their defence preparations and Japan defined such preparations as an Anglo-American attempt to encircle her militarily. The Anglo-American defence preparations received the popular name of 'ABCD (American-British-Chinese-Dutch) military ring' against Japan. The Konoye Ministry hurriedly placed the country on a total-war emergency footing, converted controlled economy into war economy and hastened the mobilization of military recruits. The construction of the ABCD ring on the one side and the Axis alliance on the other levelled the ground for the assumption

of full power by the Fascist group, which under the guidance of the Kwantung military clique emerged as the Fascist War Party. The second Konoye Cabinet resigned in view of the outbreak of the German-Soviet war.

IV

On 18 July, 1941, the third and the last Konoye Cabinet was organized with the purpose of seeking an American understanding *vis-a-vis* the Far Eastern new order. Premier Konoye desired that President Roosevelt should act as a mediator in restoring peace between Tokyo and Chungking. By that time the Fascist War Party had become supreme in the country, being assured of the support of the majority sections of the Army and Navy, with which were affiliated the numerous ultra-nationalistic bodies. It was no longer possible for Premier Konoye to check the Fascist War Party which enjoyed the full backing of Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal Kido, the contact-man between the Government and the Throne. In other words, the Fascist War party had even gained control of throne politics.

Most probably Japanese troops were dispatched to Southern Indo-China without ascertaining either the opinion of the Foreign Office or Premier Konoye. Of course, such a troop movement was quite in order from the Japanese viewpoint, since it was carried out in accordance with the terms of the joint defence protocol signed by Japan with Indo-China. The latest troop movement was construed by the Roosevelt Administration as a positive sign that Japan was preparing to attack Singapore and Manila. Consequently, at the instance of President Roosevelt, the United States, the British Empire and the Netherlands East Indies announced the freezing of Japanese assets. Japan was totally unprepared for such an effective retaliation. The Fascist War Party pounced upon it as an Anglo-American challenge to go to war. The asset-freezing tactics resulted in the suspension of American oil supply to Japan and the stoppage of her more than 80 per cent of export-import trade. Earlier, the export of key materials from the United States had been banned. Indubitably, the asset-freezing—a move which under the international usage constituted a hostile action comparable to a challenge by armed force—nullified any remote possibility of a Japanese-American understanding.

Simultaneously with the asset-freezing the War Department of the United States announced that all troops under the Hawaiian command had been ordered to be placed 'on a training and precautionary alert status.' Also President Roosevelt made public the creation of a new Army Command known as the United States Forces in the Far East comprising 75,000 American troops and about 180,000 Filipinos. Even Premier Konoye flayed the latest development as a 'violent provocation.' In an endeavour to retrieve the situation and to restrain the Fascist War Party, he directly appealed to President Roosevelt, but no understanding was reached. It is problematic whether at that late stage an understanding with the United States could have satisfied the Fascist War Party which had then firmly resolved to go to war. Its resolution was based on the expectation that Germany would emerge victorious in Europe, and that Japan by conducting a short-term war would be able to compel

Britain and the United States to accept the evolution of a new Far Eastern order as a *fait accompli*. Had it concurred with Premier Konoye's policy of keeping the China Affair isolated until the conclusion of the German-Soviet and German-British wars, perhaps the future of Japan would not have been so dark as now.

On 6 August, 1941, Premier Konoye transmitted a peace proposal to President Roosevelt. It referred to the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Indo-China after the settlement of the China Affair, guaranteeing of the neutrality of the Philippines, suspension of American military preparations, restoration of normal trade relations with America, Britain and the Netherlands, recognition of a special status for Japan in Indo-China, and using of America's good offices for the initiation of direct negotiations between the Japanese Government and the Chungking Government for the purpose of a speedy settlement of the China Affair. The United States Government found the Japanese proposal inadequate. In the meantime the Atlantic Charter had been framed and an Anglo-American common policy against Japan agreed upon.

On 17 August, 1941, President Roosevelt handed to Ambassador Nomura a document stating that the American Government would take counter-steps if the Japanese Government instituted any further steps 'in pursuance of a policy of military domination by force or threat of force of neighbouring countries.' He also told the Ambassador: 'We could not think of reopening the conversations' if the Japanese Government continued its movement of force. About a week later he decided to send a military mission to China. On 28 August, Premier Konoye, in the teeth of the opposition of the Fascist War Party, sent a message requesting a personal meeting between him and President Roosevelt. The latter replied that before such a meeting could be arranged 'preliminary discussions of the fundamental and essential questions' should be commenced with a view to reaching a prior agreement. Premier Konoye was rather put out by the reply, and as a result the Konoye-Roosevelt meeting failed to materialize.

On 6 September, Premier Konoye submitted a six-point revised proposal to President Roosevelt. The points were: (1) Japan would not make any military advance from Indo-China; (2) the attitudes of Japan and the United States toward the European war would be decided by the concepts of protection and self-defence; (3) Japan would withdraw her forces from China on the restoration of Sino-Japanese peace; (4) American economic activities in China would not be restricted so long as pursued on an equitable basis; (5) Japanese-American economic co-operation in the South-western Pacific area; and (6) resumption of normal trade relations between Japan and the United States.

On 28 October Secretary Hull in a statement made to Ambassador Nomura demanded a clear-cut demonstration of Japan's intention in regard to the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China and Indo-China and expressed the opinion that, from what the Japanese Government indicated, it contemplated a programme in which the basic principles put forward by the United States would in their application be circumscribed by qualifications and expectations. His reply amounted to a rejection of the Japanese revised proposal. When a Cabi-

net meeting was held to scrutinize the Hull Statement, War Minister Hidiki Toho opposed any further negotiations with the United States and urged the declaration of war on Britain and America as a means of settling the China Affair and propelling the enduring evolution of the new Far Eastern order. His opposition clearly reflected that the military was no longer agreeable to put any faith in negotiations. Premier Konoye, therefore, suggested that, since the military was disinclined to change its view, it would perhaps be better for General Toho to form the next Cabinet. Accordingly, he tendered the resignation of his Ministry on 16 October. Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal Kido immediately advised the Emperor to entrust the formation of the new Cabinet to General Toho. The appearance of the Toho Ministry as the mouthpiece of the Fascist War Party left no room for doubt that a gigantomachy in the Pacific was imminent. General Toho, as a nominee of the Fascist War Party controlled by the Kwantung military clique, had no other option but to put into effect its policy of war with Britain and the United States.

V

On 5 November the Toho Cabinet dispatched Saburo Kurusu as a Special Ambassador to Washington to assist Ambassador Nomura in conducting what was termed 'the final negotiations with the United States.' While such negotiations were going on, Premier Toho addressing a public meeting in Tokyo told America that Japan's patience was being exhausted. He indirectly hinted that, if the United States continued to be unresponsive, Japan would enter into a state of war with her as the only *pis aller*. The American Government was perfectly aware that the Toho Administration was putting the finishing touches to the staging of a shooting drama in the Pacific. Premier Toho, addressing the Diet on 15 November, demanded that third Powers must refrain from obstructing a successful conclusion of the China Affair which Japan had in view. He thus served a plain warning on Washington to moderate its stand.

On 27 November the Chief of Staff of the United States Army informed the Commanding General of the Hawaiian Department that negotiations with Japan seemed to be ended with little likelihood of their resumption; that Japanese action was unpredictable; that hostilities on the part of Japan were momentarily possible; and that in case the hostilities could not be avoided the United States desired that the American forces should not commit the first overt act.¹⁰ Two days later Secretary Hull conferring with the British Ambassador told him that 'the diplomatic part of our relations with Japan was virtually over and that the matter would now go to the officials of the Army and Navy.' It is explicit that Washington was confidently expecting an outbreak of war in the Pacific, and that it had taken the required military precautions. Therefore, it can be said that suspicion and last-minute war preparations on both sides smothered any possibility of a mutual reconciliation at that late stage.

Both Ambassadors Kurusu and Nomura were quite unaware of the war time-table of the Toho Cabinet throughout the period of negotiations. It seems that they were utilized as a diplomatic cover by Premier Toho to smoke-screen the final war preparations. He could not, however, lull the distrust of

the American Army and Navy which were taking every conceivable step to be ready for a surprise Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour.

On 26 November the United States Government after consulting the representatives of Britain, Australia, the Netherlands and Chungking presented its final proposal to Japan. Among others, it specified: (1) removal of Japanese troops from Southern Indo-China to the northern part of the said territory; (2) conclusion of a seven-power multilateral non-aggression pact; (3) respect for the territorial integrity of Indo-China; (4) withdrawal of all Japanese forces from China and repudiation of the Nanking régime; and (5) abrogation of the Axis Alliance Pact. The Japanese view was that Japan had no objection to entertain the first and third propositions but she could not accept the second, fourth and fifth stipulations without modifications, for they peremptorily demanded her surrender of special position in China, recognition of third Power interference in Sino-Japanese affairs and relinquishment of treaty obligations. For these reasons Japan construed the American final proposal as a 'virtual ultimatum.'

On 1 December, 1941, Secretary Hull conferred with Ambassadors Nomura and Kurusu and emphasized that 'there is a limit beyond which we cannot go.' The negotiations practically ended that day, though the rupture of mutual relations did not eventuate until 8 December (Japan time), when Japan declared war on Britain and the United States. At the eleventh hour President Roosevelt sent a personal message to Emperor Hirohito to keep the uncertainty hanging, but it was too late then. The message was not immediately delivered to the Emperor. The Imperial Rescript on the War Declaration averred that Japan had taken up the sword in self-defence to end the Anglo-American domination in the Orient.

The surprise attack on Pearl Harbour was carried out before a formal declaration of war. It was certainly mystifying why the American Command, which was all along expecting a surprise raid on Pearl Harbour and had maintained a constant alert, permitted itself to be caught napping by the Japanese Command. Upon declaration of the war, the Tohjo Cabinet named it 'Dai Toh-a Sénsho'—War of Greater East Asia. It forthwith enlarged the objective of constructing a new order in East Asia into a policy of organizing a Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere embracing China, the Philippines, Siam, Malaya, the East Indies and Burma with Japan as the leader nation. Thus the new Japanese imperialism directed toward China was extended to the whole of East Asia.

(To be continued)

¹ Japanese War Office Statement, 18 September 1941.

² Shigheo Suyehiro in *Gaiko Jirho*, 1 October 1939.

³ Frederick V. Williams in *The Catholic Digest*, September 1937.

⁴ *The Lytton Report*, pp. 23 and 36.

⁵ Yakichiro Suma, address at the University of North Carolina, 10 November 1937.

⁶ *Oriental Affairs*, September 1937. Nathaniel Peffer in *Asia* magazine, June 1937.

⁷ *The Times*, London, P. 15, 9 July 1937. *Manchester Guardian* 19 July 1937. *Journal de Genève*, July 1937.

⁸ *The New York Times* dispatch from Shanghai, 30 August 1937. *The New York Herald-Tribune* editorial, 14 September 1937.

⁹ George E. Sokolsky, *The Tinner Box of Asia*, pp. 4 and 8.

¹⁰ Roberts Report on Pearl Harbour debacle.

THE GANDHIAN APPROACH TO ECONOMICS

By P. A. WADIA

ON reading J. C. Kumarappa's interpretation of Gandhian Economics¹ one is irresistibly reminded of the characteristic attitude of the Christian Church in the Middle Ages. Society was regarded as a spiritual organism, and not as an economic machine. Economic activities were only a subordinate element within a vast and complex whole, and were to be regulated and even repressed by reference to the moral ends for which they furnished the material means. That this outlook on life and society had its elements of value the neglect of which has been responsible for many of the ailments of modern civilized life no one can deny. The inexorable dominance of economic appetites and interests makes it all the more imperative to remind ourselves that economic ambitions are good servants but bad masters, that what matters in human life is not quantity and size but the things that minister to spiritual wealth and values, that the kitchen has no claim to be placed in the forefront of our social structure, but in the background. Even a leading representative of present day economic thought like Keynes, one who was in his later life absorbed in the solution of the urgent and insistent problems of a commercial world obsessed by the dread of war, had to confess that 'modern capitalism is absolutely irreligious, without internal union, without much public spirit, often, though not always, a mere congeries of possessors and pursuers.' We seem, indeed, to be living in a world where selfishness, whether of the individual or of the corporate nation, is not only condoned but glorified, and Love is looked upon as the play of immature fools or 'the charity of self-mistrustful saints.' The fierce rebellion of men against the present-day social order in the West and the East alike seems to be directed against the stupidity and tyranny of an impersonal organization based on machinery rather than against the men who use the machinery for the purpose of exploitation. An age that has brought to the conquest of its physical environment resources that were unknown to earlier generations has not yet acquired the art of mastery over itself, through which alone corporate life can provide for the blossoming of all that is good and noble in the individual.

But when we have admitted all this, we have reached the limit of the criticism that one can offer of a mechanized, highly commercialized civilization such as that in which we find ourselves living today. Mass production under centralized methods and the price mechanism may have in our generation been attended by war and what looks like the threatened destruction of civilized life. But it is not always advisable nor desirable to draw analogies with the past, and in the name of economic decentralization to make a comparison, favouring a pre-industrial society with its economy of scarcity, between such a society and the highly industrialized civilization which has reached at any rate a po-

¹ See *India Quarterly*, Vol. II, pp. 352 ff.

tentiality of abundance of the material goods of life. We are passing through an era of transition today; an era of transition is an era of drastic changes. It has been observed that the tempo of human evolution during recorded history is 100,000 times as rapid as that of pre-human evolution. Civilization is cumulative, and there has been an amazing speeding up during the last five thousand years of human history. Changes in earlier stages of evolution which took hundreds of thousands, if not million years, were characterized as revolutionary. Such changes take place in human history within less than a century. But when, as today, the rate of changes shrinks to the third of a single generation, the individual is faced with the formidable task of readjusting his ideas and attitudes within a few years of his brief life on earth.

Julian Huxley is inclined to regard it as very creditable to humanity that, faced with the new biological phenomenon of a speed of change considerably higher than the speed at which the human generations succeed each other, it should have striven, if not actually succeeded, in adapting itself to these changes. Perhaps a war was needed, and an unparalleled war, to bring about this change in outlook. One may well be permitted to ask, however, if we human beings have so earnestly striven to adapt ourselves to the new environment as Huxley believes, for evidence of such earnestness can only be sought in the success with which humanity can refashion and remould its institutions and *mores* to the rapidly changing environment.

When, therefore, the interpreter of the Gandhian approach to economics, surveying briefly the changes brought about in international relations by the introduction of centralized industries, tells us 'that violence and untruth have captured pivotal positions in the economic life of the people,' all that this means is that men have not succeeded in adapting themselves to the changes in the industrial and scientific fields which mark an age of technology. When again he urges, 'if we do not wish to be parties to such violence and untruth, then we should dissociate ourselves from such industries by neither supplying them with raw materials nor using their finished products', are we not burying our heads in the sands and imagining that we can stop the sun and the moon from their courses by shutting ourselves up in darkness?

The malaise of our times does not lie in the growing complexity of our industrial organization in the use of automatic machinery and giant turbines, in the elevations of our sky-scrapers or our Diesel-motored railways and roaring aeroplanes. It is to be sought rather in the gulf between our material advance and achievements in the field of scientific applications on the one hand and our social institutions on the other. An age in which we use electricity in our houses and in the running of our factories is also an age in which we employ archaic views of representative government borrowed from eighteenth century England, and indulge in eighteenth century doctrines of natural rights. An age in which we do not hesitate to use automobiles and aeroplanes is also an age in which we believe that the chief function of the State is the maintenance of law and order and surround property rights with a sanctity derived from primitive superstition and from opinions about how the Divinity approves of the exercise of thrift and profit. Our sex ideas and family institu-

tions are still based upon the Jewish conceptions of patriarchal rule by the male and upon medieval ideas of virginity in women. We have still to divest ourselves of the sacramental view of marriage and of the bourgeois attitude towards property.

As society evolves, it becomes more and more complex. The complex mechanism of society is rendered still more complex by scientific discoveries and processes of a technological culture. Our productive mechanism has undergone revolutionary changes; our distributive machinery has failed to keep pace with production, and still remains what it was in the days of Adam Smith. The experimentally-minded social inventor is subjected to ridicule, even if he is not imprisoned as a dangerous revolutionary. We have a natural desire for the latest models of cars and radios, and of electrical lighting; but we continue to be fond of social institutions which are antiquated and out of date, we look with veneration on our social taboos, on outdated usages with scriptural sanction behind them, on our absentee landlordism and our courts hidebound by archaic legalism and religious superstition. Modern life as we find it is riddled with problems created by this lag as between rapidly advancing machinery that adds to our material comforts and slow-moving economic and educational institutions and the still slower-moving social and religious ways to which we have been attached for centuries. And as it has been aptly observed, 'we cannot go on for long with one foot in an air plane and the other in an ox-cart.'

And yet this is what the Gandhian economics would seem to imply. It required two great quinquennia of slaughter of masses of mankind to make the world realize that a policy of economic isolationism in an age of growing economic interdependence was fatal to prosperous living, and even to our survival on the surface of the earth. And we are now asked to carry the principle of economic self-sufficiency to every village. Animal transport, we are advised, should take the place of petrol-driven trucks, for quick transport with refrigeration facilities is attended by maladies caused by man's greed. Local production should take care of local demand. All primary needs of food, clothing and shelter are to be met by local supply. Are the refrigerator and the motor truck responsible for human ills, or is it human greed and the desire to profiteer that are at fault? Will human greed find no means of exploiting the ox-cart and the primitive plough, so long as it is deeply rooted in the human heart? One is reminded of the story of the *humbardar* who trying to enter a cottage-door seated on a buffalo ordered the door to be destroyed instead of adopting the common-sense expedient of dismounting. What we should endeavour to remedy is not machinery, but the greed and the avidity of living human beings who exploit their fellow-men, and make magnificent donations out of their ill-gotten gains to political organizations in anticipation of favours to come.

We are living today in a world of abundance. This abundance has been made possible by large-scale production with the help of machinery. The interpreter of Gandhian economics will only make a concession in favour of machinery so far as key industries, natural monopolies and public utilities are concerned. Even this he regards as a poison which the pathological conditions

of the social body render necessary to be taken in minute pills of a few grains as contrasted with the nutritive foods which hand labour in the self-sufficient village would yield. What we are apt to forget is that the arts and sciences, knowledge and culture, the fruits of the creative imagination are rendered possible by the abundance of material goods, freeing the human spirit from the fear of want. It is not the lack of these material goods that makes man go hungry and naked: it is the lack of good will, of the love of God's children, the failure to live together as members one of another that is responsible for our present plight. It was the one time Secretary of Agriculture in the Roosevelt Régime in the U. S. A. and recently the Secretary of State, Henry Wallace who observed: 'the religion of the future must affirm in unmistakable terms the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man not merely by way of a mystical glow to the individual worshipper, but also by way of bringing about the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. To enter the Kingdom of Heaven brought to earth and expressed in terms of rich material life it will be necessary to have a reformation even greater than that of Luther and Calvin. Enduring social transformation is impossible without changed human hearts.'

INDIANS OVERSEAS

INDIANS IN BRITISH GUIANA

By AYUBE M. EDUN

BRITISH Guiana is approximately 12,950 miles from New Delhi. To reach here we had to traverse a long long distance—by air to Trinidad, by sea to Jamaica and Southampton, by rail to London, spending 15 days in that great metropolis to secure priority; and then by rail to Liverpool, by sea to Bombay, passing through the Suez Canal and finally by rail to New Delhi. It takes seven weeks to reach India from British Guiana.

British Guiana lies on the north-east of the continent of South America between Venezuela, Brazil and Dutch Guiana. The area is 83,000 square miles; 86 per cent of this area is forest, 10.5 per cent savannah and the remainder lies mainly on the coastal belt.

Population and Racial Composition.—On 9 April, 1946, the population stood at 376,146. This is a provisional figure. The returns of the census taken on that date have not been finally computed.

The inhabitants live chiefly on the coastal belt. The racial composition of the population was—Indians 42 per cent, Africans 39.9, 'Mixed races' 10.9, Americans 2.7, Portuguese 2.8, other Europeans 7, Chinese 9 and Miscellaneous 1 per cent.

Composition of Indians.—There are approximately 153,000 Indians, the Hindus being 120,000, Muslims 30,000, Christians 3,000. 75,000 Indians reside on the sugar plantations, 50 per cent of whom are actual sugar workers; another 75,000 are engaged in other pursuits like production of rice, cattle, milk, greens etc. in the village settlements and river banks. The rest are professionals, landlords, businessmen, artisans, clerks and civil servants. There are also a number of Bengalee pedlars and film representatives from India.

Except class differences there are no social or caste disabilities and distinctions.

INDIAN ASSOCIATIONS AND TRADE UNIONS

There is one political organization known as the British Guiana East Indian Association. The Man-Power Citizens Association, which is a registered trade union, represents all the sugar workers, 95 per cent of whom are Indians and 5 per cent Africans. It is the most virile, influential and representative body and has a working agreement of collective bargaining with the representatives of the sugar companies, the British Guiana Sugar Producers Association. It has 26 branches throughout the sugar area and 16 Estates Joint Committees. The British Guiana Sanatan Dharma Maha Sabha represents the Hindu community, and the British Guiana Islamic Association and Sadr Anjuman-E-Islam represent the Muslim community in religious affairs. The American Aryan League also has a strong following among a section of the Hindus. There are several Christian denominational organizations and many friendly societies abound in the cities, towns and villages.

PRESS AND PERIODICALS

Indians own no daily newspaper. The Man-Power Citizens Association owns *The Labour Advocate*—a weekly newspaper, having its own plant, machineries, accessories, equipments, etc. The British Guiana East Indian Association runs a weekly paper known as the *Indian Opinion*. It is printed by a small printing establishment known as the Bharat Printing. The Islamic Association publishes a monthly magazine—*The Nura Islam* and the Sadr Anjuman-E-Islam publishes a quarterly, known as '*Islam*.' The Maha Sabha attempted to publish a monthly organ but after several attempts it failed. All these periodicals are published in the English language.

Indians are at a great disadvantage so far as newspaper representation is concerned. There are three daily newspapers. *The Daily*, *The Daily Chronicle* and *The Guiana Graphic*—owned by the European and Coloured communities and while these are not altogether anti-Indian yet they are not friendly to the Indians in British Guiana.

Constitution and Legislature. The administrative affairs of the colony are carried on by an Executive Council comprising 9 members—one Indian, one African, one European, one coloured, one Portuguese nominated by the Governor from the Legislative Council together with the Colonial Secretary (European), the Attorney-General (African) and the Colonial Treasurer (coloured). The Governor presides over it.

The Legislative Council is comprised of 25 members, 14 elected, 7 nominated and 3 officials (the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General and the Colonial Treasurer) with the Governor as President. A senior elected member is Deputy President, and presides in the absence of the Governor.

The racial composition is as follows:—Indians 6, Negroes 4, Europeans 4, Portuguese 3, Coloured 6, Chinese 1 and the Governor thus making the total of 25.

TEMPLES AND MOSQUES

There are numerous temples and mosques scattered in the towns, villages and plantations. There are also *Madrastas and Pathshalas* within their compounds,

but owing to the lack of Hindi and Urdu teachers there is much wastage in energy, time and money. It is all a question of qualified teachers, proper system of teaching, curriculum and school books. The fact must not be lost sight of that Indians went not as Missionaries in British Guiana but as immigrants to plough the cane fields and produce sugar; yet they have not done too badly in the endeavour to keep the light of national characteristics burning.

FRANCHISE

The franchise is based on income qualification of \$10.00 per month or \$120.00 per year with literacy test. There are other property, land lease qualifications—all easy for Indians. The literacy test is based on English, Hindi and Urdu. Here lies the danger for Indians for, without adult suffrage, the literacy test is a direct disadvantage to them for a majority of them are illiterate. More than 50 per cent cannot read or write any language.

Colonial Economy: At the present time the exports and imports are about equal and these represent a figure of 14 million dollars per annum. In normal years that is, before the war, the figure was 6 million dollars. The chief exports are sugar, rum, molasses, bauxite, gold, diamonds, and rice in the West Indies and other small items. Imports are machinery, clothing, drugs, food, chemicals and many other items. Put in bulk form, exports will equal imports, for the same ships bringing in the imports carry out the exports. But the exports are produced as a standard of living basis of 60 cts. per day, while the imports are produced at a standard of living basis of \$3.00 per day, 5 times more, which in effect means that in every annual exchange British Guiana loses 5 times in value. For example, if the figure of 6 million dollars is taken as the basis, then the real value of the exports should be 30 million dollars as against 6 million dollars. So, in every year's exchange the country is impoverished to the extent of 24 millions. This figure multiplied by 100 years would give the very substantial figure of 2400 million dollars lost in substance to British Guiana.

SPECIFIC INDIAN PROBLEMS

The problems affecting the Indian community are many and varied but chief among them would be the following:

Cultural Renaissance: The Indian population is fast losing their best national characteristics and unless steps are taken to check further deterioration the future holds dark and gloomy prospects.

Indian Agent-General: This proposition has been accepted in principle by the Indian Central Legislature. It is essential for promoting a liaison between the Indians and the Indian Government. On this appointment hangs the crux of the problem.

Steamship Communication: It is the necessary corollary for contact between the Mother Country and the Caribbean. Even at least once a year will be a good beginning.

Repatriation Fund: This Fund should be utilized for its specific statutory purpose or alternately for Land settlement or educational development for Indians.

It should not be allowed to lapse into the colonial treasuries when the last of the immigrants die out.

Burma Rice Competition: Perhaps, it is not known at all here, that in pre-war days the competition of Burma rice had resulted into the near extinction of rice industry in British Guiana from which the Indian peasants secured a fair measure of economic independence. Now that India needs all Burma rice there is no reason why this competition should be a constant fear in the minds of the peasants. Only India can help by goodwill understanding with Burma.

Jamaica Indians: This is a special case which needs special attention. These Indians, being just 23,000 out of a population of 1,250,000, have been relegated into a kind of depressed class. Can they not be transferred to British Guiana where the land opportunities prevailing can easily absorb them without creating pressure on the local inhabitants.

CONCLUSION

All the aforementioned problems are vital to the well-being of the Indians inhabiting the Caribbean spheres. Representations have been made in detailed form to the Commonwealth Relations Department of the Government of India. Having made personal contact, not only with this principal department concerned with Indians overseas, but with the leaders of India, it is hoped that in the near future, the best interests of 380,000 Indians domiciled in British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Surinam, in those far away outposts of the Western Hemispheres, will bear fruit, sufficient to reassure and give confidence to them nearly all of whom are descendants of Indian immigrants, who were sent over to those colonies to serve as labourers to the sugar plantations some 113 years ago. Their rights were guaranteed by three civilized Governments, namely, India, Great Britain and British Guiana and the British West Indies Governments. In this long corridor of years while these hardy sons of India saved those British colonies from utter ruin, these aforesaid British Governments did but little in their interest. Not even the Indian leaders showed any serious concern about them, although South Africa was particularly fortunate to have claimed all the attention they could afford outside of their own domestic problems.

INDIA AND THE WORLD

PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND COMMITTEES

WORLD CIVIL AVIATION COUNCIL: MONTREAL

15 JANUARY, 1947

THE first meeting of the Council of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization was attended by representatives from 19 countries. India was represented by Mr. Biraj Madhab Gupta, Deputy Director of the Civil Aviation Directorate of India. The Council discussed the preparations for the establishment of a permanent organization and matters relating to drafting of private

air law. Dispute arose over trans-Pacific requirements between the British and American delegates. On 5 February a compromise was reached. The British view that the China Sea Board, the Philippines, most of the Netherlands East Indies, the Mariana and the Marshall Islands and the Central American States should not be discussed was accepted against the U. S. desire to discuss these territories now. It was however decided that the technical committees of the Conference should make recommendations on trans-Pacific requirements without taking the boundaries into consideration. On 13 February the Air Transport Committee of the Council accepted for discussion a draft agreement on world commercial air rights which would exclude bilateral dealings. A move by Indian, British, U. S. and Chinese delegates to approve bilateral dealings modelled on the Bermuda agreement between U. S. and Britain was defeated. The Committee will submit the final draft agreement to the Assembly of the Organization in Montreal in May 1947.

FOURTH SESSION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL OF THE
UNITED NATIONS

NEW YORK: 28 FEBRUARY, 1947

The Indian delegation consisted of Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar (Leader), S. K. Kripalani and (Mrs.) Hansa Mehta (Alternate Delegates), with Prof. Mahalanobis, L. K. Jha, B. P. Adarkar, Syed Wahajuddin Ahmed and S. Sen as Advisers. India was elected to six commissions and the Government of India nominated the following as members:

- Economic and Employment Commission—R. K. Nehru
- Human Rights Commission—(Mrs.) Hansa Mehta
- Transport and Communications Commission—Nur Mahomed Chinoy
- Commission on the Status of Women—(Mrs.) Hamid Ali
- Fiscal Commission—N. Sundaresan
- Statistical Commission—Prof. Mahalanobis.

The Government of India also deputed B. N. Adarkar and Dr. A. I. Qureshi to participate in the Drafting Committee entrusted with the task of preparing a World Trade Charter.

The Commissions began their deliberations much earlier. Speaking on India's policy on the freedom of the press, (Mrs.) Mehta told the Human Rights Commission on 29 January that 'the struggle of the press in fact has been closely associated with the political struggle for larger freedom.' On 21 January she presented India's draft for an International Bill of Human Rights which should come into force 12 months after it was passed by the General Assembly. Divergence of views arose on the method of its implementation, India proposing an International Convention enforceable by the Security Council, Australia favouring the creation of a special International Court of Human Rights with jurisdiction over national courts, U. S., Britain and Russia supporting mere incorporation of a Bill of Human Rights in the form of a resolution to the General Assembly. Attempts were made to delay serious consideration of the Indian draft. Even after (Mrs.) Mehta formally moved her resolution and

was seconded by Britain, the matter got bogged in a procedural wrangle in spite of her assertion that she was not insisting that it should be put to the vote, but that it was only a motion formally moved before the House. (Mrs.) Mehta declared that 'a merely declaratory resolution containing lofty principles without any mandatory character cannot be objective of this Commission.' A second Indian resolution seeking to set up a widely representative drafting sub-committee was defeated on 4 February. On 5 February the Commission decided to postpone a decision on the method of implementing the Bill till the next session in June, setting up, in the meanwhile, a drafting committee to prepare it. Drafting will be done by the Chairman (U. S.) and the Vice-Chairman (China) of the Commission with the assistance of the Secretariat. Members of the Commission may submit oral or written observations and suggestions to the drafting body.

On 13 February the Transport and Communications Commission took up for consideration Mr. Chinoy's proposal for the setting up of an Asian Transport Commission which might take the form of a sub-commission of the Transport Commission for co-ordination of Asian Transport. Mr. Chinoy stated that India was particularly interested in inland transport to Iran and Afghanistan. Alternately he suggested that India or China might convene a special Asian Conference which would report to the Transport Commission. He declared that pending the establishment of the Economic Commission for Asia, such an Asian Transport Conference could take stock of the position for the co-ordination of Asian transport. The Commission finally decided first to ask the Secretary-General to approach interested countries for views on this subject and afterwards to make plans for setting-up of the suggested sub-commission probably in autumn.

India took a leading part in drafting the report of the working group for Asia and the Far East which was expected to urge the Council to set up immediately an Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East similar to the one just created for Europe. Mr. B. P. Adarkar represented India in this drafting work. The report was drafted unanimously with only U. S. hesitating. The report shows that India's main needs are plant and machinery, technical assistance and the need for foreign exchange in hard currency outside the sterling area.

On 24 February the Commission on the Status of Women approved a programme for its future work aiming at increased political, civil, social, economic and educational equality for women throughout the world.

The fourth session of the 18-members Council for the year opened on 28 February and Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar was re-elected President of the Council. He declared that 'organizational part of the work was over and that the Council should show results of work this year. Dr. Jan Papanek of Czechoslovakia was elected first Vice-President and Dr. Alberto Arca Farro of Peru as second Vice-President. On 6 March, speaking on the report of the Economic and Employment Commission, which laid too much emphasis on the question of full employment, but inadequately on the development of undeveloped countries, Mr. Kripalani pleaded for raising the standard of living and was supported

by Walter Nash of New Zealand. The British and New Zealand delegates proposed resolutions to maintain full employment and economic stability, and when the committee on Economic Affairs of the Council proposed to enlarge these resolutions, the Indian delegation introduced a resolution to induce international action 'to promote higher standard of living throughout the world, more particularly in undeveloped and under-developed areas.' Small nations like Lebanon, Chile, Peru and Cuba supported the Indian resolution. The Committee later approved the formation of a sub-committee with India as a member to prepare a single resolution on both full employment and economic development from the Indian, British and New Zealand proposals.

In connexion with the establishment of an International Shipping Organization, the Council discussed two main points: whether there should be a new specialized agency to deal with shipping problems and whether the scope of the proposed new organization should include political matters. Discussing the second point Mr. Kripalani drew the Council's attention to a passage in the Maritime Consultative Council draft statute which would give the new organization a mandate to encourage removal of all forms of discriminatory action and unnecessary restrictions by governments affecting shipping, and declared that restrictive practices were by no means a monopoly of governments and that a shipping cartel was one of the most powerful cartels. On 10 March the Council decided to call an International Shipping Conference to consider whether an inter-governmental shipping organization should be created. It was stated that all members of the United Nations and other countries except Franco's Spain would be invited.

DELEGATIONS AND MISSIONS

WOOL SURVEY MISSION : DECEMBER 1946—FEBRUARY 1947

The Mission was sponsored by the International Wool Secretariat, a non-profit-making institution wedded to the promotion of the use of wool throughout the world. The object was to survey the conditions of wool industry in India and its potentialities in pursuance of its general object to develop widest markets for wool within the Empire and assist all wool-growers all over the world. The Mission headed by Mr. Arthur Staynes discussed the various aspects of the industry with the officials of the Commerce and Industries Departments of the Government of India. They also visited Bombay, Madras, Bangalore and several other wool-producing places and discussed with the governmental officials and Chambers of Commerce various aspects of production, distribution and consumption of wool.

EAST AFRICAN AND SUDANESE COTTON DELEGATION

10-16 JANUARY, 1947

The object of the East African and Sudanese Government delegates was to discuss with the Government of India arrangements for purchase by India of East African and Sudanese long-staple cotton. The delegation consisted of Sir Charles Lockhart (East Africa) with C. P. Dalal and L. E. Vafiadis as

Advisers and G. E. March and E. R. John (Sudan) with A. D. Darlow as Adviser.

The Government of India was represented by I. I. Chundrigar, Commerce Member for the Government of India and N. R. Pillai, Secretary to the Commerce Department. The Conference between the two delegations began on 14 January, 1947. As a result of these talks, it was agreed that the 1946-47 crops of East African and Sudanese cotton should be made available to India on the basis of Rs. 920 per candy, ex-godown delivery, Bombay for East African B. P. 52 and corresponding prices for other varieties.

DUTCH AIR MISSION TO INDIA

18-27 JANUARY, 1947

A Netherlands Government Air Mission headed by Dr. Van Der Rabs, Director-General of Civil Aviation in the Netherlands Government arrived in India with a view to negotiate a bilateral air transport agreement with the Government of India on the terms and conditions of operating the K. L. M. Civil Dutch plane services through India on the lines similar to the recent Indo-U. S. Air Agreement. The new Civil airline will, under the proposed agreement, replace the present Netherlands Military Air Transport which links the Netherlands with the Dutch East Indies.

THE BRITISH DELEGATION ON STERLING BALANCES

29 JANUARY—15 FEBRUARY, 1947*

The members of the delegation which consisted of the officials of H. M. G's Treasury and the Bank of England were Sir Wilfred Eady (Leader), C. F. Cobbold, K. Anderson, P. S. Beale and J. A. Nasmyth. The object of the delegation was to carry on exploratory talks with the officials of the Indian Finance Department and the Reserve Bank of India to seek an agreed formula by which the blocked Sterling balances worth about Rs. 1600 crores could be repatriated to the advantage of both Britain and India. They met the Indian delegation which consisted of Narahari Rao, Mahomed Ali, B. K. Nehru and Keith Roy of the Government of India and J. V. Joshi and Ramnath of the Reserve Bank of India, and discussed the question. It was reported that although the conversations were of exploratory character, the whole subject had been examined in detail, the talks being regarded on both sides, as having been extremely helpful. It is expected that the talks will be continued on a more formal basis towards the end of April and that arrangements for the resumption of talks will be decided as soon as convenient.

I. L. O. ASIAN DELEGATION

FEBRUARY—MARCH 1947

The Delegation consisted of Dr. P. P. Pillai (Chairman) Hai-fong Cheng (Vice-Chairman) R. Rao, K. Kuriyan, T. K. Dsang, Mrs. M. Thibert, S. S. Dhami, Miss E. Dutt, Miss L. Bodmer, H. Jawad, H. D. Bivort and A. H. Ali. The object of the Mission's visit to India was to gather material for the preparatory Asian Conference to be held at New Delhi in October, 1947 and to

verify and amplify the information contained in the reports prepared by the office for the Conference by discussions with local officials. The Mission was also intended to afford an opportunity to the officials of the I. L. O. who have been assigned to it to get a closer acquaintance with the conditions in the Asian countries and with officials who are actively engaged in the formulation of labour policy and the administration of labour measures in these countries. The Mission visited Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and other centres in India and acquainted themselves with the conditions and problems of Indian labour by visiting its places of work and residence and meeting its representatives. The Mission will be visiting other Asian countries also.

WORLD YOUTH DELEGATION

FEBRUARY—MARCH 1947

The delegation was deputed by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and consisted of Olga Chechotkina (Russia), Rusko Tomovic (Yugoslavia), Oslen Marrious (Denmark) and Jean Lautissier (France). The object of the visit was to establish contact with the youth of India to understand their conditions and problems. They therefore met the representatives of the All-India Students Congress, All-India Students Federation and the Muslim Students Federation. They started on a six-week tour of India and visited Lucknow, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in pursuance of the same objective. They met in Delhi in the last week of March in a preparatory committee meeting with a view to convene an Asian Students Conference.

ASSOCIATIONS IN INDIA INTERESTED IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

THE INDO-ARAB CULTURAL ASSOCIATION, BOMBAY

The Indo-Arab Cultural Association, Bombay was founded on 2 December, 1945 with a view to promote friendly relations and cultural understanding between the Arabs and Indians. It proposes to achieve these objects by arranging lectures and conversational meetings, by establishing contact with Arabic academies and associations in other countries and keeping in touch with scholars engaged in Arabic studies, and by issuing a journal entitled '*al-urwa*.' It is also opening a Reading Room where current Arabic newspapers and magazines and standard books would be kept for the benefit of its members.

The membership of the Association is divided into three categories—(a) Ordinary Members paying an annual fee of Rs. 20 together with an admission fee of Rs. 50, (b) Life Members paying Rs. 500 or more and (c) Associate Members paying Rs. 50 only once. This last membership is intended for the benefit of the many staying outside Bombay and unable to avail themselves of the amenities provided by the Association. Besides, those who join the Association before 31 May, 1947 will become Founder Members.

The Association has an Executive Committee consisting of a President (Mr. Tarek G. al-Yaffi), a General Secretary (Dr. H. F. al-Hamdani), a Treasurer (Prof. B. M. Tirmidhi) and five Members (Dr. M. B. Rehman, Shaykh Ibrahim

Yusuf Zainal Ali Reza, Mr. Abdur-Rehman al-Bassam, Mr. Subhi el-Ejel and M. H. Sayyid). The address of the Association is The Indo-Arab Cultural Association, 'Sea Glimpse,' Old Kantwadi, Bandra, Bombay 20.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

IN DEFENCE OF TOTALITARIANISM.

INDIVIDUALISM : TRUE AND FALSE *By* F. A. Hayek. 1945 (Dublin : Hodges, Figgis. Oxford : Blackwell, 2s.6 d.)

Such is the perversity of our times that old-established, time-honoured ways of thinking and doing need defence in these unregenerate days. The modern intellectual has become expert in the fascinating art of finding good reasons for bad conduct, or like the Sophists of old, in making the worse appear the better reason. As of old, man continues to be ignorant, selfish, domineering over his weaker brethren; but we have been taught fine names for all such ignoble things. We recognize them as freedom, justice, truth and non-violence, anti-totalitarianism generally.

Take this present business of anti-totalitarianism. Anyone who wishes to advance the least claim to the possession of modern culture and civilization must protest loudly that he is opposed to all totalitarianism tooth and nail. He is a democrat first and last, loves freedom, equality, the rule of law and all the rest. There is, we are told, even a new anti-totalitarianism.¹ But what is the barest truth after all? We are all, every one of us Minoo, Mahomed, Mohan and their ilk not excepted, every inch totalitarians.

We may deny it never so vociferously, there is a dictator in the innermost recesses of our self. 'We *must* be anti-totalitarians.' Wherefrom that '*must*', may one ask? By virtue of what totalitarian principle do you exhort us to exercise totalitarianism? How can any one preach anti-totalitarianism without raising it to the level of a universal dogma?

Why, in the last analysis, is democratic individualism the best possible principle of social organization? The old answer to this question has been made famous recently by its most forcible restatement by Prof. Hayek. Is it not the tritest of commonplaces that no single individual, or group of individuals, however wise and well furnished with the technique of gathering and co-ordinating information, can achieve perfect knowledge of the absolutely correct principle of organizing social life? Hence even the Central Planning Board of a totalitarian State, in attempting to frame its own general plan of allocating the scarce resources of the community in the form of men and materials among the multifarious competing ends whatever, must act on knowledge which is after all imperfect and fallible. It may pretend to plan in the interests of 'social welfare'; but that is only a meaningless formula. It can furnish no guidance for 'it has no sufficiently definite meaning to determine a particular course of

¹ Masani, 'The New Anti-Totalitarianism,' *India Quarterly*, October '45, p. 350.

action.¹ It would merely result in the Planning Board's substitution of its own scale of values for the millions of individual scales by which people measure their happiness. That is why socialized planning constitutes the road to serfdom for it means surrendering individual choice and initiative to the dictates of an equally fallible authority. Since no one knows what is the best social system, is it not best to leave every individual free to work out his own plan of life according to his values, and trust to Smith's 'invisible hand' to transmute this 'anarchy' of millions of independent private plans into a social order, impersonal, objective, impartial and therefore in the best interests of all concerned?

Observe the stark contradiction that stares you in the face. Starting from the proposition that no one can know the best social system, by slow degrees, almost by sleight of the pen, Hayek finishes by enunciating the principle governing the best social system. Surely, Hayek of all persons has the least right to arrogate to himself the knowledge which he denies to the guardians of the collectivist State! Socialism may be the road to serfdom, but how does Hayek assure himself that capitalist democracy does not spell something even worse than serfdom? What topping totalitarianism!

However, Hayek might retort that once the principle of collectivist planning is given up, freedom for the individual follows as of logical necessity. Since it is the *only* principle of social organization, it is irrelevant to ask whether it is the best.

This argument might appear unanswerable at first sight. A careful analysis is therefore called for to lay bare its utterly self-contradictory character.

Let us begin by observing that in predicting imperfection of everybody's knowledge, Hayek has been the greatest totalitarian. Hayek may say that he, Hayek, for all his wealth of learning is a mere Lazarus in the world of knowledge. But by his very imperfection, he is precluded from doubting the knowledge of those who assert to the contrary. Even those, who, in becoming humility, accept Hayek's verdict about themselves may well pause and consider whether it is wise to set much store by a fool's statement that we are all fools. There are, on the contrary, daring spirits who believe they have revealed to them, with the glory of a million stars, the ultimate truth about the best social system. From his individualist standpoint, without recourse to intellectual totalitarianism, Hayek has no way of convincing such as these of the error of their belief. As a strict individualist, Hayek is free to conceive other people in his own image and make statement about what *he thinks* they think of their knowledge; but it is not possible for him to have knowledge about what *they* think of themselves. The truth is that there is no bridge in an individualist creed between the individual and the social. The individual is for ever shut up in the prison of his own narrow self. As Robbins has asserted inter-subjective comparisons of valuations are scientifically impossible. Every one is free to choose what system of valuations he likes; but there is no scientific way of demonstrating which is the ultimately valuable system for society as a whole. This is the

¹ *The Road to Serfdom*, p. 42.

meaning of Morgenstern's assertion that social good is scientifically an untenable conception.

The individualist, therefore, is on the horns of a dilemma. If he insists on his own views about social good, especially when they are opposed to the views of others held in equal freedom, he lays himself open to the charge of totalitarianism; if he does not, he stultifies himself for they have no more validity beyond himself.

In the light of the above discussion let us examine the anti-totalitarian view of the 'sad case' of those misguided believers in the 'Soviet Myth.' The first charge against them is that they 'set up a double standard of morality by which to judge the Russian brand of totalitarianism as distinct from other brands.'¹ Louis Fischer, famous in this country by his *Week with Gandhiji* has this same quarrel with the friends of Russia. He writes, 'You discriminate, you therefore distort. . . . I could give you a list yard long of Soviet steps at home and abroad, that are not anti-fascist, that are, on the contrary, dictatorial, unilateral, anti-democratic and conducive to neither freedom nor peace.' George Orwell has effectively clinched the point: 'Their attitude towards Russian foreign policy is not 'is this policy right or wrong?' but 'This is Russian policy; how can we make it appear right?'

As to all this democratic outburst there is first a preliminary point: Why should I not have a double standard? Why should I be constrained to consider 'the same act' as equally worthy of praise or blame irrespective of who does it? I may choose not only to have a double standard but a myriad-faceted one and view the same act in a different light if performed by different individuals and also judge it differently at different times. As a matter of fact, I should be at liberty to change my standard with every change in the constellation of accompanying circumstances in which the act appears. What right has a democrat to *dictate* that my conduct should conform to a rule of mechanical consistency? Such consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds; I choose to be simply true.

The above is merely a formal argument. The objection to the argument from the double standard is weightier still. It is, of course, possible that bias may vitiate the judgement, which on that account may become lenient or even assign praise where stern condemnation is called for. But is it not also possible that 'the same act' really wears a different aspect, is different, in fact, if done by two different persons? Men are usually said to be guilty of a double morality when they condemn in women what they commend or connive at in men. But cannot a moralist honestly claim that his ideal moral standard requires that women should be strictly forbidden to do things allowed to men? Do we not allow the totalitarian in us to get the better of the Liberal when we pronounce such a moralist guilty of a double standard?

Again, the partisans of Russia are accused, ostrich-like, of avoiding to face the facts in order that they may cling to their old beliefs. But may we ask, what are facts in history? Facts in the social sciences are what people think

¹ Masani, *The New Anti-Totalitarianism*, *India Quarterly*, October '45, p. 305.

they are, they are in effect theories. Two men may be discovered running frantically mad in the streets. One may be running like one of Arthur's Knights of the Round Table to save a lady in distress; the other may be running for dear life pursued by the officers of the law who spied him in the act of assault. Are we, on the evidence of the fact of running, to condemn both of them? The annexation of Poland is a fact in the purely physical sense that territory formerly belonging to Poland is now included within the borders of Russia. But 'annexation' with the penumbra of disapprobation surrounding it is really a theory. The walls of my little cottage, my 'castle' in the Englishman's sense, have been destroyed; the destruction is a fact beyond dispute. They may have been destroyed as being no longer necessary owing to my having been made the freeman of the whole surrounding estate; or they may also have been destroyed in order to hound me out even of that scant security which I enjoyed within their narrow confines. The annexations of Russia which afford the people of the annexed territory equality of status with the Russians themselves can never be treated as on a par with the grabbings of colonial empires by the robber-batons of capitalism, the Anglo-American imperialists. It is a strange spectacle that men who emphasize moral values, who are out to work a change of heart in the wicked should take so behaviouristic view of human conduct and treat action in its purely physical aspect. Is not motive most significant for the morality of an act? The friends of Russia may well plead guilty to the charge of setting up a double standard and of discriminating in favour of Russian; but what are we to think of the morality of those in whose eyes actions, poles apart in their moral significance, are of equal worth merely because they are similar in their purely physical aspects; who cannot distinguish between the disinterested action of the non-attached individual and that of the heartless brute who carries a stone for his conscience?

We are now in a position to understand in its proper perspective the perennial controversy over means and ends. When there is no dispute over the value of the ultimate end, it is often a merely verbal fallacy. Many people consider violence *per se* as bad; but they will not find it difficult to justify violence ending even in the killing of another if committed in the exercise of the right of self-defence. Often times, the same physical act has a different name according as the end differs. The cutting of the delicate body of an infant into tiny pieces is not child murder but a skilful surgical operation when resorted to for the purpose of saving the mother's life. If this is borne in mind, those who find themselves in agreement with the ultimate ideals of Russian foreign policy need not be frightened or taken aback by its characterization as 'dictatorial,' 'unilateral' or 'imperialistic,' etc. It may be due to deliberate design or the result of the sheer poverty of language where old words have to do duty in expressing the meaning of new experiences which are afforded by the development of reality. Readers of modern poetry will discover in this one of the important causes of its obscurity.

We can now appreciate the force of the communist maxim, 'The end justifies the means.' There are many well-intentioned persons who are deeply sympathetic towards the ultimate socialist ideal, but they recoil in horror from the

revolutionary violence necessary to achieve it. Bad means, they assert, can never secure a good end; the quality of the means must affect the quality of the end. The latter half of the sentence contains an important truth in so far as it asserts an unbreakable continuum of means and ends. But it states the relation between means and ends in an inverse fashion, for means must derive their quality from the end to the achievement of which they are instrumental. To pronounce the means bad, while admitting that the end which they can achieve is good is to contradict oneself. If saving the life of the cow is a desirable end, then lying in order to send the pursuing butcher on a wrong track can hardly merit censure. To pronounce lying as bad *per se* is to break artificially the indivisible continuum between means and ends. Similarly, those who value truth as an ideal above all else will hardly consider the life of a cow as too high a price for its preservation. It is because in a libertarian, democratic society, men are free to choose different ideals of ultimate value that we come to speak paradoxically enough of bad means securing a good end. The real conflict is, therefore, about the ultimately valuable value. It is, of course, sometimes argued that one can achieve one's own ultimate ideal without sacrificing anyone else's ideal as a means for its realization. We can, that is to say, speak the truth as well as save the life of the cow. This, however, ignores the fundamental tragedy of human choice, which as Santayana remarked, is always a choice between two goods. There is never a choice between absolute good and absolute evil but between two goods, one of which has to be sacrificed to realize the other.

Let us, in the light of the above, examine George Orwell's charge that the friends of Russia merely rationalize *ex post facto* her crimes and sins in the matter of foreign policy. Does he mean to suggest that acts of foreign policy are born with labels tied round their necks so that even a child can pick out the right from the wrong ones? Acts of policy cannot be judged in isolation from the purpose which they are meant to serve. Unless George Orwell quite undemocratically presumes with pontifical airs to legislate for the moral conscience of the whole of humanity, he must admit that ultimate standards of right and wrong can vary. If with Lord Acton we believe in freedom as an ultimate value, every destruction of it is *ipso facto* wrong. But Russia may choose to destroy freedom in the interests of equality; for as Laski has pointed out, freedom in the context of inequality merely spells privilege for the selfish few. Those who believe, therefore, in the high moral purpose which actuates Russian foreign policy must justify every single act that goes to strengthen it.

It is, of course, possible that some of those who agree on the common objective may differ as to the adequacy or even consistency of a particular act with the general purpose. It is arguable, for instance, that some regard for the freedom of small, capitalist nations may not only be not inconsistent with the pursuit of her equalitarian ideal by Russia, but may even further it. Nevertheless, it is best in all such cases to defer to the judgement of those who are best able to form it. Do we not regard Gandhiji as the ultimate authority in all matters relating to the technique of Satyagraha, even though at times we may differ from him and even he may later admit that he was wrong, as in the Rajkot

incident? Is it then so ridiculously absurd that friends of the Soviet Union knowing that an act forms part of Russian Policy proceed without further ado to justify it? Only if independent evidence is adduced to prove that Russia has swerved from the straight and narrow path of socialism, can her foreign policy be judged from the capitalist standpoint. Of this as yet, her critics have furnished no evidence worth mentioning.

(It is necessary to state here in fairness to the writer, that he holds no brief for Soviet Russia. What he deeply resents is the use of clever arguments by responsible leaders of public opinion to fool the people. He does not attempt to judge here the issue between socialism *versus* individualism.)

But the incorrigible anti-totalitarian might still persist: 'I am so far with you that if you do not agree with me, you must have the freedom to proclaim from house-tops the truth as you know it.' But that exactly is the virtue *par excellence* of a democratic society. That is why you are allowed to publish this trash or capitalist America permits the propagation of the gospel according to St. Marx. We believe that truth will develop best by grappling with error. 'Who ever knew' asked Milton, 'truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?' What we object to is any individual or group branding certain views with the stamp of authority and forcing everybody to accept them as the only truth. That is totalitarianism. It is dictatorial, it forces everyone to one uniform pattern of thought and expression. It suppresses ruthlessly all expression inimical to it. It thus sets bounds to the free development of truth and hence in the process destroys truth itself. Who is there so base that does not love freedom for all? If there be any, him does my philosophy wrong.

It is this argument, with its disarming candour, which renders the budding Marxist completely non-plussed. Though the argument has been worn almost threadbare, interested individuals and classes continue to use it to serve their own ends. Ever since Adam Smith in the true eighteenth century fashion sang the praises of the simple system of natural liberty, generations of students have been brought up on the naive belief that freedom at all times is the best principle of social organization. Mandeville, before Smith, has stated the paradoxical truth: 'Private vices,' public virtues. Smith, too, gave a detailed demonstration as to how the base metal of private self-interest is transmuted by the alchemy of the invisible hand into the pure gold of social welfare. The early nineteenth century was the heyday of the prosperity of this cult, and the development of the Marginal theory towards its end seemed to have given a better theoretical proof of it. Though it has now been generally recognized, at least in intelligent quarters that it is a wholly illegitimate deduction from the theory, the belief in freedom continues to be held on broader sociological grounds. The inter-war period was a relapse into restrictionist policies so far as international commercial relations were concerned. To-day the doctrine of freedom is again being resuscitated from its state of suspended animation, and we hear of schemes about free and equal access to raw materials, multilateral trade, the scaling down of tariff walls, full-employment in a free economy etc. Nearer home the British insist on the notion of reciprocity as the basis of the relations between England and India.

Is it really necessary so late in the day to uncover the implications of this demand for freedom? Are we so dull and dense as not to realize that this is one more case where the fair name of freedom is being prostituted to serve the interests of a single class? It is just a clever move to retain power by those who already possess it. It is worship of the *status quo* in the most undiluted form.

Equal treatment to persons in unequal situations! Equal opportunity to genius and mediocrity! The same starting position for the race between the giant and the pigmy! Free trade between the industrially advanced and the economically backward countries! It is a fine sense of justice, indeed!

In the beginning of modern times, freedom was hailed as a great liberating force from the authoritarian, traditional, stationary medieval society. It is an eternal testimony to the penetrating insight of Marx that his enthusiasm for the classless society did not blind him to the great, revolutionary qualities of early capitalism. As Schumpeter has pointed out, no bourgeois writer has equalled Marx in the encomium which he has bestowed on capitalism for its great work of freeing man from the fetters of medievalism and setting him on the high road of prosperity and progress. But with Marx, freedom was no static conception; it was a dynamic process. It is this which distinguishes pre-eminently Marxian from non-Marxian thought. It is the flux of concrete reality which Marx was interested in studying and if possible in discovering the laws of the development. Students of economics will grasp the distinction easily when they bring to mind Robbins' definition of it as a study of human behaviour as *relationships* between scarce means and alternative ends. This *relation* will always hold whatever the changes in the character of the means and ends. Economics is universal because it is static and abstracts from all concrete reality. That is why Souter in his review criticised Robbins for his 'static formalism.' Marx's Tenth Thesis on Feuerbach is interesting in this connexion: 'The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in different ways; (which is to say, fundamentally the world order is something fixed and immutable). The point, however, is to *change* it.' Marx knew by reason of the law of dialectical development that freedom will culminate into privilege for the vested interests to oppress and exploit the other classes. Similarly Knight has pointed out, 'freedom to use power to get more power involves a cumulative tendency to inequality.'¹ Thus, we have already travelled a good distance on the road to serfdom, for freedom to-day enslaves and totalitarianism will alone set free.

This whole discussion can be best summed up in the light of an illuminating distinction between true individualism and false which Hayek has drawn in his recent book.² The lack of a clear perception of this distinction has been responsible for much confusion in current political thinking. It has been the burden of much of Hayek's recent writing that totalitarianism of the Soviet or any other type is necessarily anti-democratic; the Communists and Marxists generally assert the essentially democratic character of Soviet planning. It is their contention that true democracy can flourish only in an environment of

¹ *Risk, Uncertainty and profits*, New preface, p xviii.

² *Individualism, True and False*.

economic equality. Hayek and traditional British political thought generally asserts that democracy is not only incompatible with inequality, but to a certain extent necessarily presupposes it. Underlying Soviet democracy is a wrong version of individualism. False individualism 'which derives from Cartesian rationalism, treats all individuals as *identical units* and in its greater passion for equality is apt to become 'inimical to liberty, tolerance and an (truly) individualistic conception of life!¹ 'Where it is the free will of the majority that the united power of the State should be directed against dissenting minorities and that dictatorial methods should be used to suppress all possible political opponents, dictatorship can even combine with democracy If in free and unfettered elections, a majority votes for a single-party system we cannot but speak of a totalitarian or authoritarian democracy' It is thus that 'in a democracy the way leads from political equality and sovereignty of the people towards a single-party system and tyranny, towards absolutism and dictatorship.'² Individualism in this context, knows what is the best social system, and is, therefore, totalitarian in character.

True individualism, on the other hand, emphasizes the essential uniqueness of the individual. It does not lay much emphasis on reason, about which there is hardly anything individual. 'It is an instrument to give us totally non-individual knowledge.'³ But the meaning of life, the enjoyment of the highest spiritual values is essentially an individual possession.' All that we can know of truth, beauty, godness, is in individual prisms that break up the cold white light of ultimate reality into glowing colours that fire our imaginations and touch our hearts.'⁷ It is to protect this creative freedom of the individual that true individualism stands by the values of Liberalism. It is this which is implicit in the British tradition of democracy, and for which Milton, Acton and their like stood in their own day. It is this same individualism of which Hayek is such a doughty champion to-day. But it must necessarily imply the inherent inequality of all men. This has two consequences: (1) Such individualism cannot assert, without being totalitarian, that it is valuable from the point of view of society as a whole; (2) It is possible that the individual may acquiesce, of his own free will in the rule of the wise, the philosopher-kings of Plato. It is along these lines that idealistic theory, while recognizing the ultimate right of resistance, has justified generally the forcing of erring individuals to be free. That is to say, true individualism also, in order to be significant as a principle of social organization, must become totalitarian.

N. A. MAVLANKAR

THE FUTURE OF JAPAN. By William C. Johnstone. 1945 (New York: Oxford University Press, Rs. 7)

WRITTEN in the early part of 1945 before the fall of Japan, it deals with the problem of what to do with Japan after she is defeated. So far as this primary question is concerned which covers the major part of the book, it has gone

¹ Review of Hayek's book, *Times Literary Supplement*, 13 July, 1946.

² G. Leibholz, 'Two Types of Democracy,' *Libbert Journal*, October '45, p. 43.

³ Morgan, *Individuality in a Collective World*, p. 239.

beyond speculation. What was once a mere guess work is today a hard reality. The plans of 1945 are now practices of every-day experience. To that extent, the book has lost its intrinsic or current history interest.

Nevertheless the book has other aspects. Testing what is today with the prophecies of 1945, the chapter 'Reactions to Defeat' runs fairly well to reality, which shows the author's familiarity with the Japanese rulers and people and the ability to analyse. But for the rest, it betrays the same set prejudices towards the Japanese, so common in the average American.

The usual case of course is that Japan is at the core medieval and militaristic and therefore likely to remain a threat to peace. The 'Problem' therefore is how to control her and then to change her.

The habit of still treating countries and governments isolatedly, torn from their international context, even on the part of students of history, is surprising as well as regrettable. For it is fantastic to reason as though each country functions in a quarantined area like Robinson Crusoe on the island, and without contacts and no reference whatever to other countries and its policies. American writers would not only be truer to history but do a great service to their own people, by stating that a nation, as much as an individual, is the product of the surrounding environment. Every big Power including America herself, has in the past, contributed to Japan's policies. Britain encouraged and helped her arm so as to down Russia through her. To be able to have a free hand herself in the Pacific, America connived at Japan's early aggression and upto Pearl Harbour, had no hesitation in supplying war materials to that country.

The book contains constructive suggestions as to how to rebuild Japan—a democratic and reoriented Japan. The author would do well to remember that Japan's response to the American moulding will be greatly conditioned by world conditions, and by the international policies of the big Powers. It was only yesterday that the British, the Dutch and the French had no hesitation in keeping the Japanese in certain areas in arms to suppress colonial revolt. Surely that is hardly the way to initiate Japan into the mysteries of democracy.

(MRS.) KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

NEW HORIZONS: A STUDY OF AUSTRALIAN-INDIAN RELATIONS.

By Bertram Stevens. 1946 (Published under the auspices of the Australian Institute of International Affairs, New South Wales)

Australia has emerged out of World War II with a vivid and acute consciousness of the vastly changed political, economic and strategic set-up in the Pacific and the Indian Ocean regions and is rapidly re-orienting her foreign relationships with the countries in these areas so as to take a lead in building up a new balance of forces. The South Pacific Commission which grew out of the Australia-New Zealand Agreement of January 1944 represents the first major effort in this direction. Following the British Government's announcement of their decision to quit India by June 1948, Australia's interest in maintaining harmonious relations with the South-East Asian countries, creating a regional instrument for common purposes and establishing agreement

with India which is bound to play the leading role in these counsels and policies, has perceptibly quickened. Emphasizing the economic aspect of the co-operation sought, Dr. Evatt, the Australian Minister for External Affairs, said in the House of Representatives on 26 February, 1947 : 'It is necessary by means of constant and close relationship with India for Australian industries to make a substantial contribution to the solution of India's problems, which are fundamentally problems of the organization of industry and agriculture.' Sir Bertram Stevens' study under review is a realistic, constructive, and concrete contribution in the field of Indo-Australian economic co-operation. The first non-official publication by an Australian on the subject, and written primarily for the benefit of Australians who know very little about India, this book deals within its short compass fairly objectively with India's political and economic problems and certainly helps Australian understanding of India. Having obtained first-hand knowledge of India when he was the Australian representative on the Eastern Group Supply Council, Sir Bertram firmly believes that political conditions in India both favour and necessitate rapid economic development, that she has adequate natural, financial and entrepreneurial resources for the purpose and that Australian industrialists would do well to study Indian needs and offer help. Interesting instances are given of Indo-Australian industrial collaboration which has already started: an Indian industrialist has formed his own proprietary company in Australia for obtaining plant and technical personnel; Australians have undertaken to erect whole plants and factories to be designed and fabricated partly in India and partly in Australia and considered proposals for Australian minority financial participation in Indian industrial projects. As regards trade, the author emphasizes the fact that Britain will be a progressively declining market for Australian primaries and that the South East Asian region, particularly India, holds out the largest promise. Among the articles which India could take are metals, machine tools, engines and machinery in which cheap Australian steel has an advantage, wool which could go up as high as Japan's offtake from Australia (237 million lbs. in 1935-36), woollen, machinery, dairy products, fruits, and meat. From India Australia would take cotton, minerals such as manganese and ilmenite jute, oils, hides and skins, timber, lac, tobacco, tea and coffee. Intensive research study of the Indian markets is urged by establishing trade and industrial development organizations by groups of Australian industrialists, starting branches of Australian firms in the principal ports, appointing competent representatives and reliable agents, encouraging the creation of an Australian section in Indian commercial chambers etc. Sir Bertram's concrete ideas must interest Indian businessmen.

R. KRISHNAMURTI

FOREIGN BOOKS ON INDIA

INDIAN ROUTE MARCH. By Louis Hagen. 1946 (London: Pilot Press, Rs. 7)

Indian Route March by Louis Hagen is yet another book published on India by an author who has not been able to penetrate or understand real India. A

British soldier stationed in India during a war for which India's consent was considered unnecessary and at a time when her leaders were in jail found Indian homes closed to him. He had little or no opportunity to come to know the normal life of the people as he acknowledges when he mentions the tremendous difficulty of finding access to Indian homes. It is obvious when he makes a sweeping statement about Indian women and their general level of intelligence that he knows neither the progressive Indian woman nor her orthodox counter-part. His opinions can only be compared to a description of British women by a foreigner who bases his ideas on his contacts with night clubs and women of easy virtue. The chapter on the 'Soldier's evening out' and similar experiences in the city of Calcutta, bear testimony to the type of Indian women from whom Louis Hagen is emboldened to give his analysis on the women of India. It seems to be the experience of a sex-starved member of the British *other* ranks whose contacts in a strange land are mostly confined to brothels and, to quote Mahatma Gandhi on another book on India 'the drains and the sewers of the land.' Most of the chapter on Calcutta can be dismissed with the comment that it is a picture of any war-time city which has the misfortune to be a base of operations and designed to cater for the B. O. R. and others like him.

Louis Hagen expresses an admirable sentiment in his foreword when he says that any sort of verdict is out of the question. But has he escaped it? He affirms that everything in India is inferior and that the Indian artisan has no pride of workmanship. No doubt the fantastic and crude ware specially manufactured and displayed in the shops and streets of Calcutta and other cities for the benefit of the British and American souvenir-hunters, which are disappearing with the exit of the soldiers, have induced him to come to this conclusion. Although he gives a vivid description of the vale of Kashmir with her snow-clad mountains, he does not seem to have discovered the exquisite beauty and rare skill of her craftsmen, or indeed, of the weavers and artisans of Dacca and Manipur, though he has obviously spent much time in eastern India. The story of the 'dud fountain pen' he purchased in India is very akin to the 'gold watch' bought by an unsuspecting Indian student in the heart of rural England, which on examination later turned out to be brass. This superficial strain runs throughout the book.

The author's gift for descriptive writing cannot be denied. He gives a realistic picture of the Indian railway station and the conditions of travelling for the less fortunate, of the ignorance, apathy and poverty of the country-side, the dreadful menace of beggary, filth and squalor which surrounds us while *Bada Sahibs* and *Mem Sahibs* pursue the paths of pleasure and amusement, untouched and unconcerned. It is inconceivable how he can reconcile his unqualified praise of the British members of the I. C. S., the steel-frame of a Government, which has tolerated and allowed such a state of things in modern times, when he himself acknowledges that the condition of India is far more backward in comparison to his own land, than when British rule was first imposed.

Apart from a few inaccuracies, it is not so much the descriptions which are

wrong in this book, but that in spite of expressing the desire of refraining to do so, the author has been tempted to generalize from a limited and superficial experience. In consequence the picture produced is distorted and unrelated to Indian life. A book such as this is calculated to do harm amongst those ignorant of Indian conditions. It would have been better unwritten. Is it too much to hope that authors who aspire to write books on India, should wait till they have a more complete grasp of the country beneath the squalor and misery, and of the reasons which have provoked an easy going people to be so embittered as to cry 'QUIT INDIA'?

(MRS.) RENUKA RAY

OTHER BOOKS

RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE. By B. N. Ganguli.
1946 (New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, Rs. 6)

THE FOREIGN TRADE OF INDIA—1900-1940. By H. Venkatasubbiah.
1946 (New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, Rs. 3/8)

Dr. Ganguli has written a substantial book on the subject of India's trade and trade policy. The book falls into three portions, the historical part which sets out the salient features of India's foreign trade in the inter-war period and presents a 'magnified' picture of India's position in the framework of multi-lateral trade, the analytical part which discusses the objectives of commercial policy in the light of the post-war situation, internal and external, and the U. S. trade proposals, and the third, which deals with the instrumentalities of trade regulation. The historical narration contained in the first two chapters is by far the most interesting. The author has been fascinated by the picture of the multilateral trade system, which developed in the seventies of the last century and got disrupted during the depression of the 'thirties, and feels inspired by the League of Nations' study on the subject. Within the multilateral system and its distortion in the inter-war period he finds sufficient explanation for the progressive reduction in India's unfavourable trade balance with Britain since 1913-14 and its final transformation into a surplus in 1936-37, for the strain in adverse terms of trade that India had to suffer in 1930-36 and for the steep decline in her export surplus with the continental countries by means of which she used to finance her import surplus from Britain and meet her external charges. Dr. Ganguli could considerably have reinforced his case, that India's export trade suffered in the depression less due to a decline in foreign demand than to the cataclysmic fall in prices and the adverse terms of trade uncorrected by monetary action, by an examination of the physical quantities of several of the exports during the period. At the nadir of the depression in 1932-33, the quantum of our exports was as high as 75 per cent of the pre-depression level, but the price level of exports was only 55 per cent, while by 1936-37 the quantum had recovered but the price level continued to be depressed, with the result that the value of exports was under Rs. 200 crores in 1936-37 as against nearly 320 crores in 1927-28. Figures of physical quantities which eliminate the effects of price changes and therefore more precisely mea-

sure the overseas demand for our products are highly important not only in a study of the inter-war period, but (as will be shown presently) in determining policy for the future.

Dr. Ganguli visualizes the revival of a new pattern of multilateral trade in the post-war period based upon the same basic forces, viz., the unequal economic growth of different regions and the flow of capital from the rich to the backward countries, with the United States dominating world trade as the terminal centre in the various transfer routes and Britain holding the second activating place. The position visualized for India in this pattern is highly interesting and imaginative. Multilateral trade is vital to India in view of diversity of her exports and she will sell more and have an export surplus with the countries in the South East Asia, and those bordering on the Indian Ocean. These countries are bound to have, as in the past, an active balance of trade with the advanced industrial countries, notably the U. S. A. and India's possible passive balance with the U. S. A., consequent upon the heavy imports of capital goods, would be met by her active balance with the South East Asian countries. It is obvious that Dr. Ganguli is cutting out the Continent of Europe and putting in its place South East Asia. Would it work exactly that way?

The two chapters (3 and 4) on Alternatives of Commercial Policy and Objectives cover, for the most part, familiar ground in a familiar manner, including topics such as sterling balances (on which the author would appear to take a pessimistic view as regards repayment), foreign loans, the rôle of the U. S. A. in world economy, the principles of non-discriminatory administration of quantitative trade controls, the dollar bloc *versus* the sterling bloc and the famous thesis of the *Economist* for 'a less than completely multilateral' approach to trade. Surprisingly there is a misstatement (p. 127) which attributes a quotation on the scaling-down of our sterling balances to Keynes who never said anything of the kind. *The Economist* said it. Seemingly, there is another (p. 77) which states that the sterling area clearing and the Empire Dollar Pool will be retained after the war. The author's postscript on the U. S. proposals for trade generally reflects the opinions of informed opinion in this country and several of his points have already gained acceptance at the London Conference which he attended as a delegate.

On one question Dr. Ganguli would seem to be on rather uncertain ground. Basing upon Colin Clark's view that the terms of trade in the period immediately after the war would be favourable to primary producers, he urges that India should take advantage of that opportunity and should in any case keep her exports at a high level, and argues that isolating our agriculture from the world market would be neither practicable nor expedient in the immediate or even in the later post-war years. This is a conclusion which neither the figures of the quantum of exports during the war period nor an assessment of export capacity in relation to domestic needs would appear to support. There has been a serious decline in the physical exports of staple agricultural products such as raw cotton, oil-seeds, hides and skins, and jute, the overall export quantum having declined to 53.8 in 1943-44 over 1938-39. A glance at the

export schedule would show that half a dozen commodities such as these have accounted for more than 70 per cent of the export value right for several decades in the past. At least temporarily and at least in the case of some of these commodities, our export capacity has suffered for some years ahead. Raw cotton has almost disappeared and in the case of oil seeds and hides and skins home needs would consume the entire supplies. Tea and jute would maintain and perhaps expand, but cotton textiles in which an export market developed during the war would be available only in a very limited quantity for export. The decline of the staple exports is an entirely novel development which has arisen out of the growing home needs and whatever the essentiality of maintaining agricultural exports for the sake of paying for imports, and whatever the intensity of foreign demand for our products the capacity for that end remains yet to be built on an immediate increase in agricultural production.

The chapter on the instrumentalities of trade regulation suggests the adoption of quotas, and bulk purchases and the creation of Boards of Exports and Imports and internal trade for the co-ordination of domestic and foreign trade policies. A confirmed believer in planning, Dr. Ganguli is not daunted by the inefficiency, corruption, defects in administrative machinery and other bottlenecks, whose widespread existence, however, he does not deny.

Mr. Venkatasubbiah's book has a much more specific purpose, viz., the statistical analysis of the trends in foreign trade during 1900-1940 marked by well-defined periods 1900-14, 1915-19, 1920-29, 1930-35 and 1935-40. For each period, four tables are given, of which two record the changes in the shares of the various countries in the total value of trade, distinguished according as they are Empire or non-Empire countries, and two record changes in the shares of the Empire and non-Empire countries in trade in principal commodities. As a study of the trends in the direction of trade in the forty years, the work is well done and useful. It adequately brings out how in 1900-14 the non-Empire countries slowly gained at the expense of the Empire countries and how the trend was strengthened during World War I by a marked decline in Britain's and (to a lesser extent) Empire's share in India's imports, while their share in India's exports increased from 47.3 to 52.8 per cent. In the decade ending 1929, Empire's share in the import trade rose till 1924 and declined thereafter and continued to decline in the depression uptill 1933 while on the side of exports the share of non-empire countries increased after 1924 chiefly due to increased trade with Japan and Germany until the increase was lost in the depression. While variations in prices can, of course, be disregarded in considering the changes in the direction of trade, they are crucial to any study of the basic conditions of foreign demand for our goods and of the terms of trade. Mr. Venkatasubbiah would indeed have produced extremely valuable results had he included within the scope of his study the physical quantities of at least the principal exports over the 40 years (and the five years of World War II, during which major changes have taken place). For illustration are given below figures of some principal exports:

(IN 000 TONS)							
			1909-10	1914-15	1919-20	1936-37	1943-44
			to	to	to		
			1913-14	1918-19	1923-24		
Raw Jute .. ..	..	..	764	464	554	821	178
Raw Cotton .. ..	..	..	430	391	521	762	50
Oilseeds .. ..	..	..	1,453	708	923	1,156	326
Raw Hides & Skins ..	..	..	78	57	53	51	22
Tea (lbs.) .. ..	..	..	266,497	322,691	321,169	301,869	413,090
Grain & Flour .. ..	..	..	4,411	3,141	2,009	1,878	95

The striking features revealed by the figures are (1) the practical disappearance of grain exports (2) the decline in raw cotton, oil-seeds and raw hides and skins (which, for the most part will seem to be permanent and (3) the recovery in exports in the inter-war period 1920-37.

Mr. Venkatasubbiah's introductory essay on the planning of foreign trade is somewhat disappointing. He claims to have discussed the question from the point of view of 'an ever-widening state-ownership and operation of the means of production and distribution,' but has hardly worked out the contents of such a policy from the technical aspect (as Dr. Ganguli has done from the stand-point of national planning). He makes quite a few thrusts at Indian industrialists, but is obviously off the mark in suggesting that the producer interests would stand for the maintenance of Empire Preference.

R. KRISHNAMURTI

CEYLON, BEVERIDGE AND BRETTON WOODS. By C. Suriyakumaran.
1946 (Colombo).

A collection of papers constituting a study of international economic relations particularly, the currency question, the structural problem and the structures in transition besides that of certain considerations on the formulation of an industrial and employment policy for Ceylon and of the place, approach and implications of the Beveridge plan.

LIST OF CONVENTIONS WITH INDICATION OF THE RELEVANT ARTICLES CONFERRING POWERS ON THE ORGANS
OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. (Geneva: League of Nations,
Rs. 3/12/-)

Relates to the conventions on communications and transit, economic and financial questions, opium and other narcotic drugs, health and legal questions, social and humanitarian questions, the pacific settlement of disputes, security, armaments, the protection of minorities and mandates.

THE COMMITTEES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. 1945 (Geneva:
League of Nations, Re. 1/8)

Gives a list of the Committees and essential facts regarding them.

ARTICLES ON INDIA IN FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Cultural

INDIAN FOLK-LORE. *Middle East Opinion*, 27 January, 1947.

A simple narration of a popular Indian folk-tale relating to the vicissitudes of fortune in the lives of Srivasta and Chintamani.

Economic

THE DEBT TO INDIA. *The Economist*, 1 February, 1947.

Proposes to explain the reasons for hasty negotiations with India on the British Sterling debt, and for the propriety of writing off a part of the debt as contemplated under the Anglo-American Loan Agreement and discusses the rate of the annual releases in relation to the debtor's ability to afford them.

Political

HOW TO QUIT INDIA. By H. N. Brailsford, *The New Statesman and Nation*, 15 February, 1947.

A powerful indictment of the Muslim League attitude to the Constituent Assembly and the Interim Government and a plea to Britain for fixation of a specific date for complete British withdrawal including the British troops and the Viceroy, for formation by Pandit Nehru of a remodelled Interim Government to which full powers will be granted to act in the new circumstances, together with a recommendation that before the Viceroy leaves New Delhi, the Constituent Assembly shall appoint a provisional President of the Indian Union to take his place.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA. By L. James, *World Review*, January 1947.

The author traces the Indian question in South Africa ever since Indian emigration began in 1860 up-to-date. He displays intimate knowledge of the problem and also psychological insight into the feelings of the Indian and the Native, and clinches the issue by stating that the reason for the attitude of the Whites was their fear that 'to concede political and other rights to the Indians can only open the door to native claims.'

REFLECTIONS ON MEERUT. By Krishnalal Shridharani, *The Voice of India*, December 1946.

A vivid record of the author's impressions of the Meerut Congress. He pleads for second-level leadership to share the burden of the top leaders and for activitization of the dream of social equity and economic prosperity to aid the concept of nationalism in combating communalism effectively.

INDIAN REALITIES. By Godfrey Nicholson, *The Spectator*, 3 January, 1947.

A naive discussion of what the British Government should do if either the Constituent Assembly produces no result at all or produces a constitution which

the British obligations to Indian minorities would compel them to reject. Rigging up a picture of terrific bloodshed after the British evacuation, the author comes to the facile conclusion that the British should remain to save India from such a disaster.

THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA. By B. Shiva Rao, *The Nation*, 28 December, 1946.

An interesting survey of the opening of 'India's Constituent Assembly, Pandit Nehru's speech therein pleading as one of the basic objectives the declaration of India as an independent republic and of the speeches of Sir Stafford Cripps and Sir A. V. Alexander in the India Debate in the second week of December 1946.

A LETTER FROM BOMBAY. By Edith Young, *New Republic*, 23 December, 1946.

The author, a British journalist, on a visit to India, records his impressions on life in Bombay then in the grip of communal tension.

BRITAIN'S LATEST PLAN FOR INDIA. *Amerasia*, October 1946.

An analysis, no less informed than interesting, of the chief features of the British Cabinet Mission plan for India. The writer argues that the plan has been so insidiously designed as in practice 'to aggravate each internal conflict and to pave the way for intensified sectional strife.'

INDIA AND BRITAIN. *The Economist*, 21 December, 1946.

A rather hypercritical interpretation of the Congress attitude to the Cabinet Mission proposals and a lop-sided criticism of the Labour Government's policy in allowing the convocation of the Constituent Assembly despite the non-participation of the League therein.

INDIA: LORD WAVELL'S ACHIEVEMENT. *The Round Table*, December 1946. •

A factual narrative of the events leading to the Congress and subsequently League's entry into the Interim Government and of the incoherent working of the Interim Cabinet, together with an eulogistic account of Lord Wavell's part in effecting the *marriage de convenance* between the Congress and the League.

CRISIS IN INDIA. *The Spectator*, 13 December, 1946.

A factual review of the British Cabinet proposals of 16 May, 1946, the reaction of the Congress and League to them, of the composition of Constituent Assembly which met on 9 December and League's attitude thereto, and of the results of the London Conference between the Indian leaders and the British Cabinet.

A TIME LIMIT FOR INDIA. *The New Statesman and Nation*, 14 December, 1946.

An informed criticism of 6 December statement by H. M. G. on India' and a

statesman-like plea for the fixation of a date after which, unless an understanding has been reached, Britain will relinquish her responsibility for India by withdrawing therefrom her troops and officials.

INDIA AT THE UNITED NATIONS. *The Voice of India*, December 1946.

A brief account of the activities of the Indian delegation to the U. N. O. together with some useful excerpts from the speeches of (Mrs.) V. L. Pandit made in the U. N. O. Committees.

CHRONICLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

INDIA, BRITAIN

- 4 October 1946** A reshuffle in the British Cabinet was announced. A. V. Alexander became the new Minister for Defence, and was succeeded by the Colonial Secretary, George Hall. Phillip Noel Baker, became Secretary for Air, and Frederick John Bellinger, Secretary for War. George Hall was succeeded as Colonial Secretary by Arthur Creech Jones and Hector McNeil succeeded Philip Noel Baker as Minister of State.
- 10 October 1946** Pandit Nehru inaugurated the Health Ministers Conference in New Delhi. The Conference passed a resolution endorsing that the objective proposed by the Bhore Committee should be kept in view in formulating plans for a National Health Service.
- 13 October 1946** The Muslim League Working Committee decided to join the Interim Government on the basis of the assurances conveyed to the League in the Viceroy's broadcast and the correspondence that passed between the League President and the Viceroy.
- 21 October 1946** The British Colonial and War Offices outlined the imperial defence programme consisting of a re-organization of Britain's life-lines to the Far East.
- 28 October 1946** The Indian Coal Fields Committee submitted a unanimous report to the Government of India favouring nationalization of coal industry by the establishment of a National Coal Commission and the creation of a new central department of fuel and power.
- 29 October 1946** The Central Assembly passed the Finance Member's motion that India should continue her membership of the International Bank and Fund.
- 30 October 1946** Mr. Attlee explained the proposals for a new defence organization in the House of Commons—envisaging the formation of a full-blown Ministry of Defence and the constitution of a Defence Committee under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister.
- 12 November 1946** Pandit Nehru announced that M. Molotov had indicated the Soviet Government's willingness to exchange diplomatic representatives with India. The King in his Address to Parliament said: 'My Government will forward by every means at their disposal the policy with regard to the governance of India laid down in the statements made by them and by the Mission of my Ministers which recently visited India.'
- The Government of India announced that they had ratified the Convention on International Civil Aviation which was signed at Chicago on 7 December 1944. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, former President of the Indian National Congress and founder-Rector of the Benares Hindu University died at Benares.
- 13 November 1946** The Government of India appointed a Committee to advise them as to the ways and means of nationalization of the armed forces.
- 18 November 1946** The British Fuel Minister announced that the British coal mines would be transferred to public ownership on 1 January 1947.
- 24 November 1946** The 54th session of the Indian National Congress began at Meerut. President Kripalani made a spirited appeal to both Hindus and Muslims to live as friends and neighbours. Resolutions were adopted on Indian States, Communal Strife, the Congress Manifesto and Indonesia,

26 November 1946 The British Cabinet invited the Viceroy, Pandit Nehru, Vallabhai Patel, Baldev Singh, Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan to come to London to discuss the basis of the forthcoming meeting of the Constituent Assembly.

28 November 1946 The British Government announced its plans for the nationalization of railways, canal and road transport which provide for public ownership of inland transport including road and canal transport as from the beginning of 1948 after paying compensation estimated at £1,000 millions.

6 December 1946 In a statement issued on the termination of their talks in London with Indian leaders, the British Government declared that with regard to the interpretation of Grouping and Sections, the decisions of the Sections should, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, be taken by a simple majority vote of the representatives in the Sections. They added that, if the Constituent Assembly desired a reference of the point to the Federal Court, it should be made at a very early date and the meeting of the Sections of the Assembly should be postponed until the decision of the Court had been known. The statement also added: 'Should the Constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented, His Majesty's Government could not contemplate forcing such a Constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country.'

9 December 1946 India's first Constituent Assembly opened in Delhi with Dr. Sachidananda Sinha as temporary Chairman. 205 representatives, including nine women, from all the provinces were present. Muslim League members were absent.

11 December 1946 Dr. Rajendra

Prasad was unanimously elected permanent Chairman of the Constituent Assembly. He declared that the Assembly was a self-governing, self-determining, independent body with the proceedings of which no outside authority could interfere and decisions of which no one else outside it could upset, alter or modify.

It was announced that the Government of India had decided not to effect any change in the par value of the Rupee and had informed the International Monetary Fund accordingly.

12 December 1946 Opening a two-day debate on India in the Commons, Sir Stafford Cripps reaffirmed the Cabinet view that regarding the voting procedure in the Sections a simple majority of the Section would decide the matter as stated by the League and not province-wise as interpreted by the Congress.

13 December 1946 Pandit Nehru introduced a resolution in the Constituent Assembly specifying the objectives before the Assembly as the creation of an Independent Sovereign Republic consisting of a Union of autonomous states and territories.

20 December 1946 Premier Attlee announced in the Commons that the British Government had invited Burmese leaders to come to London to discuss how the pledges of self-government to Burma should be carried out.

22 December 1946 Reviewing the position arising from the British Government's declaration of 6 December and subsequent pronouncements in the Parliament, the Congress Working Committee decided against appealing to the Federal Court on Grouping and Sections.

23 December 1946 The Constituent Assembly adjourned to 20 January 47. A few rules and amendments raising important issues were held over.

The British Treasury announced that a British Financial delegation would visit India about the middle of January 47 for preliminary talks on the settlement of India's

sterling balances.

27 December 1946 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was appointed a member of the Interim Cabinet.

SOUTH EAST ASIA, AUSTRALIA & NEW ZEALAND

2 October 1946 Dr. Sharir announced the formation of his third Republican Cabinet with himself as Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Amir Sjarifoedin for Defence, and Roem for the Interior.

9 October 1946 It was reported officially that the Interim Government of Burma had decided to approach the British Government for increased financial powers.

12 October 1946 It was reported that the Dutch-Indonesian Conference at Pangkal Pinang which met on 1 October called for Indonesian self-government with Dominion Status within the Dutch Empire in a series of resolutions it adopted.

14 October 1946 It was officially stated that the British, Dutch, and Indonesian military delegations had agreed upon the terms of truce to end hostilities between the Allies and the Indonesians. The position of the parties in Australian Parliament was announced as follows: Senate: Labour 33, Liberal 2, Country Party 1. House of Representatives: Labour 45, (including one Independent Labour and one Lang Labour Party), Liberals 17 and Country Party 12.

21 October 1946 The Cambodian Constituent Assembly held its opening session at Pnom Penh.

24 October 1946 President Young Jeung Kim of the Korean Affairs Institute appealed to the United Nations to review the case of Korea on the ground that 'it has become the victim of Soviet and American dissension consequent on differences in the U. S.-Soviet Commission.

30 October 1946 Hostilities between Viet-Nam nationalist forces and the French Indo-Chinese Expeditionary Army ended following agreement between M. Marius Moutet, the French Minister for Colonies and Dr. Ho Chi Minh, the Viet-Nam President.

31 October 1946 Joseph B. Chifley was re-elected leader of the Australian Parliamentary Labour Party.

1 November 1946 The Viet-Nam Government resigned. Political discussions between the Dutch Commission-General and Indonesian delegates on a constitutional settlement for the Netherlands East Indies began.

3 November 1946 The Governor of Burma dissolved the Legislative Council.

4 November 1946 President Ho Chi Minh presented a new Viet-Nam Cabinet to the National Assembly.

8 November 1946 The members of the Burma Governor's Executive Council declared in a joint statement that their 'guiding objective would be the establishment of Burma as a sovereign State under a truly National Government.'

17 November 1946 France and Siam signed an agreement under which Siam would evacuate the disputed territories of Indo-China—Cambodia Province, Battambang, a large part of Seimrap, Kompongthom and Stungreng Provinces and that part of Laos situated west of the Mekong.

18 November 1946 The Dutch and Indonesian delegates reached agreement on the basis of the Dutch recognition of the Indonesian Republican Government as

'*de facto* exercising power in Java, Madura and Sumatra.' A United States of Indonesia comprising the entire territory of the Dutch East Indies, will be formed as a 'Sovereign State on a federal basis.' The United States of Indonesia will form part of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union which will also include the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Surinam and Curacao. It is hoped to set up the Union under the Netherlands Crown before 1 January 1949. Decrees for furthering common interests are to be issued in the Crown's name. The Agreement specifies that 'common interests' include foreign relations, and, as far as necessary, finance and subjects of economic and cultural nature, and provides for special relationship with the kingdom if any territory wishes not to join the Union.

- 25 November 1946 The Indonesian Cabinet approved the draft agreement on Indonesia signed on 18 November.
- 27 November 1946 In New Zealand's general elections the Labour Government was returned with 43 seats against the National Party's 37. In the previous Parliament, Labour held 45 seats against the National Party's 35.
- 29 November 1946 Dr. Le Van Hoach was elected President of the Cochin-Chinese Provisional Government succeeding Dr. Nguyen Van Tinh who committed suicide on 10 November 1946.
- 5 December 1946 The New Government of Cochin-China under the leadership of Dr. Le Van Hoach took office.
- 6 December 1946 It was reported from Antara that the Islamic Party, Indonesia's largest political organization, had rejected the Dutch-Indonesian draft agreement.
- 8 December 1946 It was revealed in Rangoon that the British

Government had agreed to grant Burma's demand for complete financial powers.

- 11 December 1946 The Secretary of State for the Colonies declared in the Commons that there was no question of the British Government giving final approval to the proposals until all the other interested communities besides the Malays had been given a full and free opportunity to express their views on the constitutional future of Malaya.

The Financial Secretary to the Ceylon Government announced that the par value of the Ceylon Rupee would remain unchanged at one Indian rupee or 18d.

- 19 December 1946 Premier Peter Fraser of New Zealand announced a number of Cabinet changes as a sequel to the recent general elections.
- 24 December 1946 New constitutional proposals for Malaya were published. Among the proposals were a Federation of Malaya embracing all the nine Malay States with reserved power to admit any other territory within the Federation and with a High Commissioner in the place of the present Governor. A Federal Legislative Council with an unofficial majority and consisting of the High Commissioner as the President, three ex-officio members, eleven official members and 34 unofficial members was recommended. State agreements and the Federation agreement expressly reserve the Crown's jurisdiction to regulate all defence matters and external affairs of Malay States. Mr. Soekawati was elected temporary President of East Indonesia.
- 27 December 1946 Several labour and political organizations in Viet-Nam submitted a memorandum to the French Colonial Minister now in Saigon demanding the recall of the French High Com-

missioner in Indo-China and the resumption of negotiations be-

tween the French and the Viet Nam Governments.

THE FAR EAST

- 7 **October 1946** The Japanese House of Representatives passed the Constitution Revision Bill which would become law six months after promulgation by an Imperial decree which was expected on 3 November 46.
- 9 **October 1946** In a nation-wide broadcast Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek urged the Chinese Communists to 'abandon their plot to achieve regional domination' and 'participate in the National Government.'
- 10 **October 1946** Addressing joint meeting of the National Defence Council and the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, Chiang Kai-shek expressed willingness to issue 'cease-fire' order if peace negotiations were resumed in the immediate future.
- 2 **November 1946** General MacArthur announced that the new Japanese Constitution would come into force from 3 November.
- 3 **November 1946** Emperor Hirohito promulgated the new Japanese Constitution.
- 4 **November 1946** A comprehensive treaty of friendship dealing with commerce and navigation between U. S. and China was signed at Nanking. This treaty re-

places the earlier treaties dating back to 1845 which served as the basis of the Sino-American relations.

- 15 **November 1946** China's frequently postponed National Assembly met. 1315 Kuomintang and independent delegates attended. No Communist Party delegates attended.
- 22 **November 1946** The Legislative Yuan ratified unanimously the draft of the new Chinese Constitution which the Government would place before the first plenary session of the National Assembly Convention.
- 10 **December 1946** It was reported that the negotiations between China and Russia on the question of control over Dairen had resulted in agreement on the Chinese administration of the Port with special facilities for Russia.
- 25 **December 1946** China's revised Draft Constitution was unanimously adopted by 1485 delegates attending the final session of the 40-day old National Assembly. It will be promulgated on New Year's Day and will come into operation on 25 December 1947. This is China's first permanent Constitution since the birth of the Republic on 10 October 1911.

THE NEAR EAST AND MIDDLE EAST

- 19 **October 1946** The Iranian Premier Ghavam Sultaneh reformed his cabinet excluding the left-wing Tudch Party.
- 20 **October 1946** Turkey rejected the Soviet demands for a share in the defence of the Dardanelles and their administration being confined to the Black Sea Powers, but expressed her readiness to lay the whole troublesome Dardanelles problem before an International Conference.
- 28 **October 1946** Controverting an earlier declaration said to have been made by the Egyptian Premier, Attlee stated in the Commons that no change in the existing status and administration of the Sudan was contemplated.
- 1 **November 1946** In his opening address to the Turkish Grand National Assembly, President Inönü indicated the willingness of Turkey to any legitimate modification of the Montreux Convention.

- 16 November 1946** The Iraq Government led by Sayid Arshad Alumari resigned.
- 21 November 1946** The Persian Prime Minister announced that he had ordered elections for the Majlis to start on 6 December.
- 27 November 1946** The Lebanese Parliament unanimously disapproved the reported Trans-Jordan plans for 'Greater Syria' union which would include the Lebanon with Syria, the Trans-Jordan and Palestine.
- 1 December 1946** The Iranian Premier warned Azerbaijan that troops would be sent to supervise the general elections.
- 8 December 1946** It was officially announced that Sidky Pasha, the Egyptian Premier, had resigned.
- 10 December 1946** Iranian Central Government troops crossed the border into Azerbaijan and the latter resisted.
- 11 December 1946** Tabriz, capital of Azerbaijan, 'surrendered' to the Iranian Government troops. The Governor of Azerbaijan in a message to the Iranian Premier welcomed the entry of the Iranian Army.
- 15 December 1946** It was announced that Riad El Solh had formed a new Lebanese Cabinet after the resignation of Saadi El Mulla's Cabinet on 11 December 1946.
- 28 December 1946** Alleging Government interference in the freedom of the present Iraq election campaign, Mohammed Hadid, Minister of Supply and Ali Mumtaz, Minister of Works and Communications resigned from the Coalition Cabinet of Gen. Nuri-es Said Pasha. Hadid represented the Left-wing National Democratic Party and Ali Mumtaz, the Liberal Party.

THE BRITISH DOMINIONS AND THE COLONIES (OTHER THAN IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA)

- 21 October 1946** The Legislative Assembly of Bermuda adopted a message to the Governor refusing assistance from the Colonial Development Fund or other Imperial Government resources in order to emphasize her financial independence of imperial funds. The British Government released for publication the terms of trusteeships for Tanganyika, Togoland and the Cameroons providing for transfer of these mandated territories to the United Nations, with Britain retaining her administering authority over them.
- 22 October 1946** The Northern Ireland House of Commons rejected a motion for the setting up of an independent Irish State. The House reaffirmed its determination to maintain the position within the U. K.
- 23 October 1946** The Colonial Secretary announced in the Commons plans for a more liberal Constitution for Cyprus.
- 30 December 1946** The South African Labour Party Conference meeting in Durban re-elected Mrs. Jessie McPherson as Chairmar of the National Executive.

AMERICA

- 3 October 1946** A trade agreement between Brazil and Argentina was signed. The agreement is for five years commencing on 1 January 1947.
- 4 October 1946** President Truman in a statement demanded 'substantial immigration' into Palestine to begin at once without waiting for a solution of the Palestine problem as a whole.
- 5 November 1946** Americans went to the polls in their first peace-time election since 1940.
- 9 November 1946** The U. S. Acting Secretary of State announced

the intention of the U. S. Government to negotiate trade agreements with 18 other countries as a further important step in the programme of international economic collaboration.

11 November 1946 Truman declared in a statement that America's present foreign policy would be continued by him and the Secretary of State as a national programme with the support of both Democrats and Republicans.

12 December 1946 It was reported that the Venezuelan Government

had crushed a military revolt and the rebel leader had escaped by plane to Colombia.

18 December 1946 In a declaration of policy towards China, President Truman reaffirmed the U. S. support for Chiang Kai-shek's Government. He recalled a statement made a year ago affirming recognition of the Chinese National Government and added 'the views expressed then by this Government are valid to-day.'

EUROPE

2 October 1946 Members of the Greek Government headed by M. Tsaldaris were sworn in as a new and exclusively Royalist Government.

9 October 1946 The Swedish Foreign Office announced that Sweden would grant the Soviet Union a credit of 1,000,000,000 Kroner over a five year period under the newly-signed trade and credit agreement.

10 October 1946 Tage Erlander, new leader of the Social Democratic party and former Education Minister succeeded Hansson, who died on 5 October, as Premier of Sweden.

14 October 1946 The results of the referendum on the draft French Constitution was published: Registered Voters—26,203,469; valid votes—17,407,307; 'Yes' votes 9,263,416 and 'No' votes 8,143,891. The nation having approved the draft Constitution, the electors would on 10 November appoint a new National Assembly.

15 October 1946 M. Arseni Sverev, Finance Minister, presented the budget to the Supreme Soviet which provided an increase of 250 per cent in the expenditure on scientific research 'to further the growth of economic and military might of the Soviet Union.'

16 October 1946 The French So-

cialist Party rejected M. R. P. bid for an alliance against the Communists.

The Nazi Chiefs sentenced to death by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremburg on 1 October 1946 were executed.

26 October 1946 The Bavarian Constituent Assembly passed the Bavarian Draft Constitution by 136 votes to 14.

27 October 1946 General elections took place in Bulgaria. Communists won 277 seats of the 465 seats in the National Assembly which would be drawing the new Constitution for Bulgaria. The Government parties of the Fatherland Front Bloc which included Communists won altogether 364 (78%) to the opposition 101 (22%).

27 October 1946 J. A. Jonkman, the Dutch Minister for Overseas Territories, in a statement promised the Dutch possessions of Surinam (Dutch Guiana) and Curaçao (Dutch West Indies) greater freedom.

10 November 1946 France went to polls for her first general election for the five-year National Assembly under the new two-chamber Constitution. The Communists polled heavily.

13 November 1946 Four Communist Ministers resigned from the Belgian Coalition Government

comprising Socialists, Liberals and Communists leading to the sixth Cabinet crisis in Belgium since the termination of the war.

- 19 **November 1946** General elections began in Rumania. The final results showed that the Government parties had obtained 84 per cent of the votes and Dr. Julian Maniu's National Peasant (Opposition) Party 7.72 per cent. 89 per cent of the electors on the register voted.
- 23 **November 1946** George Dimitrov announced his new Bulgarian Cabinet consisting of nine Communists, four Agrarians, two Zveno Party supporters, two Social Democrats and one Independent.
- 28 **November 1946** Georges Bidault, the French Premier, submitted resignation of his Cabinet. The Portuguese National Assembly unanimously approved a motion

expressing confidence in and support for the government policy in regard to Portuguese India.

- 12 **December 1946** M. Leon Blum was elected Prime Minister of France under the new Constitution by 575 out of 590 votes.
- 17 **December 1946** The French Premier Blum presented his all-Socialist Interim Ministry to the National Assembly for approval. The Assembly gave the inaugural vote of confidence to it which was formed to fill up the gap left by the Assembly's inability to find a Governmental majority.
- 29 **December 1946** M. Andrei Gromyko was appointed Deputy Foreign Minister. With this appointment, the Soviet Union would have five Deputy Foreign Ministers, the other four being M. Vyshinsky, M. Gusev, M. Malik and M. Dekanosoff.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

- 3 **October 1946** The Italian Political and Territorial Committee of the Paris Conference reached a decision on the future of Trieste (For details regarding the Paris Conference, see 'The Paris Conference 1946' under 'India and the world.' *India Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 1.)
- 3 **October 1946** The British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Dr. Dalton, was unanimously elected Chairman of the Board of Governors of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Sir C. D. Deshmukh was appointed one of the four Vice-Chairmen of the Board.
- 23 **October 1946** The General Assembly of the United Nations opened in New York. (For details regarding the General Assembly see 'The General Assembly of the United Nations' under 'India and the World.' *India Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 1.)
- 31 **October 1946** Russia, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia rejected the United Nations invitation to attend the Danube Conference.
- 9 **November 1946** The eighteen-Nation World Socialist Conference disclaimed any intention of re-establishing the second (Socialist) International but called for closer international party liaison.
- 10 **November 1946** It was announced that the International Bank had under its consideration a proposal to issue its own securities to finance loans applied for by various member-nations.
- 19 **November 1946** Colombia, Syria and Belgium were elected members of the Security Council of the United Nations by 51, 45 and 43 votes respectively. India failed, securing only 13 votes.
- 2 **December 1946** It was announced in New York that Bevin and Byrnes had signed an Anglo-American agreement for the economic fusion of the British and U. S. zones in Germany.
- 3 **December 1946** The Foreign Ministers agreed that Bulgaria's post-war frontiers should be those of 1 June 1941 and that Bulgaria

should not be allowed to build new fortifications.

10 December 1946 Dr. Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization, was elected President of the Zionist Congress. It was reported that the Council of Foreign Ministers had decided that a meeting to discuss the question of the German peace treaty should open on 10 March 1947 in Moscow.

11 December 1946 The Council of Foreign Ministers reached agreement that peace treaties with Italy, Finland, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania would be signed in Paris on 10 February by the representatives of ex-enemy States and Russia, Britain, U. S. and France.

12 December 1946 The Council of Foreign Ministers reached complete agreement on all outstanding points in the five peace treaties with Italy, Finland, Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria.

18 December 1946 The International Monetary Fund formally accepted the existing rate of exchange of its member countries except those of Brazil, China, Dominican Republic, Greece,

Poland, Yugoslavia, French Indo-China and the Netherlands Indies.

19 December 1946 The Security Council passed unanimously the resolution setting up a Commission to investigate the border disturbances between Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

20 December 1946 A protocol which enforces the agreement bringing the International Labour Organization into official relationship with the United Nations as a specialized agency under the coordinating authority of the Economic and Social Council was signed.

29 December 1946 It was announced that Russia had submitted a resolution to the Security Council proposing that a complete disarmament scheme, including details of international control of the atom bomb and other deadly weapons, be drawn up within three months and calling for the immediate establishment of a special commission of the Council to proceed with the implementation of practical measures in accordance with the disarmament plan approved recently by the General Assembly.

CHRONICLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

INDIA, BRITAIN

- 1 January 1947** The Coal Mines Nationalization Act came into force. The Chairman of the Coal Board disclosed that the Board would take over about 15,000 collieries and over 400 small mines.
- 10 January 1947** The British Government's plans for nationalization of electricity undertakings was published. They involve taking over the entire output of electricity throughout Britain on a date to be fixed later by a single central authority with a capital of £ 800,000,000.
- 17 January 1947** It was officially stated in London that the Government of India would not send a delegation to the conference of Big Four Deputies in London as they did not wish at present to express their views on German and Austrian problems though they reserved the right to do so at a later date. They had, however, indicated their wish to be kept informed of the progress of the discussions.
- 20 January 1947** The second meeting of the preliminary session of the Indian Constituent Assembly began in Delhi. The Assembly accepted without debate the resolution for the selection of a Steering Committee. Thereafter, discussion on Pandit Nehru's resolution defining the objectives of India's future constitution was continued.
- 22 January 1947** The Constituent Assembly unanimously passed Pandit Nehru's resolution declaring India's objective as establishment of an Independent Sovereign Republic.
- 23 January 1947** Attlee told the Commons that the British Government was anxious to negotiate a treaty of alliance with France as soon as the new French Government was ready to do so and that such a treaty would be no substitute for pact with Russia.
- 27 January 1947** Ernest Bevin told the Commons that the Egyptian Government had informed him that they had broken off negotiations for revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. The question of Sudan proved a stumbling-block. The 1936 Treaty would be adhered to till the conclusion of a fresh treaty.
- 28 January 1947** It was announced in a white Paper that the Burmese Delegation had reached an agreement with the British Government. Aung San, Thakin Mya, U Ba Pe and U. Tin Tut signed the agreement while Thakin Ba Sein and U Saw dissented. A Constituent Assembly by direct election, an Interim Government for Burma on the model of the present Indian Interim Government and British retention, pending final transfer of power to the Burmese people, of responsibility for the British armed forces in Burma, although the Burmese forces would be under the control of the Burma Government, were the chief features of the agreement.
- 31 January 1947** The working committee of the All-India Muslim League which met at Karachi, passed a resolution holding that the Congress as a major contracting party had not accepted the British Cabinet plan and that the A. I. C. C. Resolution was 'no more than a dishonest trick and a jugglery of words.' The resolution added that the Constituent Assembly had taken decisions on principles and procedure exceeding the limitations imposed by the Statement of 16 May '46 on the Assembly's functions and powers which impinge upon the powers and functions of the Sections, and hence no useful purpose would be served by summoning a meeting

of the League Council to reconsider its decision withdrawing the acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of 16 May '46.

- 1 February 1947 The report of the Advisory Planning Board of the Government of India was published. The recommendations made relate to the nationalisation of certain basic industries, the supply of trained personnel, improvement of agriculture, electric power projects, industrial and mineral development, railways and the future machinery of planning.
- 14 February 1947 Ernest Bevin told the Arab delegates at the final session of the Palestine Conference that the British Government had decided to refer the whole Palestine problem to the United Nations as no proposals put forward by Britain had proved acceptable as a basis for further discussion by Jews and Arabs.
- 17 February 1947 It was announced that India and France had decided to exchange diplomatic missions of Embassy level. M. Henri Roux was named as *Charge D'Affairs* with the rank of Minister-Plenipotentiary. An Ambassador would be appointed as soon as India framed her Constitution.
- 17 February 1947 Dr. John Mathai, the Transport Minister, presented the Railway Budget. An increase of one anna in the rupee on passenger fares from 1 March 1947 and slight adjustments in an upward direction in certain freight rates for goods traffic to meet an anticipated gap of Rs. 10½ crores in railway receipts and expenditure next year are the outstanding features of the Railway Budget for 1947-48. Another important feature is a works programme of Rs. 50 crores, the largest on record, which provides *inter alia*, for the beginning of construction of the Kanchrapara locomotive-manufacture plant.
- 20 February 1947 Attlee presented the British Government's White

Paper on the constitutional future of India in the House of Commons. He said that H. M. G. wished to make it clear that it was their definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948. He added that if there should be no Constitution worked out by a fully representative Constituent Assembly by June 1948 then H. M. G. would have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over on the due date, 'whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India or, in some areas, to the existing Provincial Governments or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian People.' As regards the Indian States, it was not intended to hand over their powers and obligations under Paramountcy to any Government of British India. It was not intended to bring Paramountcy, as a system, to a conclusion earlier than the date of the final transfer of power but it was contemplated that for the intervening period, the relation of the Crown with individual states might be adjusted by agreement. Attlee also announced the termination of Lord Wavell's appointment as Viceroy and his replacement by Lord Louis Mountbatten.

- 21 February 1947 The British Government released for publication its 'Economic Survey for 1947' which disclosed that Britain's Socialist Government had now favoured payment by results and opposed shorter working hours or any further general increase in wages and profits unless the output was increased.
- 25 February 1947 Mr. Lo Chia Luen, a well-known educationist and writer, was appointed the first Chinese Ambassador to India.

28 February 1947 The Indian Finance Minister presented his Budget to the Assembly. The proposals include abolition of salt duty, raising of the minimum exemption limit for income-tax from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 2,500, a special income-tax of 25 per cent of business profits exceeding Rs. 1 lakh, increase of corporation tax from one anna to two annas, application of supertax at points much lower than the present and increase of export duty on tea from two annas to four annas per pound.

2 March 1947 Sir Khizyr Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, tendered the resignation of his Cabinet.

5 March 1947 The Governor of the Punjab took over the administration of the province by issuing a proclamation under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

A two-day debate on India opened in the House of Commons. Referring to the demand by the Non-League Members of the Interim Government that the League Members should either reverse their decision to boycott the Constituent Assembly or leave the Interim Government, Sir Stafford Cripps said that the position taken by the Non-League Members was correct, but the British Government did not express an opinion on this question because they still hoped it would be possible for the Muslim League to enter the Constituent Assembly.

8 March 1947 The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution welcoming the British declaration of 20 February and declaring

that the transfer of power in order to be smooth should be preceded by the recognition in practice of the Interim Government as a Dominion Government with effective control over the services and administration and the Governor-General functioning as the constitutional head of the government. It invited the Muslim League to nominate representatives in order to consider the situation that had arisen owing to the impending transfer of power and to devise means to meet that situation. The Committee suggested the partition of Punjab into predominantly Muslim and non-Muslim parts as the only solution for the present communal tension and lack of an acceptable Ministry.

10 March 1947 Sir Stafford Cripps announced in the Commons two important changes in the economic planning of British industry, the strengthening of the staff for economic planning and an arrangement for ensuring the co-operation of industry in the planning organization.

24 March 1947 Lord Louis Mountbatten succeeded Lord Wavell as the Viceroy of India.

26 March 1947 Attlee announced in the Commons the setting-up of a Royal Commission to enquire into the control, management and ownership of the British Press.

31 March 1947 Attlee announced in the Commons that Britain would extend to the Indonesian Republic *de facto* recognition similar to that given by the Netherlands and that British contact with the Republic would be maintained through a Consul-General at Batavia.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA, AUSTRALIA & NEW ZEALAND

2 January 1947 The Burma Office announced that a new Burma Currency Board composed of both the British and Burmese would take over management of the

Burma Currency from 1 April.

4 January 1947 Dr. Soekarno urged his people to accept the Cheribon Agreement for a United States of Indonesia, for the rati-

fication of the draft would pave the way for a peaceful settlement.

- 8 **January 1947** The Home Member of the Burma Government stated that his Government had decided to stop further recruitment to the Secretary of State's services of the Burma Civil Service and Burma Police Service and that they proposed to have their own recruitment system.
- 9 **January 1947** It was reported that 30 per cent of the Malayan civil servants employed in the Sarawak administration had resigned after receiving a circular from the Governor-General asking whether they were prepared to accept the cession of Sarawak to the British Crown.
- 10 **January 1947** The Cabinet of East Indonesia was formed.
- 16 **January 1947** It was disclosed that H. M. G. had set up a Joint War Damage Claims Commission for the Malayan Union and Singapore.
- 17 **January 1947** The French Minister of Colonies made a detailed report on his fact-finding mission to Indo-China and outlined his proposals (to the Overseas and National Defence Commissions of the National Assembly) on the methods of carrying out the French Government's intentions to resume free negotiations with Viet-Nam leaders.
- 31 **January 1947** Mr. William John McKell, now the Socialist premier of New South Wales, was appointed Governor-General of Australia in succession to the Duke of Gloucester.
- 2 **February 1947** The Working Committee of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League approved the Attlee-Aung San agreement on Burma's constitutional future.
- 14 **February 1947** The Indonesian Republican General Staff issued a 'Cease-Fire' order to troops under its control to take effect from midnight of the 15 February in accordance with the agreement reached with the Dutch Military authorities on 14 October '46. Difficulties arose after the conclusion of the agreement which provided for stabilization of Dutch and Indonesian forces in their existing positions.
- 15 **February 1947** It was reported that President Soekarno had appointed 232 new members to the Republican Parliament who would be sworn in at Malang, Java on 26 February. The 232 seats were allocated as follows:—Workers party 29, Christian Party 5, Catholic Party 2, Communist Party 33, unorganized workers group 40, farmers' group 40, Sumatra delegation 50, Borneo delegation 8, Celebes delegation 10, Moluccas delegation 5, Soenda Islands delegation 5, Chinese 2, Arabs 1, and Dutch 2. It was stated that the Masjoemi (Muslim) Party had not yet submitted its list of candidates.
- 22 **February 1947** It was officially announced that polling for Burma's Constituent Assembly elections would take place on 9 and 11 April. Nominations must be submitted before 15 March.
- 26 **February 1947** Dr. Evatt, the Australian Minister for External Affairs, stated that Australia looked forward to India's achieving a state of complete freedom and autonomy similar to her own and that Australia would welcome an opportunity to discuss frankly with the Indian Government matters of mutual concern.
- 15 **March 1947** Dutch-Indonesian Military Pact was signed to settle outstanding military difficulties.
- 18 **March 1947** The Dutch Commission-General announced that they had been authorised to sign immediately the agreement for a United States of Indonesia initialled at Linggadjati, Java, last November.
- 25 **March 1947** Representatives of the Netherlands Government and

the Indonesian Republic signed at Batavia the Cheribon Agreement four months after its draft had been prepared. The pact envisages the formation of a United States of Indonesia under

the Dutch Crown with authority over Java, Sumatra and Madura islands. The constitution of the Federal State on a democratic basis is to be prepared by a Constituent Assembly.

THE FAR EAST

- 7 January 1947** General George Marshall declared that the 'extremist elements' in the Chinese Central Government and the Chinese Communists were responsible for the deadlock in his efforts to bring about unity between the two.
- 16 January 1947** The Chinese Government announced that they were going to resume negotiations with the Communists and had selected General Chang Chih Tung, Governor of Sinkiang, to present their proposals to the Communist headquarters.
- 16 January 1947** Representatives of 35 Korean right-wing organizations decided to send delegations to U. S. and Russia demanding immediate Independence for Korea and opposing the provision in the Moscow Agreement of December 1945 for Korean Trusteeship.
- 18 January 1947** China officially claimed Paracel islands in South China Sea, East of Annam, which had been recently occupied by Chinese troops and which the French Government claims as part of Indo-China.
- 7 February 1947** General MacArthur instructed the Japanese Premier to hold general elections as soon as practicable after the close of the present session of the Japanese Diet.
- 9 March 1947** It was announced that Dr. Wang Yun-wu, Chinese Minister of Economic Affairs, had resigned.
- 11 March 1947** The Chinese Foreign Minister declared that China would not agree to a discussion of her internal problems at the
- Moscow meeting of the Big Four Foreign Ministers.
- 14 March 1947** It was stated that China refused to participate in informal talks with the Big Four outside the Moscow Conference and that in no circumstances would China send a delegate to Moscow to participate in talks on the China problem.
- U. S. and the Philippines signed an agreement under which U. S. would maintain a small military mission in the Philippines to advise and assist in the Philippine defence problems. The agreement also provides for American military bases in the Philippines.
- 15 March 1947** It was stated that the Japanese House of Peers would cease to exist on 3 May and would be replaced by a popularly-elected House of Councillors.
- 16 March 1947** The Chinese Foreign Minister announced that China had agreed in principle to the U. S. Proposal that Japan should be directly controlled for 25 years by leading Pacific War victors.
- 17 March 1947** General MacArthur advocated the closing-down of the Supreme Command of the Allied Powers as soon as possible and handing over of Japan to non-military control by the United Nations.
- 19 March 1947** It was announced that the National Government troops had entered Yen-an, capital of Communist China. This comes after the most exciting battle of China's 20 years old civil war.
- The Chinese Defence Minister announced full provincial status to Formosa which includes the appointment of Formosans in all

government services, separation of the Chinese garrison command in Formosa from the island's administration and relaxation of Chinese Government's monopolies for Formosa's staple products.

21 March 1947 The Philippines and U. S. signed a pact of military assistance providing for U. S. aid to the Philippine national defence forces.

22 March 1947 The Kuomintang, young China and Social Democrat parties unanimously agreed upon a 12-point plan for the reorganization of China's present one-party Government. A unified foreign policy based on peace and reconstruction principles and a solution of the Communist problem through political means are two of the twelve-point plan.

24 March 1947 The Kuomintang Central Executive Committee decided to abolish the Supreme National Defence Council, the highest political organ in the Chinese Government, and passed a resolution on the nomination of its members to the State Council and the creation of a State Council Vice-Presidency. The one-party rule of the State Council is to end and the Council will be reorganized to include members of other parties.

27 March 1947 The Far Eastern Commission announced that it might order a referendum on the new Japanese Constitution after it had been in effect a full year to determine whether it was an expression of the free will of the Japanese people.

THE NEAR EAST AND MIDDLE EAST

1 January 1947 The Sudan 'Independence Front' reversed its earlier decision to boycott the Governor-General's North Sudan Advisory Council and announced its support to it on the ground that the establishment of an Independent Sudanese Government necessitated 'creation of a constitutional body that can speak for the Sudanese and determine its way to realize those aims.'

5 January 1947 The Arab League decided to send delegates to the London Conference on Palestine, thus overruling the demand of the Palestine Arab Higher Committee that no Arab delegates should attend unless the Mufti was also invited.

11 January 1947 Turkey and Trans-Jordan signed a pact of friendship.

27 January 1947 The Palestine Conference opened in London. The Palestine Arabs were fully represented at the Conference while no Jewish representatives were present.

28 January 1947 The Egyptian Pre-

mier announced that his Government would ask the United Nations to declare the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 non-existent.

17 February 1947 The Jewish Agency Executive announced its acceptance of the British decision to place the Palestine problem before the United Nations.

3 March 1947 The Egyptian Premier announced that Egypt had decided to submit the question of her treaty relationship with Britain to the United Nations Security Council.

10 March 1947 It was announced that the Iraq Government Party had gained a sweeping majority in the Iraqi general elections. Fifteen per cent of the seats in the Parliament were secured by Independents. Two of the five parties which did not boycott the elections—the National Democrats and Independence Party—were defeated everywhere except for one seat gained by the National Democrats in Baghdad.

11 March 1947 Turkey joined the

International Monetary Fund and Bank bringing the membership of both the agencies up to 41.

- 17 **March 1947** The sixth general session of the Arab League opened in Cairo.

- 23 **March 1947** It was officially announced that the Council of the Arab League had passed a resolution supporting Egypt's case and her intention to submit it to the United Nations.

THE BRITISH DOMINIONS AND THE COLONIES

[OTHER THAN IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA]

- 13 **January 1947** The Privy Council ruled that the Dominions had the right to abolish appeals to the Council. It gave this judgment on an appeal from Canada where for many years, a dispute had existed between the Ottawa Government and some of the Provinces particularly Quebec and Ontario over the right of the Dominion parliament to pass legislation prohibiting citizens of Canada appealing to London against judgments of the domestic Supreme Court. The Privy Council ruled that the Canadian Supreme Court, if the Canadian Government's implementing Bill became law, should have 'exclusive, ultimate civil and criminal jurisdiction and the judgment of the Court shall, in all cases, be final and conclusive.'

- 20 **January 1947** The Colonial Office published its report on constitutional proposals for Malta made by Sir Harold Mac-Michael. The report recommended a unicameral system and vests power in the Governor in the interests of the security of the fortress of Malta, to exercise his full and exclusive legislative authority in any grave emergency.

- 21 **January 1947** General Smuts told the Union Assembly that the Ghetto Act must stand and that South Africa would not submit the Draft Trusteeship Agreement for South-West Africa as requested by the United Nations. The territory would continue to be administered under the Union's law, as it had been since 1920.

- 5 **February 1947** Smuts announced

that the Union Government had decided to appoint an Indian Advisory Board to advise the Government on all matters relating to the welfare of the Indian community.

- 6 **February 1947** The Canadian Minister for External Affairs told the Commons that British Columbia had set up a committee to study the question of granting franchise to Indians.

- 12 **February 1947** The Canadian Premier announced that Canada and the U. S. A. had decided that their National defence establishments should 'to the extent authorized by law' continue to collaborate for peace-time joint security purposes.

- 19 **February 1947** Mr. W. A. Bustamante, Jamaican Minister of Communications and Labour Party Leader declared that after 200 years of British occupation, the minimum wage of a sugar worker per day was 3s. 6d. inclusive of bonus for men and 2s. 4d. for women. He added 'there are 45,000 sugar workers and most of them and their children are hungry and semi-naked and cannot send their children to school.'

- 21 **February 1947** The King opened the fourth session of the South African Union Parliament.

- 8 **March 1947** The annual conference of the Electors' Union of the Kenya Europeans passed a resolution stating that the time had come for the Government of Kenya to pass into the hands of its own citizens under European leadership, but with opportunity

for the Africans to take an increasing share.

- 14 **March 1947** New constitutional proposals for Nigeria were published under which Regional Councils would be established in order to bridge the gulf between the people and the Government by decentralization and by bringing established African authorities within the legislative machine. Secondly, the scope and powers of the Legislative Council would be enlarged so that

it could legislate for Nigeria as a whole and promote unity of the country. African members would form a majority in the Legislative Council.

- 19 **March 1947** The Jamaica Labour Party unanimously adopted the proposal of its leader Alexander Bustamente demanding the removal of the Governor, Sir John Higgins. Workers in sugar plantations and mills had been on strike since 23 January.

AMERICA

- 6 **January 1947** In an address to the Republican-dominated joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives Truman urged a four-point labour legislative programme and stressed the need for universal army training.

- 7 **January 1947** Mr. Robert Grant introduced in the U. S. House of Representatives, a Bill to establish Guam as a territory of the U. S. and confer U. S. citizenship on its inhabitants.

- 7 **January 1947** It was announced that James Byrnes had resigned and that General George Marshall had been appointed to succeed him as U. S. Secretary of State.

- 10 **January 1947** Truman presented to the Congress a balanced budget, for the first time during the last 17 years, for the fiscal year 1 July '47 to 30 June '48. The expenditure for National Defence described as 'by far the largest category in the budget' was estimated at 11,200,000,000 dollars, almost all for operating expenses of the Army and Navy.

- 10 **January 1947** The U. S. State and War Department officials announced that U. S. was determined to start collection of reparations from Japan immediately, even without full agreement on the terms with Russia and other war-time Allies.

- 20 **January 1947** The U. S. State Department disclosed that the

U. S. Government was ready to negotiate a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation with India as soon as 'commercial safeguards' in the Government of India Act 1935 were scrapped.

- 29 **January 1947** The State Department announced the withdrawal of the United States from the 'Big Three' Committee established in China in February 1945 to end hostilities between the Chinese Government and the Chinese Communists.

- 12 **February 1947** It was officially announced that Argentine Government had bought all the eleven British-owned railways in Argentine and all their ancillary companies.

- 17 **February 1947** In a draft agreement submitted to the Secretary General of the U. N. O. and circulated to members of the Security Council, the U. S. Government asked the U. N. O. to designate the Japanese mandated islands in the Pacific as 'strategic area' to be administered by U. S. in order to ensure American security.

- 25 **February 1947** The U. S. Secretary of State declared that the British Government's plan for transfer of power to responsible Indian hands 'offers a just basis for co-operation.' He expressed the hope that the Indian political leadership would accept this

- clear-cut challenge and proceed to break the impasse between the Congress and the Muslim League.
- 25 February 1947** The U. S. Secretary of State declared that the Soviet Government had approved the transfer to United States trusteeship of the former Mandated Islands of Japan.
- 7 March 1947** An unsuccessful armed attempt was made to overthrow President Higinio Morinigo's Paraguay Government. The attempt was inspired by the communists and Febreristas (followers of Col. Rafael Franco, a former President).
- 8 March 1947** Gen. George Marshall, declared on the eve of Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers that his aim was the completion of a Four-Power Pact to secure the peace of Europe.
- 11 March 1947** It was announced by the U. S. State Department that an International Civil Aviation Organization would come into being on 4 April 1947, enough countries having ratified the convention.
- 12 March 1947** Truman warned the Soviet Union that the U. S. A. 'cannot allow' Russia to force changes in the present political division of the world by coercion and communist infiltration. He appealed to the Congress to give practical guarantee of freedom and integrity to Turkey and Greece in the face of Soviet pressure and to authorize an expenditure of 400,000,000 Dollars to back the warning and guarantee in supporting these countries.
- 25 March 1947** The U. S. State Department published the secret agreements included in the protocols of the Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam Conferences.
- 29 March 1947** The U. S. House of Representatives Committee on 'un-American Activities' issued its report listing 92 typical directives from Moscow affecting the Communist movement in the United States as a proof of the fact that the U. S. Communist Party was an agent of the Soviet Government.

EUROPE

- 15 January 1947** It was officially announced that as a result of two-day talks in London between M. Leon Blum, the French Premier and Attlee and Bevin, it was decided that Britain and France should go straight ahead with negotiations for an Anglo-French alliance against a fresh German menace within the framework of Article 52 of the U. N. Charter.
- 16 January 1947** M. Vincent Auriol, a veteran Socialist Leader, was elected President of the Fourth French Republic.
- 17 January 1947** M. Vincent Auriol announced that he had called upon the Socialist M. Paul Ramadier to form a Government.
- 17 January 1947** The Norwegian Foreign Office disclosed that they were considering Russia's request for revision of the 1920 Spitzbergen Treaty under which the Archipelago had been demilitarized.
- 18 January 1947** Six Ministers resigned from Tsaldaris' Greek Cabinet, the immediate reason being the Premier's refusal to ask the King to convoke the Council of the Crown to find a solution for the Cabinet crisis which had been latent since November.
- 19 January 1947** General elections were held in Poland. The Polish Government's four-party Democratic Bloc won 394 out of 444 parliamentary seats. Mikolaczuk's Peasant Party won 28 seats, the Catholic Workers Party 12, the dissident Peasant Party 7 and the non-party Catholics 3.
- 20 January 1947** The Italian Prime

Minister Signor Gasperi tendered resignation of his Government.

22 January 1947 Ramadier, the French Premier, announced the formation of his Coalition Cabinet with Maurice Thorez (Communist) and Pierre H. Tietgen (M. R. P.) as Vice-Premiers.

27 January 1947 Giral, the Prime Minister of the Spanish Government-in-exile resigned following the resignation of Socialist and Trade Union representatives in his Cabinet.

3 February 1947 Sweeping changes in the Portuguese Government, entailing the reshuffling of 14 out of 20 Ministerial and under-secretaryship posts were announced. The New Government includes four army officers and one naval officer. Dr. Salazar, the Premier, is no longer in charge of the Foreign Affairs.

6 February 1947 The Italian Constituent Assembly Treaty Commission announced that it had decided in the interests of the country that Italy should sign the peace treaty but that the whole Assembly must make up its mind as a 'free and sovereign body' on ratification.

7 February 1947 M. Josef Cyrankiewicz, the Polish Socialist Premier, announced the formation of a new Cabinet. The Communists and Socialists share ten of the most important posts while Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party goes without representation.

9 February 1947 Soviet citizens voted for the Supreme Soviets of seven of the union's 16 Republics and 15 Autonomous Republics. All citizens aged 18 and over have a vote and the ballot is secret. Although there were no opposition candidates, voters could cross names on the bloc lists if they disapproved of individual candidates. 59,341,928 people voted, representing 99.95 per cent of the general electorate. 58,918,779 or 99.29 per cent of the electorate voted for the Com-

munist and non-party bloc.

9 February 1947 It was announced that a new Spanish Republican Government in exile had been formed by Senon Rodolfo Llopi, Secretary-General of the Socialist Workers' Party.

12 February 1947 The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Fourth National Assembly unanimously approved the proposed Franco-British alliance and urged rapid signing of the treaty. Britain formally recognized the Bulgarian Government as a direct sequel to the signing of the Peace Treaty with Bulgaria in Paris on 10 February.

13 February 1947 The French Premier declared that his Government would 'justifiably' have nothing to do with the regime led by Dr. Ho Chi Minh on the ground that the Viet-Nameese Government had not assured the execution of past agreements.

17 February 1947 Poland signed a five-year Friendship and Cultural Agreement with France.

20 February 1947 The Italian Ministry approved a law providing that former Kings Victor Emmanuel and Umberto and all members of the House of Savoy could never again become residents of the Italian Republic.

21 February 1947 The Allied Control Council for Germany decided to promulgate a law dissolving Prussia, the heart of German Militarism. This law confirms what had already taken place through the break-up of Russia into areas now in both the Russian and British occupation zones.

24 February 1947 It was officially stated that Rumania had concluded a trade agreement with the Soviet Union covering 25,000,000 dollars. The two countries will exchange goods this year to the value of 15,000,000 dollars, the remainder being in the form of a four-year credit to Rumania. Rumania will import Russian coke,

steel, pig iron, coal and textiles.

25 February 1947 The Soviet Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs read to the Supreme Soviet in session a document outlining the changes in the Union Constitution which entitles each of the Republics of the Union to its own diplomatic representation abroad and to its own armed forces.

4 March 1947 The Anglo-French Fifty-Year Treaty of Alliance was signed in Dunkirk. The treaty provides for mutual military support by agreed action in the event of any threat to the security of any party arising from a German policy of aggression or in the event of either party being involved in hostilities with Germany as a result of an attack by Germany. Neither party would conclude any alliance or take part in any coalition directed against the other.

10 March 1947 A Twenty-Year Polish-Czech Treaty of Alliance by which both the countries agreed to 'take all measures possible to avert any threat or attack by Germany or any state allied with her' was signed in Warsaw.

13 March 1947 M. Paul Henri Spaak, the Belgian Foreign Minister, accepted the invitation to form a new Belgian Cabinet. The Coalition Cabinet led by Comille Hysmans (Socialist) resigned ear-

lier after the resignation of four Communist Ministers owing to their differences with the Liberal members on the price-control issue.

15 March 1947 The French Minister proposed to the Moscow Foreign Ministers' conference that the Allies should undertake an organized reduction of the population of Germany through emigration.

19 March 1947 The French National Assembly adopted a vote of confidence in Ramadier's Government on its Indo-China policy. But owing to the abstention from voting by the Communists, the strongest single party in the Assembly, a fresh cabinet crisis was precipitated.

20 March 1947 The French Colonial Minister told a meeting of the French Socialist Party Executive that the Government had initiated peace negotiations with the Viet-Nam forces in Indo-China.

27 March 1947 The British and Russian representatives opened discussions in Moscow on the revision of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty.

31 March 1947 The Madrid Radio broadcast a speech by General Franco in which he announced that Spain would be proclaimed a Monarchy and he would be the Head of the State and a Regency Council would be set up.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

6 January 1947 Agreement was signed establishing a six-man Commission to adjudicate on the British Commonwealth war damage claims against Siam. The agreement was signed by Siam, Britain, Australia and India and the Commission comprises three Siamese members and one each representing Britain, Australia and India. The work of the Commission will chiefly concern the Commonwealth Tin and Meat Company's claims and also individual claims resulting from war damage.

10 January 1947 It was announced that the Preparatory Commission of the Food and Agriculture Organization had reached full agreement on establishing a 18-nation World Food Council within the framework of the F. A. O.

21 January 1947 The Security Council voted 10 to nil to consider British charges against Albania, overriding vigorous Soviet objections.

28 January 1947 A conference of the U. K., U. S., France, Netherlands, New Zealand and Australia

which control the Pacific territories opened at Canberra with the object of setting up a South-East Regional Commission for the advancement and welfare of the peoples of the Pacific areas. This conference is the direct outcome of the decision taken in London at the meetings of the Dominion Premiers in May last year.

- 4 **February 1947** U. S. proposed a comprehensive scheme for disarmament to the Security Council. The plan includes (1) establishment of a permanent Disarmament Commission (2) creation of a special committee to study the terms of reference of the proposed Commission and (3) commencement at the next meeting consideration of the Atomic Energy Commission's Report.
- 10 **February 1947** 20 Nations including India signed the Allied peace treaty with Italy, the first peace pact to be signed after the World War II by the Allies. Sir Samuel Ranganadhan signed for India.
- 11 **February 1947** The first post-war International Shipping Conference which would discuss questions concerning safety at sea, wireless and international co-operation opened in London.
- 23 **February 1947** The three-day session of the Standing Committee of the Executive Board of UNESCO ended in Paris. A budget of 6,000,000 dollars was allotted to projects grouped under Educational Reconstruction in the Devastated Countries of Europe and Asia, Fundamental Education and Promotion of International understanding.
- 26 **February 1947** The Empire Communist Conference opened in London. 250 delegates from 11 countries—Britain, Canada, Australia, Burma, Ceylon, Cyprus, India, Malaya, Northern Ireland, Palestine and South Africa—attended it.
- 10 **March 1947** The Big Four Foreign Ministers conference opened in Moscow. It agreed upon the liquidation of Prussia, the cradle of German militarism.
- 20 **March 1947** By a unanimous vote the Security Council sent the complicated atomic energy control question back to the U. N. Atomic Energy Commission after the United States had rejected Russia's detailed atomic plan.
- 21 **March 1947** Bevin presented proposals for the future constitution of Germany at the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministry. The plan envisages a Republic with a two-chamber legislature representing respectively the nation as a whole and the provinces. Residuary powers will be vested in the provinces while the Centre will exercise legislative and executive powers essential to secure the nation's political, economic and financial unity.
- 22 **March 1947** Molotov announced the Soviet proposals for German administration at the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministry. The Russian Scheme envisages a decentralized German State with safeguards for the rights of the provincial governments. The Central German Constitution is to be republican with a bicameral legislature and based on democratic principles.
- 23 **March 1947** The Asian Relations Conference sponsored by the Indian Council of World Affairs opened in New Delhi, over two hundred delegates from nearly 30 Asian countries attending it. Inaugurating the Conference Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru emphasized that 'in this atomic age Asia will have to function effectively in the maintenance of peace.' Delegates and Observers from the Red Sea to the Pacific—those from Soviet Armenia, Soviet Azerbaijan, Egypt Afghanistan, Bhutan, Burma, Ceylon and China—stressed that a united and peaceful Asia was a

prerequisite to world peace.

24 March 1947 The two-day opening session of the Asian Relations Conference when delegates from Turkey, Egypt, the Soviet Republics of Georgia, Tadjikistan, Palestine, Nepal, Indonesia, Siam, Tibet, Viet-Nam addressed it, concluded and the Conference divided into Round Table Groups for discussions.

26 March 1947 The plenary session of the Asian Relations Conference adopted a four point report on

racial problems and inter-racial migration. The report suggested that there should be complete legal equality of all citizens, complete religious freedom of all citizens, no public social disqualification of any racial group and equality before law of persons of foreign origin who have settled in the country.

The United Nations Trusteeship Council began its first session at New York. No Soviet Delegate was present.

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THE INDIAN UNION EXECUTIVE

By M. RAMASWAMY

THE Constituent Assembly will soon have to consider and make up its mind on the type of executive which it should set up for the Union Centre. The Assembly has the choice of three alternatives: (1) the composite fixed executive of the Swiss type (2) the presidential executive of the American pattern and (3) the responsible cabinet executive of the British model. I propose to examine these types of executive in order to determine which one of these will best serve our needs.

The Swiss executive known as the Federal Council is a body of seven ministers elected by both houses of the legislature sitting together to form a National Assembly. The executive is not removable by the legislature and holds office for three years at a time. The members of the council, though not members of the legislature, (if they are such when elected, they must forthwith resign their seats) are entitled to attend either house and take part in its discussions. One of the seven is selected by the National Assembly to act as Chairman of the Council for a period of one year only. No one is allowed to hold the chairmanship for two years in succession. During his term of office the minister who acts as chairman draws a salary which is slightly more than that of his colleagues. Although he takes precedence over his colleagues during his tenure as chairman, it is only a matter of courtesy. He is not the leader of the ministerial body in the sense in which an English Prime Minister is. It is important to notice that the Swiss Federal Council cannot be compared to a parliamentary cabinet of the pattern which functions in England. As Professor Frederic Ogg has observed:

- Although at certain points resembling a cabinet, the Federal Council is not a cabinet, and no such thing as cabinet government can be said to exist in Switzerland. The Council does, it is true, prepare measures and lay them before the Assembly. Its members even appear on the floor of the two chambers and defend these measures. But the councillors are not, and cannot be, members of the Assembly; they do not, of necessity, represent a common political party, faith, or programme; they are not necessarily agreed among themselves upon the merits or demerits of a particular legislative proposal; and if overruled by a majority of the Assembly they do not think of retiring from the office. In other words,
- the Council is essentially what Swiss writers have themselves termed it, i.e., an executive committee of the Federal Assembly.¹

The attractive feature of the Swiss type of executive is no doubt its stability. But stability is not the only feature making for the proper functioning of a good executive. It seems to me that the Swiss form of executive if transplanted into the Indian environment would not be successful. We must remember that Switzerland with an area of 15,590 square miles and a population of about 4½ millions is a very small country compared to India which has an area of 1,575,000 square miles and a population of about 400 millions. Naturally

¹ Frederic A. Ogg: *The Governments of Europe* (1923), p. 599.

the problems of a tiny country like Switzerland are simple when judged in relation to those of a vast country like India whose problems are not only very complicated but are on an immense scale. Unless the Executive of the Indian Union has great drive and solidarity, it will make a poor show indeed. A composite executive of the Swiss pattern will in the nature of things be a weak executive. It will not have a mind of its own. Introduced into the Indian environment, it will, I think, present the spectacle of an ill-assorted and discordant group from which no integrated and decisive action can emanate. There is nothing which India now requires more than a well-knit and strong executive able to organize national life in its varied phases. An executive constructed on the Swiss pattern cannot provide the leadership which the country demands today.

The other two alternatives are the presidential type of executive of the United States pattern and the responsible cabinet executive of the British type. While both these types of executive are in every way superior to the Swiss form of executive, my own preference is in favour of the responsible cabinet type of executive.

I am not oblivious of the fact that the presidential office in the United States, with executive authority concentrated in a single individual, can be and has been an immense power for the good of the land. Especially when the office has been held by a great personality like Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, or Franklin Roosevelt, men who have brought great personal drive and vision to their task, the prestige of that office has attained great heights. Abraham Lincoln, the Western lawyer, rough-looking, but with a heart of pure gold, never faltered in executing the great task which had devolved upon him of saving the federal union from destruction. His leadership at a time of great peril was truly magnificent. Theodore Roosevelt's achievements in the presidency were also notable. His energy in enforcing the anti-trust laws, his personal interest in legislation to secure more effective supervision of railroads, and his almost missionary zeal for the conservation of the forest and water power resources of the nation by forming extensive forest reserves and by building great storage reservoirs—all attest to the dynamic qualities of his leadership. And in our own day we have seen how great and inspiring have been the gifts of leadership which Franklin Roosevelt brought to the presidency both in peace as well as in war. He assumed the reins of office at a time when the country was in the grip of a great economic blizzard. Most of the banks had collapsed, unemployment had reached formidable proportions, and prices had registered a steep decline. But President Franklin Roosevelt acted with commendable quickness and energy. By wise legislation and leadership, in less than ten days after he took office, he had restored the credit mechanism of the nation. The Banks had re-opened and funds were pouring into their vaults. He set about organizing an extensive plan for industrial recovery and agricultural rehabilitation. His New Deal measures not only restored the economic health of the nation in a short time but also gave a new hope to the working-man and the farmer. As leader of his country during some of the most critical days of World War II, President Roosevelt

displayed rare courage and organizing ability. A political institution which has given to a great country such outstanding leaders must undoubtedly have great merits. I may also say that taken by and large, the United States has been well-served by its presidents. Most of them have been very able men and some like George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and Woodrow Wilson have by their example and achievements ennobled the human race. A few presidents have been mediocre men content to toe the line which their parties set for them. It is necessary to explain why I do not recommend the presidential type of executive of the United States pattern for India, although such a type of executive has given to that great land a large number of distinguished executives. Before I give reasons for my view, I should like to explain briefly how the President is elected to office and what is the political background in which he works and exercises his powers.

The Founding Fathers set up a small electoral college for the election of the President of the United States in the expectation that the presidential electors would exercise their individual judgment. Under Article II, Section I, paragraph 2 of the Constitution of the United States, each state has to appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State is entitled in Congress. And it is this electoral college that elects the President. While this machinery for elections has survived, superimposed upon it has emerged the practice of the presidential electors representing a state voting solidly for the party candidate who is nominated at the party conventions. It would be well, I think, to explain briefly how the system works. New York for instance has 46 presidential votes (the state being entitled to elect 2 Senators and 44 Representatives). The presidential electors are elected directly by the people. On the ballot paper the names of the presidential electors of each party, known as the party's 'slate' for the electoral college appears. And the ballot paper also makes it clear that the Democratic Party's slate is identified as electors for the Democratic presidential candidate (for instance Franklin D. Roosevelt) and the Republican party's slate is identified as electors for the Republican Presidential candidate (for instance Wendell Willkie). If at this popular election in New York state the votes cast in favour of the Democratic party's slate exceeds the votes cast in favour of the Republican party's slate, then all the 46 votes to which New York is entitled in the electoral college will go to the Democratic presidential electors quite irrespective of the largeness or smallness of the majority of popular votes cast in the election. And at the presidential elections from the electoral college, all the 46 votes for New York will go to the Democratic party's nominee for the presidency (viz., President Roosevelt) as the presidential electors are mere dummies who vote automatically for the parties whom they represent. There are at present 531 votes in the electoral college distributed among the 48 states and the candidate who gets a majority of votes is elected President. The point to notice in this system of presidential election is that for all practical purposes the election is directly by the people of the various states, each state, however, voting as a unit for selecting the state's presidential electors.

It is necessary to point out that while, in most presidential elections, the successful candidate has a majority of both the electoral and popular votes, it has sometimes happened that the winning candidate has a majority of only the electoral votes and not of the popular votes.

The annual party conventions meet and select the party's nominees for the office of president and vice-president. The party conventions are institutions peculiar to the United States. The delegates to these conventions are chosen by primary elections in many States, some States choosing their delegates by other means. The Republican Convention usually meets in the month of June and the Democratic Convention in the month of July of the fourth and final year of the outgoing president's term of office. These conventions are colourful affairs. Much activity goes on behind the scenes before the final choices emerge. It is a remarkable fact that although there is much excitement and manoeuvring for support, the party nominees for the presidential office have been usually men of great ability and distinction.

Ever since 1800, when organized parties began to contest the presidential elections, it has happened that only two important parties have been rivals for power in the United States. In the presidential election of 1800 Thomas Jefferson at the head of the Democratic Republicans defeated John Adams, the leader of the Federalists. Later there was the right wing Whigs and the left wing Democrats. In the middle fifties a new Republican party appeared out of the ruins of the old Whig organization and this party under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln captured the presidency in 1860. It is unnecessary to enter into the intricacies of party politics as they have shaped in the United States from the early days of party organisation. We must, however, take note of the fact that from almost the beginning of the federal union, up till today, only two great national parties have been rivals for power in the country. Occasionally other parties have appeared on the scene but have failed to make any impression. It seems as though the presidential system, with its immense power of patronage and great prestige, creates the conditions favourable for the emergence of only two national parties as success in the presidential election depends upon concentration and not upon dispersion of effort. All the political forces in the country array themselves behind one or the other of the two organized parties because only in that way can they fight with any chance of success. A striking feature of party politics in the United States is that the two national parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, do not show any wide ideological differences, differences like those for instance which separate the Conservatives from the Labourites in England. True, perhaps, the Democrats have on the whole, been the party of reform and have adopted a more liberal approach to economic and social issues than the Republicans. But both parties believe in free enterprise. Each has borrowed freely from the other's programmes. The reason for the two national parties tending toward identical social beliefs has been explained by Mr. Thomas K. Finletter as follows:

There can be no pronounced ideological difference between the two parties without a sectionalism or class solidarity much greater than exists at present in the United States. Such sectionalism as exists in the solid South and

in some of the northern states does not decide the national election; it merely drives the contending parties into the deciding battleground of the other states. And any tendency toward class solidarity is constantly frustrated by the moves of the party managers, who keep their policies so close to those of the other party that class voting cannot develop. Both parties have to bid for majority of the votes in a large number of States and therefore cannot do otherwise than direct their party planks at the point which they believe will please the majority in those areas. As long as that necessity obtains—and it will do so long as the President is elected by direct popular vote—there will be no substantial difference in social theory of the two dominant national parties.¹

While it is possible that the presidential system of the American model if introduced into India may result in the emergence of just two parties with similar outlooks, it is just a possibility and no more. Few would have the boldness to prophesy how many and what kind of parties would emerge out of the welter of forces that are operating in India. But of one thing we can be certain. To expect the presidential system to work successfully on the basis of separate electorates is to expect the impossible. If the presidential type of executive commends itself to India's Constitution-builders, I would emphasize the point that the election must be made by the people voting directly in territorial constituencies irrespective of their religious affiliations. The intervention of an electoral college as provided for in the United States Constitution is both unnecessary and undesirable. A direct election by the citizens would pave the way for the emergence of a national figure to exercise the supreme executive powers of the Union Centre.

The creators of the American pattern of government were influenced by the political ideas of the time, ideas which moulded the shape of the organism which they created. The dominant idea then was the fear that concentration of power in any one authority would spell the ruin of liberty. The fathers of the Constitution devised a system of checks and balances in order to prevent the emergence of an authority able to have its own way. The doctrine of separation of powers associated with the names of Montesquieu and Blackstone was a principal feature of the Constitution. In the *Federalist*, XLVII Madison observed:

The accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive and judiciary, in the same hands, whether of one, a few, or many, and whether hereditary, self-appointed or elective, may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny.²

To an influential school of political thinkers of the time, the good state meant a negative State. A good government it seemed to them, should interfere as little as possible in the affairs of its citizens. Both Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine were exponents of this creed. As Thomas Paine put it:

The more perfect civilization is, the less occasion has it for Government, because the more it does regulate its own affairs, and govern itself;.....

¹ Thomas K. Finletter: *Can Representative Government do the job?* (1945) pp. 123-124.

² *The Federalist*, XLVII, ed. Everyman's Library, p. 245.

but few general laws that civilized life requires, and those of such common usefulness, that whether they are enforced by the forms of government or not, the effect will be nearly the same.¹

This philosophic approach to the rôle of government in society had great influence on America's constitution-makers. They were all men of property who were afraid of a strong executive on the one hand and a strong legislature on the other. They therefore made the executive and the legislature co-ordinate and independent authorities each acting as a check upon the other. The presidential veto over congressional legislation, the provision that a two-thirds majority in each house of Congress could override the presidential veto, the association of the senate with the presidential power of appointment, the clause which prevented the States from impairing the obligation of contracts were some of the checks and balances devised to prevent concentration of power in any one authority. It is true that the weak form of government which they set up was well-adapted to the conditions which prevailed in the pioneering days when so much depended upon individual initiative to develop the resources of a virgin country. But the simple economic structure of those days when agriculture and forest clearance were the dominant occupations, disappeared long ago. In the closely integrated economic fabric which has come into existence, an integration which is the inevitable pattern woven by the march of science and industry, the public well-being requires the State to take an active part in the regulation of the multifarious concerns of a complex national life. And the machinery of government set up by the American constitution-builders in 1787 is not well-equipped to deal quickly and effectively with the many problems which arise during peace-time. It is true, no doubt, that the system has been found adequate to meet the needs of a war crisis, as the experience of two World Wars has shown.

I do not propose to examine in this context this problem in all its bearings. The division of powers between the Federal Government and the States which was made in 1787 is not sufficiently well-adapted to present day requirements. It is, however, necessary to point out that even under the present division of powers, the Federal Government has been able to achieve a large measure of success, because its position has been strengthened not only by the Supreme Court's doctrine of 'implied powers' but also by the Court's broad construction of the various congressional powers and more especially of the commerce power. An important cause of weakness in the American system is traceable to the fact that there is no proper correlation under it of the workings of the executive and legislative branches of government.

The President of the United States does not dominate the Congress in the way in which the British Prime Minister can dominate over the House of Commons. The Congress as a co-ordinate branch of the government is only too conscious of its position and prestige. It thinks it enhances its position in the eyes of the public by either refusing to endorse the course of action suggested by the President or by forcing him to compromise. Describing the weakness of

¹ Thomas Paine: *The Rights of Man*, Part II, ed. Everyman's Library, p. 159.

the presidential position *vis a vis* the Congress, Professor Harold J. Laski has observed:

The President is at no point the master of the legislature. He can indicate a path of action to Congress. He can argue, bully, persuade, cajole; but he is always outside Congress, and subject to a will he cannot dominate. He is, while in office, the national leader of his party; of set purpose, he is not, and cannot be a congressional leader. Even if his party has a majority in both Houses, he has to win the goodwill of his party in Congress; he cannot exact it. A President, indeed, who sought to do so would soon discover the limits of his power. Mr. F. D. Roosevelt was resoundingly beaten on his Court plan shortly after his remarkable triumph of 1936. Successive Presidents, since 1920 have recommended in vain the adherence of the United States to the Permanent International Court. The lobby of the American Legion has proved more successful with both Houses, ever since the end of the war of 1914, than any pressure, even including the exercise of the veto power, that the President could bring to bear. He can initiate policy; he cannot control it. The emergency of war apart, that has been the constant characteristic of his position since 1789.¹

The position of the American President even when his party commands a majority in both Houses of Congress is by no means an easy one. And his position becomes vastly more difficult when he is confronted by a hostile majority in one or both Houses of Congress. And this is by no means a problematical event. Under the system of government in operation which makes elections to the House of Representatives biennial and which requires one-third of the members of the Senate to retire by rotation, their seats being filled up by biennial elections, while the President is elected for a four-year term, it has happened many times for a President to find himself ranged against a majority of another party in one or both Houses of Congress. As Thomas K. Finletter has pointed out:

...there is the possibility that under the system of fixed terms of office, one of the Houses of Congress may be of a different party than the President. This happens often enough to be a menace to our form of government. It has occurred in twenty-seven out of seventy-nine Congresses. In seven, both Houses were opposed to the President, in fourteen the House of Representatives alone was opposed; and in six the Senate. This split in party solidarity usually takes place at the congressional elections in the middle of a presidential term. It has occurred on at least three occasions within recent political history—the mid-term elections of Taft, Wilson Hoover.²

As a result of the recent mid-term elections, President Truman, who belongs to the Democratic party, is compelled to deal with a Congress, both Houses of which have a Republican majority. Obviously the position of a President who has to run the administration under such circumstances is one of difficulty.

It is necessary to devise some method which would minimise the chances of such a situation as the one to which I have referred arising in India, should

¹ H. J. Laski: *The American Presidency*, pp. 24-25.

² Thomas K. Finletter: *Can Representative Government Do The Job?* (1945), p. 106.

the constitution-framers decide in favour of the presidential type of executive.

The course which I would propose is to make the term of office of the president coincide with the life of the upper and lower houses of the Union legislature. And I would suggest a four year term not only for the president but also for the two Houses. The Upper House will not under this arrangement be a permanent body but will be completely reconstituted every four years. Such an arrangement may create conditions favourable for the President to have a working majority in both Houses. But even this may not make the presidential position secure: for it is quite conceivable that at any time during his tenure of office and even without a fresh election, the President may be compelled to deal with a hostile majority in one or both the houses, because of a change in party alignments which may well occur when parties have not been built upon firm principles.

It is important to recognize that under the complex conditions of today the responsibility of working out the various legislative measures required by a dynamic society can only come from a small compact body like a cabinet. And such a cabinet must be in a position to secure the enactment of the legislation which it proposes by the legislature without much difficulty. Under the British system, the House of Commons is only an organ for the registration of the executive's policies, because, the result of the rejection of an important government measure would be a general election. As Professor Laski has observed :

It [The House of Commons] does not lead the cabinet. It is not a policy-making body. It is an organ of registration, an instrument of criticism, a sounding-board through which the voice of the nation can make itself heard.¹

One may exclaim that this would be to give a pre-eminence to the executive at the expense of the legislature in the organization of government. If it is granted that government to be successful should get a move on things instead of being confronted at every step by obstacles, it is necessary for the executive which, after all, is *the* authority which must bear the brunt of the administrative burden, to get the legislative support it requires to perform its task. A government cannot properly work if deadlocks are frequent. It is important to remember that while the influence of the House of Commons during ordinary times is gentle and persuasive, it can play a decisive rôle when it feels that the executive is pursuing a policy which the country does not approve.

The American system which does not provide any proper nexus between the executive and the legislature makes for irresponsibility. The President might appeal to Congress for essential powers but that appeal may go unheeded. Strong Presidents like Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt have frequently come into conflict with the Congress. The system is a continual temptation for weak presidents to follow a policy of drift because of the fear that they might have trouble with Congress. Such has been the rôle which

¹ H. J. Laski: *The American Presidency*, p. 247.

men like Buchanan, Harding and Coolidge have played in the presidential position.

Time and again it has been suggested that the executive might be able to establish a closer union with the legislature by allowing the members of the presidential cabinet to appear on the floor of the Houses to answer questions as well as to support legislative measures. This point of view has had the support of distinguished men like Mr. Justice Story, President Taft, Senator Ingalls and Mr. James G. Blaine. President Taft has argued the case for this proposal forcefully in these words:

Without any change in the Constitution, Congress might well provide that heads of departments, members of the President's cabinet, should be given access to the floor of each House to introduce measures, to advocate their passage, to answer questions, and to enter into the debate as if they were members, without, of course, the right to vote. . . . This would impose on the President greater difficulty in selecting his cabinet, and would lead him to prefer men of legislative experience who have shown their power to take care of themselves in legislative debate. It would stimulate the head of each department by the fear of public and direct inquiry into a more thorough familiarity with the actual operations of his department and into a closer supervision of its business. On the other hand, it would give the President what he ought to have, some direct initiative in legislation and an opportunity through the presence of his competent representatives in Congress, to keep each House advised of the facts in the actual operation of the Government. The time lost in Congress over useless discussions of issues that might be disposed of by a single statement from the head of a department, no one can appreciate unless he has filled such a place.¹

So far back as the year 1864, Mr. Pendleton, a representative from Ohio, introduced into the House of Representatives a measure for allowing heads of executive departments to appear on the floor of the House. But nothing concrete came out of it except a long and valuable report. In 1886, Mr. J. D. Long introduced a similar measure but the Bill was not reported out of Committee. A similar measure has been recently introduced into the House of Representatives by Representative Kefauver of Tennessee. I believe this proposal, if given effect to, would seriously imperil the position of the President. The members of the presidential cabinet would then try to become his rivals for power and prestige and weaken his position not only in relation to the legislature but also in the country as a whole. The main attraction of the presidential system is that leadership is placed in the hands of one man who remains in office continuously for four years. And when the President has been a man of forceful personality, the shortcomings of the American system notwithstanding, his power for good has been immense. Any innovation introduced into the American system should take particular care that it will not tend to weaken the position and prestige of the President as the leader of his country.

If India decides in favour of the presidential executive, I would suggest one more reform, in addition to those already suggested, in the American pattern

¹ William H. Taft: *Our Chief Magistrate and His Powers*, (1916), p. 32.

before it is introduced here. The American provision by which the concurrence of a two-thirds majority of the members of the Senate present is required for the conclusion of treaties places in the hands of the minority of one House of the legislature the power to decide the fate of a proposed treaty. As John Hay has put it:

The irreparable mistake of our constitution puts it into the power of one-third +1 of the Senate to meet with a categorical veto any treaty negotiated by the President, even though it may have the approval of nine-tenths of the people of the nation.¹

The change which I would suggest is that the power of confirmation of treaties should be entrusted to the majority vote of both Houses of the Federal Legislature sitting together as one body. There is no conceivable reason why the lower house should not be fully associated in an important aspect of foreign relations.

The Cabinet executive of the British pattern which holds office only so long as it enjoys the confidence of the legislature is, in my opinion, an excellent form of executive. Its virtues are many. It encourages team spirit as it works on the principle of joint responsibility. It harnesses the governmental machinery to a dynamic motive power because the cabinet as a small and well-knit body can develop a high power-potential. It establishes a proper nexus between the legislature and the executive. It has to carry on its work in the full glare of publicity with a constant vigilance provided by an opposition which, as the repository from which an alternative to the existing cabinet can emerge, is an ever-present censor over the government's omissions and commissions.

The question may be asked whether the cabinet system will work satisfactorily in India having regard to the pronounced religious and sectional differences which exist in the country. I do not see why India should not be able to make a success of it when Canada with a mixed population has done very well with it. Religious, racial and sectional differences are not peculiar to India. In Canada, Quebec, northern New Brunswick and north-eastern Ontario are predominantly French and Catholic. Ontario, British Columbia and Nova Scotia are predominantly Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. Less than half of the population of the three Prairie Provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba is Anglo-Saxon, with strong German, Scandinavian and Slav groups settled there. The French-Canadians especially are deeply attached to their own language and culture. Between them and the Anglo-saxons there is very little inter-marriage. But notwithstanding these differences, Canadians have been able to build up a prosperous national life by striving for unity rather than uniformity and by practising the godly virtues of tolerance, restraint and magnanimity. We have much to learn from this heartening example.

But, to be sure, a cabinet form of government cannot be run successfully when the legislature is constituted on communal lines. Communal electorates are a standing invitation to communal discord. The springs of concord and

¹ Cited by H. J. Laski; *The American Presidency*, p. 201.

compromise which are so necessary to make life worthwhile and livable get rapidly dried up in an environment where people are segregated into communal compartments. Parties on healthy lines can only be organized on the basis of joint electorates. And a healthy party system is of the very essence of parliamentary government.

While I have no doubt in my mind that joint electorates are necessary for the creation of a proper atmosphere of amity, I am equally firmly convinced that at the present stage of our political evolution we must take count of the fact that minorities must be given adequate representation in the legislatures by reservation of seats in joint electorates. I agree with the recommendation of the Sapru Committee that in the 'Central Assembly excluding the seats allotted to special interests, such as commerce and industry, landholders, labour, etc., Muslim representation from British India shall be on a par with the representation given to the Hindus (other than schedule castes).¹

The question arises whether the constitution should itself provide that the Union Executive though worked on the principle of joint cabinet responsibility should be so constructed as to afford representation to the important communities in proportion to the strength of those communities in the legislature. The Sapru Committee in their report have made such a recommendation. The principal features of their plan are: (a) The Union executive shall be a composite cabinet in the sense that the following communities shall be represented on it, viz., (i) Hindus, other than Scheduled Castes (ii) Muslims (iii) Scheduled Castes (iv) Sikhs (v) Indian Christians and (vi) Anglo-Indians. (b) The representation of these communities in the executive shall be, as far as possible, a reflection of their strength in the legislature. (c) The cabinet shall be deemed to be duly constituted notwithstanding the absence from it temporarily of representatives of any of the communities mentioned in clause (a). Where on account of a whole community refusing to join or remain in the cabinet, that community goes without representation therein, the vacancies may, pending the availability of members of that community be temporarily filled up of members of other communities. A cabinet so formed shall be regarded as duly and validly constituted. (d) The cabinet shall be collectively responsible to the legislature. (e) The cabinet shall be led, guided and held together by a Prime Minister who shall ordinarily be the leader of a party which by itself or in combination with other parties is able to command a stable majority in the legislature. (f) A convention should be created that the offices of the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister shall not be monopolized by one community. (g) The other members of the cabinet shall be appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister.

While I am in general accord with the view of the Sapru Committee that the Union Cabinet 'should provide for the representation of the different communities, which should, as far as possible, be a reflection of their strength in the legislature,' I feel it is not advisable to introduce any concrete provision to that effect into the constitution itself. We must allow a convention

¹ *Constitutional Proposals of The Sapru Committee*, Appendix, p. ix.

all four sides by high mountains. In fact, to use an apparent Irishism, the vast barrier upland behind the Himalayas provides the most magnificent defence in depth imaginable. No centre of dynamic power can be created anywhere near the ranges. The climatic conditions above the plateau are most unsuited and unfavourable for air operations and the distance involved from any reasonable point where an enemy can concentrate and deliver a continuous attack on Hindustan from the Himalayan side is so great as to be negligible. In short, the Himalayas maintain their position as the impenetrable mountain range.

The position in respect of the North-West Frontier is not similar. The Hindukush range is not high enough, nor is the defence in that area in any great depth. Power can be concentrated near enough on the other side of the Afghan ranges which may lead to a sustained air attack. By present calculations—these may no doubt be out of date soon—the range of heavy bombers is about 1000 miles; that means, from Tashkand the Punjab may be fairly heavily bombed; from Sinkiang even Delhi may come within bombing range. But the Gangetic valley and the main areas of Hindustan where lies its industrial and military potential are not open to sustained attack which will either rain destruction and devastation, or break up the morale of the community. Normally speaking, Peninsular India can be considered a complete air island provided Burma and Siam are included in the area of Indian defence.

Leaving alone for the moment the V weapons and their use in combination with atom bombs and other variations of nuclear energy, air power as we now know it, has certain limitations of range and effectiveness. What in naval strategy is known as steaming radius is applicable in a different way to the case of aircraft also. In the case of aircraft it may be called the fuel radius. The amount of petrol a bomber can carry limits the range of the operations. The history of American bombing on Japan provides the example. It was only by the gradual process of moving up the base from which the air attack could be launched, that Japan came within the range of American air power. From Australia, the process was gradual, until it reached Saipan, and then Okinawa.

Secondly, unlike sea power, air power requires immense ground preparations. It is said that 28 train loads of petrol were required to fill up 1000 bombers. The other ground preparations have to be on an equally large scale. In effect this means that effective and sustained bombing can only be based on large scale military administration and considerable industrial potential near the base of operations. The failure of Japan in Burma to exploit the proximity to India can only be explained on this basis. Apart from a few occasional bombs dropped on Calcutta and the East Indian coast, there was no systematic bombing either of military targets or of industrial areas. One would have thought that the coal-fields of Bengal and the iron and steel industry of Jamshedpur were well within bombing range from Arakan. What prevented the Japanese from following so obvious a course? Clearly they did not have the facilities required for such large scale operations. Their carrier borne attack on Trincomalee and Colombo showed that they were fully alive to the possibilities of such a course. But Burma and Thailand being backward countries militarily, the requirements of large scale organization were not at the disposal of the Japanese.

In the case of areas to the north-west of India, no doubt, considerable preparations can be made for effectively carrying out major air operations. From the seats of Russian industrial power every requirement can be flown to the border areas without interception by hostile forces. Even then the distance involved is too great to undertake operations which will interfere with preparations inside India, or with India's industrial potential. The towns of the Punjab may be laid waste if India's fighter protection fails. But even this is not quite easy. This war has proved that in air, as on land, defence is much easier. Radar, Fighters, and anti-aircraft artillery, etc., saved England at a time when Germany's air-strength was overwhelming. In a recent book, '*Revolution in Warfare*,' Captain Liddell Hart has conclusively proved that with the advance of technical skill, defence is much stronger, once the shock and surprise of offence is over.

Again, air power, which is undoubtedly destructive, has not proved itself decisive. What he says in this respect is particularly important:

'The inherent drawback to an air force as the prime means to victory is that, while *tactically* it is the most rapid in operation and sudden in shock, *strategically* it is less fitted to produce a swift [ful] decisive effect. With sufficient superiority, armies have sometimes been able to decide the issue of a campaign in a single battle, by overthrowing the opponent's main army. Fleets have been able to cripple the opposing fleet in a battle, thereby exposing the enemy's coast to invasion, while securing their own side's undisputed use of the sea. But air forces have not yet found a possible way of achieving such decisive effects. In any clash, the weaker side has more scope for evasion than a weaker fleet, and much more than a weaker army. Moreover, an air force operates by fractions, and is much less concentrated than an army or a fleet. Its ground targets too, tend to be more dispersed.

An air force is a super-guerrilla instrument. It has thus a natural tendency to lead, strategically, to attrition warfare, the gradualness of which carries an ever-extending devastation and damaging after-effects. Theoretically, a superior air force should be able to produce a quick decision by paralysing the enemy's capital at one blow, and the other main centres in quick succession. In the case of small and virtually defenceless countries there has been experience to support such a possibility. But there is no guide as yet to the scale of air strength that would be needed to deliver a 'knock-out' blow to another Great Power. All we can tell is that the scale would have to be much greater than that of any air force yet conceived.

In May 1943 Mr. Churchill stated in Washington: 'Opinion is divided as to whether the use of air power could by itself bring about the collapse of Germany and Italy. The experiment is well worth trying as long as other measures are not excluded.' That announcement was followed by a great intensification of the bombing assault on German cities. After over nine months' trial it became clear that this method did not suffice. In the spring of 1944 there was a manifest change of aim. While the scale of bombing was raised to over 1000,000 tons a month, a large proportion of it was now devoted to targets that promised to have a closer bearing, and early effect, on the military situation. War industrial bombing became secondary to definitely strategic bombing—in aid of, and preparation for, land operations. In this new concentration, the direct aim of crippling

the enemy's rail communications was combined with the indirect aim of destroying the enemy's air force. At the start of the effort, in the middle of March, the American air chiefs committed themselves to the prediction that the air war in Europe would be decided in thirty to sixty days.

Here also results fell short of expectations.

A third point which I consider fundamental is the importance of space power in defence. The extent of area has in itself become a source of power where defence is concerned. Napoleon realized this in dealing with Russia: so did Hitler. The Japanese experiment in China demonstrated the same lesson. From the point of view of air defence, the vast area of India is of very special importance, *especially when she is, by reason of the Himalayan plateau immune from attack from the North*. The vast spaces behind the outer line of defence in the Frontier Province and in the Punjab—the fact that was pointed out before that she is an air island—gives her sufficient protection to organize her defence on the largest scale, away from the range of enemy action. The Himalayas are to a large extent responsible for this safety.

India is open to large scale air bombardment, but not from the side of its land frontier. If the control of the sea is lost, not only could she be blockaded and her economic life subjected to slow strangulation, but the centres of her industry pounded out of existence by carrier-borne aircraft. No doubt it is true that owing to the limitation of space, carrierborne attack cannot have the same weight; but in the great battles of the Pacific the giant carriers of the United States fleet have already shown what can be achieved in this sphere. For continuous, round-the-clock bombing, like the one to which Germany was subjected, carrier-borne aircraft will not be enough; but India's main industrial centres—Bombay, Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Jamshedpur, the Jharia coal-field etc.—are well within the range of carrier-borne planes. Also her railways can be hit at vulnerable spots, like Trichinopoly in the South, Basin Bridge, Kalyan, Dadar, Asansol etc. The control of the Indian ocean alone will save India from disaster from blockade, sea-borne invasion and destruction of economic life from air attack. There is finally the question of the atom bomb, especially in conjunction with the V weapons. We know so little about the use of nuclear energy for warfare that any discussion of the problems raised by it must of necessity be unreal. But a few observations may be made without being considered presumptuous. In the first place, the atom bomb cannot come and fall by itself. It must, therefore, be dropped either by aircraft, or by a self-propelled projectile. If it is to be by aircraft then the range of the atom bomb is determined by the range of the aircraft. It can only be dropped at the point where the aircraft can reach. If the base of attack is forced back, then the range also is forced back accordingly. As we have seen, according to present calculations, India is an air island out of reach of air attack in its vital areas. If the range of air power increases, then it does so for both sides and the bases from which enemy aircraft can operate comes within the range of aircraft action from India.

In regard to V weapons, while, no doubt, the Germans had planned to make their range 3000 miles, in actual fact, at the present time, so far as is known,

this range is only about 300 miles. If the principle of the V weapons and the atom bomb are combined at their present range they are no serious danger to India. But this is only speculative: there is nothing that stands in the way of scientists improving the range of V weapons and raining bombs from a distance of 2 or 3 thousand miles. The only reply to that is obviously that the distance is the same both ways and if a particular power can bombard India with atom bombs, India can retaliate in the same manner, provided her war potential is not unduly exposed or concentrated at certain centres.

The importance of space in the matter of defence against such weapons is obvious. A small country like England with its life concentrated in London and a few industrial areas is dangerously exposed to such attacks. The vast space of India makes a policy of dispersal much easier and the destruction by bombing of any particular area, need not, if the country is otherwise well organized for defence, affect the war potential in a decisive way. The possibility of locating the vital industries far away from the areas of attack, and the availability of bases near enough for effective counter attack make India less exposed to atomic attack than any country except Russia and the U. S. A. Here also it is the Himalayas that dominate the situation, for if India's long Northern land frontier was exposed, as for example China's is, then bombs could have rained ruin over the whole Gangetic Plain from one end to the other. The fact that such attacks can come only from a flank saves the vital areas of defence from destruction.

To summarize:

The problem of India's land frontiers is dominated by the great mountain range of the Himalayas which acts as an impenetrable barrier on the entire length of its northern boundary.

It is not merely a barrier in a linear sense though its high ramparts extending from the Karakorum to the Lushai hills give it that appearance. *It is essentially a defence in depth* in the largest sense, since, the barren windswept and mighty plateau of Tibet itself having an average altitude of 15,000 feet and encircled by mountain ranges provides an unapproachable extension to the Himalayan ramparts.

The Himalayan barrier has in the past saved India from cataclysmic changes, arising either out of large-scale conquest or great movements of peoples, and preserved the continuity of the Hindu religion and social structure.

Contrary to popular conceptions, the invasions of India from outside have been by small streams of military adventures who uprooted some local dynasty and did not attempt the organized conquest of the country. This was due to the fact that the only line of invasion was from a narrow flank.

In respect of the defence problem of the future also, the Himalayas are of fundamental importance. Their domination of India's life is not lessened, but in fact increased, by the revolution in warfare caused by the new weapons.

The Himalayan range and its uplands make India an air island, an area as safe from air attack as possible.

The atomic bomb and the V weapons have not materially altered this position though it is difficult to prophesy in respect of future inventions.

The creation of a broader no-man's land on both the flanks of the Himalayan range will give to the Indian peninsula sufficient area for the development of her, defence potential free from interference.

PARTIES AND POLITICS IN BURMA

By K. M. KANNAMPILLY

BRITAIN acquired Burma as part of her Indian Empire in the course of three wars, between 1824 and 1885. The Burmese people did not take the loss of their independence easily, and it took the British five years to 'pacify' the country. Within the next fifty years there were not less than five uprisings, the last one being the Tharrawaddy Rebellion of 1930-31.

The early efforts of the Burmese to organize themselves were revivalist and reformist in nature, through the Young Men's Buddhist Association. Its activities were along religious and social lines, until by 1907 the younger elements in the Association began to feel the need for a more radical programme of work. This led to the first split in the Y. M. B. A. Among the leaders of the younger group were U Chit Hlaing and U Ba Pe. Political consciousness among the educated middle classes developed greatly during the war years of 1914-1918, and a number of Burmese Associations sprang up in the country. The Young Men's Buddhist Association and the Burmese Associations were, naturally, looked upon with suspicion by the Government, but they continued their activities with enthusiasm.

In 1917 when Mr. Montagu visited India, a Burmese delegation waited on him to urge the need of separating Burma from India and giving Burma a more liberal form of Government. They were assured of a sympathetic consideration of their demands, but the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms 'set aside the problem of Burma's evolution for separate and future consideration.' Burma was unfortunate in those days in having at the head of her administration a man who was an avowed enemy of responsible government. Governor Sir Reginald Craddock wrote to H. M. G. strongly arguing against any grant of responsible government to Burma. The people were more united than ever before in their demand for self-government. The Young Men's Buddhist Association, which had by then become practically a political organization, and the various Burmese Associations got together, and the General Council of Burmese Associations was formed as the supreme political body of Burma.

Meanwhile, Governor Craddock continued pursuing his reactionary policy, creating bitterness all around. There was a country-wide agitation demanding his recall, U Ottama playing a leading part in the agitation. Ottama was arrested for distributing a 'Craddock, Go Back' pamphlet. This only heightened the tempo of public agitation.

Another unpopular act of the Government which aroused intense opposition was the Rangoon University Bill, which was attacked by all leaders on the count

that according to the terms of the Bill higher education would become too costly for the people of the country. The Government's insistence on forcing the Bill through gave occasion to the first students' strike. It also gave birth to the National Education Movement in Burma.

The country was politically awake and tense. An Enquiry Committee sent from England to find out the causes for the spread of seditious tendencies among the Burmese, as well as the visit of the Prince of Wales were boycotted. Sedition was in the air. Many of the leaders were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

And then dyarchy was introduced. Just as in India, this British gift served as an apple of discord. The General Council of Burmese Associations split on the issue of accepting office under the new scheme. U Ba Pe headed the group that advocated acceptance of office while U Chit Hlaing led the 'extremist' group who demanded that the national awakening of the people should be utilized to force the British to grant Home Rule for Burma. There was an acrimonious parting of the ways between the two groups at the Rangoon Jubilee Hall meeting.

U Ba Pe's group—derisively called the 'Twenty-Ones' by the others because 21 men had signed the statement advocating council-entry—thenceforth worked as a legislative party. U Chit Hlaing and his followers controlled the G. C. B. A., and carried on a country-wide agitation for the achievement of Home Rule. U Chit Hlaing became the 'Thamada' (President), and his popularity soared to new heights in Burma's political history. In 1926, at the Meiktila conference of the G. C. B. A., however, U Soe Thin, and not he was elected President. U Chit Hlaing then formed his own G. C. B. A. Thus the split in the nationalist camp once more began. This went on worsening, with mushroom G. C. B. A.'s springing up all over the country. The ideological differences between them were negligible. It was more a question of personalities, a race for leadership. Parties used to spring up around individual leaders, and the people were offered not a choice of political ideals and ideologies but a choice of personalities. In the words of a veteran Burmese journalist, 'It was indeed a period of confused and conflicting personal rather than political loyalties.'

It was in this atmosphere that the Thakin Party came into being. The object of the initial organizers was to build up a truly national political party which would revive in the minds of the Burmese people a pride in their race, religion and history. This party was able to impress the younger generation—particularly the highly awakened student community. Thus it was that Aung San and others became 'Thakins.' Soon, however, these younger elements gave the Party a definitely socialist ideology, and in keeping with such ideology began to develop mass contact. The Thakins were thus probably the first in Burma who tried to evolve a political party based on a definite political and economic ideology. This reorientation of the Party's ideology and programme met with the disapproval of the older elements in it, but the Thakin Party continued for all practical purposes to be guided and controlled by the radical group.

The years of the world-wide economic depression had a terrific effect on

Burma. The peasants were the hardest hit, and there were no-tax campaigns and other popular demonstrations. The Government naturally replied with repressive measures. The Tharrawaddy Rebellion of 1930 cost the Indian Government over 30 lakhs of rupees and many an Indian soldier's life before it could be suppressed.

In the new constitutional reforms recommended by the Simon Commission, Burma was to be separated from India. This question of separation created further differences among the Burmese politicians. In the General Elections of November, 1932, U Ba Pe's party, now called the People's Party, supported separation along with the Independent Party of Sir Joseph Augustus Mg Gyi. Some of the G. C. B. A.'s closed their ranks to oppose separation. Some others formed the Anti-Separation League. The President of this party was Dr. Ba Maw, a comparatively new figure on the Burmese political stage. The Anti-Separationists won the election, but refused to form a Government. The People's Party and the Independent Party accepted portfolios.

In spite of the verdict of the elections of 1932, H. M. G. passed the Government of Burma Act by which the separation of Burma from India was to take effect on 1st April, 1937. General Elections took place again in November, 1936. The following account of the main Parties that contested the elections is enlightening:

The Nga Buint Saing was a conglomeration of five groups with no clear-cut policy or ideology. But these groups favoured separation. Strongly nationalist in sentiment, and itching to accept office in order to work the reformed constitution, this Party consisted of the old gang of constitutional cooperators, the 'moderates' as called by their opponents. . . . Their organisation was financially strong, but their contact with the masses was loose or feeble. The Chit Hlaing G. C. B. A. had no programme either. It just wanted to have a shot at the 1935 constitution. The Sinyetha Party was . . . a group of leaders whose contact with the masses was through the Buddhist clergy. The Komin-Kochin Party was a Parliamentary wing of the Dobama Asiayone (Thakin Party). The leaders were young men with leftist tendencies. They contested the elections on the pledge of wrecking the constitution.

The elections proved once more that the people were opposed to 'separation, with a constitution falling far short of the people's political aspirations.' But in spite of this, and in spite of the majority decision of the House of Representatives against separation, His Majesty's Government decreed separation.

The 1935 constitution was such as to make it practically impossible for any single party to establish a stable Government. Unattached groups, based on communal or reserve franchise, like the European bloc, held the balance and could dictate to any party—making and unmaking Ministries to suit their own ends. Dr. Ba Maw formed a coalition Government, which survived two efforts to overthrow it, but succumbed the third time. He was followed by U Pu who also found it impossible to continue in office long.

U Pu was succeeded by U Saw. He was also more or less a newcomer in the arena. Previously he was in the United G. C. B. A., but had broken away and formed his own party called the Myochit Party. This party had the support

of the landed gentry, but had little contact with the masses. U Saw had a volunteer organization called the Galons, and clashes between the Galons and the Dama, which was Ba Maw's volunteer organization, were common.

This was the situation when war broke out. U Saw flew to London to plead that Burma should be considered along the lines adopted by Britain and America in the Atlantic Charter. Needless to say, his efforts proved futile. On his way back to Burma he was taken into protective custody for alleged contact with the Japanese. U Saw's lieutenant, Sir Paw Tun, became Premier of Burma.

In the meantime, the remnants of the United G. C. B. A., the Thakin Party and the Sinyetha Party had formed a united front called the Freedom Bloc. Dr. Ba Maw was the leader. This Bloc tried to establish contact with the Indian National Congress and the Central Government of China. Some of the members of the Thakin Party had, under the leadership of Aung San, come to India on the occasion of the Ramgarh Congress. They contacted most of the Indian national leaders. Incidentally, some of them also came to know some of the Indian Communist Party members, thus carrying the germs of the future Communist Party of Burma with them. The Thakin Party's resolutions on the war were very much on the lines of the resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress.

The Freedom Bloc of Dr. Ba Maw did not have a long life. The Government of Sir Paw Tun arrested Dr. Ba Maw, Thakin Than Tun and many others and shut them up in prison. U Ba Pe, though not a member of the Freedom Bloc, was also taken into custody. Aung San evaded arrest and was able to leave Burma, ultimately reaching Japan, where he along with over thirty other members of the Thakin Party received military training and re-entered Burma when the Japanese invasion began, at the head of the Burma Independent Army.

The speed of the British retreat from Burma gave little time to Aung San and his comrades to consolidate their position in the country. The Japanese were not prepared to entrust the Government of the country to them. Instead they called upon Dr. Ba Maw, who had escaped from jail during the precipitous withdrawal of the British, to form a Government. The Myochit Party was practically non-existent, Sir Paw Tun having fled to India with the Governor. Dr. Ba Maw effected a coalition with the Thakins, and formed the Dobama Sinyetha Asiayone. In the Independent State of Burma during the war, Dr. Ba Maw became the 'Adipadi' (Head of the State), and a number of Thakins including Aung San and Than Tun accepted portfolios as Ministers. The political parties suspended their independent activities, and the Dobama-Sinyetha Asiayone gave place to the Maha Bama Asiayone (Greater Burma Organization).

The Thakins were no lovers of the Japanese. They were intensely nationalist and anti-imperialist. The British Government, however, did not judge them correctly and imprisoned them during the war. Towards the end of the Burma campaign, General Wang Pun Shen, adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek on Japanese Affairs got the British authorities to agree to release them, because he realized that they were really anti-Fascist—probably more so than some of the members of the Burma Government which had prohibited pro-Chinese

propaganda in Burma until just before the first Japanese bomb was dropped. Some of them were actually released and were being escorted up to Lashio. But by then the Japanese had cut the Lashio Road, and they were brought back and locked up again!

Soon after the Japanese occupation of Burma, members of the Thakin Party began to organize a resistance movement. Representatives crossed into India and contacted the Allied Command. In the latter part of 1944, the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League was organized as a secret body to combat the Japanese and drive them out of Burma. Practically all the political parties of Burma were represented on this new body. The perfect organization of the A. F. P. F. L. was seen when in March, 1945, the Burma Defence Army under Major-General Aung San marched out of Rangoon, ostensibly to take part in the defensive campaign against the advancing Allied Forces, and overnight spread all over the country, and turned against the Japanese.

With the Allied victory, to which the A. F. P. F. L. had contributed greatly, Burmese politics entered a new era. The Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, now an open body, was the only political organization in the country. The Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Myochit Party, the Fabian Party—all acted as one through the A. F. P. F. L. When Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, the Governor, returned to Rangoon from Simla in October, 1945, the A. F. P. F. L. was willing to cooperate with him and join his Executive Council, in the larger interests of the war-torn country. But Sir Reginald's insistence on rewarding Sir Paw Toon, his colleague in Simla exile, with the Home Affairs Portfolio, and his refusal to include Ko Thein Pe, one of the A. F. P. F. L. nominees, in the Council, caused the negotiations to break down. After a week's intensive efforts on the part of the Governor's friends, three members of the Myochit Party who were in the A. F. P. F. L. resigned and accepted portfolios in the Executive Council. This was the first split in the A. F. P. F. L. But it was not serious, particularly as the seceding gentlemen's public following was negligible—the country having had previous occasions of witnessing them perform the same trick of changing Parties for Portfolios.

U Saw, after returning to Burma from Uganda, where he had been kept in detention during the period of the war, began to reorganize the Myochit Party. His main support still continued to be from the landlords and upper middle-class. U Saw carried on negotiations with the Governor for a reorganization of the Government, at the same time throwing out hints that if his demands were not met he would join the A. F. P. F. L. The Governor did not accede to his requests, and the A. F. P. F. L. made it abundantly clear that it would not have him: so U Saw called upon the three Myochit Party members in the Executive Council to resign. One of the gentlemen still preferred his portfolio to his Party.

The Sinyetha Party tried to come back to life when their leader Dr. Ba Maw was allowed to return to Burma by the British authorities. Dr. Ba Maw at first announced that he would not join any party, but would devote his time to work for the country as a whole. It was not long, however, before he changed

his mind, and revived the Maha Bama Asiayone—this time, of course, without its all-Party character of the war years.

The Dobama Asiayone, (the Thakin Party) had, as a Party kept out of the A. F. P. F. L. The leaders who still kept it going clung to the old conception of nationalism, taking little heed of the changed world order. Aung San, Than Tun, Nu, Aung Than, Mya and many others who had been the prominent members of the Thakin Party in the pre-war years had broken away from it, as they considered that the ideology of parochial nationalism did not agree with the dynamic trends of national and international life. To-day the Thakin Party is ideologically back where it began—and, aptly enough, under the leadership of one of the original organizers, Thakin Ba Sein.

In September, 1946, the political deadlock created by Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith was ended by the new Governor, Sir Hubert Rance, and the A. F. P. F. L. entered the Executive Council, with Major-General Aung San as the Deputy Chairman of the Council. This was no concession on the part of the Government. It was only after the A. F. P. F. L. had demonstrated its complete hold on the country by virtually paralysing the administration, that the Government saw the wisdom of changing its old ways. But the moment of triumph for the progressive elements in the country was marred by another split in the A. F. P. F. L. ranks—this time of a more serious type. Differences arose between the Communist Party and the other sections of the A. F. P. F. L., and the Communist Party was expelled from the organization.

His Majesty's Government invited Burmese leaders who were in the Executive Council to London in January this year for talks regarding the future constitutional progress of Burma. The Communist Party and the Party of Dr. Ba Maw were not included in the invitation. The Agreement arrived at in London was not accepted by two of the delegates, U Saw and Thakin Ba Sein. On return to Burma they were joined by Dr. Ba Maw, and an Independence First Alliance was formed with the avowed purpose of combating the Anglo-Burmese Agreement, and making it impossible for the elections to the Constituent Assembly to be held in April. The leaders of this move did not, however, get the entire support of their own respective Parties for this purely destructive programme. A section of Dr. Ba Maw's old following led by U Ba Thein announced its decision to support the Agreement and co-operate with the A. F. P. F. L. Similar desertions occurred from the Myochit Party and the Dobama Asiayone. The Communist Party was split into two sections, one led by Thakin Soe, and the other by Thakin Than Tun. The latter section condemned the London Agreement, but nevertheless decided to contest the elections to the Constituent Assembly.

It is worthwhile noting that of the important parties claiming the support of the Burmese people, the Parties that made up the Independence First Alliance, namely the Dobama Asiayone, the Myochit Party and the Maha Bama Asiayone were either remnants or revivals of pre-war political parties. Their past histories and activities, the background of their origin, all made it rather difficult for them to function as a really united front for any length of time.

The A. F. P. F. L. is a war-time organization. (The Socialist Party of Burma is part of the A. F. P. F. L., and so has not been treated separately in this article.) It served during the war to co-ordinate and concentrate the anti-Japanese efforts of the people. And after the war it symbolized the organized strength of all progressive sections of the Burmese nation. The greatest contribution of the A. F. P. F. L. and its leaders to the country has been the elevation of Burma's politics from being just a happy hunting ground for Ministry-minded careerists to a field for national service, entailing suffering, sacrifice, and steadfastness to certain principles. Its weakness today would mean a national weakening. Writing editorially on 'National Solidarity,' *The Burman*, a non-party paper in Rangoon, declared on 19th February: 'There appears to be little doubt that once the A. F. P. F. L. becomes moribund, either because of dissensions within its own ranks or because of attacks from without, Burma will be again at the mercy of countless small political groups, led by individuals, who, with all their good qualities, will find it extremely difficult to win the confidence and command the respect of the entire nation.' The only other party which can to-day claim mass support in Burma is the Communist Party. That the Communist Party also realizes the significance and the historic necessity of the A. F. P. F. L. is evident from its declaration that it would co-operate with the A. F. P. F. L. wherever possible, in spite of the fact that the Communist Party is opposed to the A. F. P. F. L. and the London Agreement.

The Elections to the Constituent Assembly proved the great popular support for the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League in Burma. The efforts of the U Saw-Ba Maw-Ba Sein group—the Independence First Alliance—to wreck the elections proved futile. Even the Communist Party of Than Tun secured fewer seats than was expected.

The most outstanding achievement of the Aung San Government was the agreement reached between the Burmese and the minorities like the Kachins, the Shans and the Karens. Considering the fact that these communities had always been kept under the protective care of the Governor, who took special care to nurture them as minorities with no contact with the rest of the people of Burma, the degree of agreement arrived at was remarkable.

Representatives of the minorities have joined the Constituent Assembly. Politically, the Constituent Assembly is Leftist, with a significant accent on youth. The Draft Constitution agreed to by the A. F. P. F. L. convention makes it safe to predict that the Burma of the future will be a socialist State.

DELHI.

May, 1947

JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY*

(1942-1945)

By AMAR LAHIRI

THE popularly expected World War II flared up with the ensuance of the War of Greater East Asia, and the protracted China Affair automatically lost its *raison d'être*. The Pacific gigantomachy was primarily a clash between the 'new big stick' policy of the United States and the 'lay off America' policy of the leaders of the Kudan Hills. It was indeed astonishing that both the American and British Governments with all the intellect at their command failed to give a name to the Far Eastern war, though certain United States circles frequently referred to it as the Pacific war.

The *votie face* of Japan which started with the Manchurian imbroglio reached its final stage on the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia. The common man of Japan welcomed the unprecedented emergency, for he felt, rightly or wrongly, that Uncle Sam was responsible for all his troubles. He stood pat behind the Government and determined himself to endure another period of hardship and suffering, optimistically believing that Japan would surely attain victory ultimately. He regarded the war as his *Der Tag* and refused to acknowledge John Doe as a fighter. The surprise assault on Pearl Harbour before a formal declaration of war united the American people into a solid mass and propelled a par excellent manifestation of American 'rugged individualism.' Victory in the Pacific war became America's 'new manifest destiny.' Therefore, the people readily extended their full support to the Roosevelt Administration, thereby hastening the building up of a total war structure within the shortest time possible. And isolationism was killed for good at the altar of 'new American internationalism.'

About a month before Japan rose up in arms, an important military conference was held in the presence of Emperor Hirohito in the Tokyo Imperial Palace. At that conference the probability of a war with America was discussed. Premier General Toho and the bigwigs of the Army High Command expressed the opinion that, in the event of a war culminating in the Pacific, the army would be able to smash the Anglo-American defensive power from the Philippines to Burma within three months provided the Navy could guarantee the destruction of the American Naval station at Pearl Harbour. The late Fleet-Admiral Yamamoto, then Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Grand Fleet, said that the Navy could accomplish such an objective, but he declined to give any undertaking as to whether the Navy would be able to maintain a dominant position in the Pacific if the war continued for a number of years. The Army replied that the war would be a short one, and that Britain and the United States would not be able to stage a comeback once they were expelled from East Asia. It took no notice of the resistance capacity of either Chungking or Yenan. The Emperor after listening to the views of both the fighting services stated that, should a war in the Pacific become unavoidable, the Army and Navy should

take such offensive measures as would ensure the progress of the war in favour of Japan. The raid on Pearl Harbour was carried out in fulfilment of the decision reached at the conference but the Emperor was not informed that the raid would precede a formal notification of war.

While Pearl-Harboured America grimly resolved to bring Japan to her knees the latter, indulging in self-complacency, thought that the materialization of Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was just around the corner. Though Japan had the drop on the United States from the very start of the war, she, blinded by an inflated military glory, failed to utilize that advantage to cement a granite compact with the contiguous nations right up to Burma. By gaining brilliant victories in quick time she momentarily lost her sobriety—an unfortunate psychological reaction which back-fired the harmonization of relations with the southern countries. And when Japan came to her senses and realized her initial mistake, the situation had become unbalanced owing to America's splendid recovery and the growth of local dissident movements throughout East Asia.

Whereas the Japanese attack on the Philippines was carried out from Formosa, the landing on Malaya was undertaken with Hainan Island as the main base, the air force operating from Southern Indo-China. Close on the heels of the Pearl Harbour disaster, Midway, Wake and Guam were shelled. Davao in the Philippines was subjected to severe pounding, and landing was effected on the Malay Peninsula. Manila and Singapore were bombed. The Malay invasion forces of Japan entered Siamese territory as a sequel to the Japan imposed Tokyo-Bangkok Military Alliance Pact. Siam had endeavoured to remain neutral, but Japan forced her to sign the pact and told her that her territorial expectations would be met. A fresh agreement between Japan, Germany and Italy was signed for the joint prosecution of the war on the United States. Berlin and Rome simultaneously entered into a state of war with Washington. And thus the global war or World War II was on.

On December 25 Hongkong capitulated and earlier Guam was occupied. Before the New Year was hailed, Japanese troops captured Ipoh in Malaya, Kuchin in British Borneo, and Mariveles, a strategic sector on the Batan Peninsula. On January 7, 1942, Manila was brought under Japanese control. Before the month expired, the Japanese positions in Malaya and the Philippines had become highly favourable, and Japan declared war on the Netherlands East Indies. Starting with the occupation of Kuala Lumpur, capital of the Federated Malay States, Japanese forces took Johore Bahru facing Singapore on the 55th day after the first landing on the Malay Peninsula covering a distance of about 1,100 kilometers.

Among the military gains the most noteworthy were the seizure of the entire province of Minahassa in Northern Celebes, Tavoy in Southern Burma, Balik Papan in Borneo, and Kendari in the Dutch East Indies. On February 15 Singapore surrendered. On March 9 the Netherlands East Indies capitulated and about the same time Rangoon was occupied. Thereafter the motley British forces in Burma began retreating to India. While Batan and Corregidor were reduced in April, the following month the major portion of Burma was brought under control.

The short-term war planned by Premier Tohjo and the leaders of the Army High Command was consummated in its entirety, and Japan within six months acquired undisputed supremacy over East Asia with the exception of the Chungking-Yenan territory. The original Japanese war plan did not envisage a complete occupation of Burma; nor did it make any provision for the capture of Australia, New Zealand and Eastern India. It only detailed the interception of the Lashio-Kunming highway and the occupation of certain strategic centres in Burma. Japanese forces literally walked into Central Burma and Rangoon, because British forces had earlier decided to evacuate into India. The British military muddle in Burma was due more to lack of coordination than to armament inferiority.

By the time Japanese forces reached Rangoon and Western Burma they were almost exhausted. They had very little equipment left to undertake an offensive march into Eastern India. General Iida, Japanese Commander-in-Chief in Burma, informed the Army High Command in Tokyo that Japanese forces, in the absence of reinforcement in equipment and effectives, could not possibly make any further offensive venture. Instead of a drive into India, he suggested the launching of war propaganda to stir up the Indian nationalists against Britain. On receipt of his views, Premier Tohjo went into consultation with the Army High Command and decision was reached to shelve an offensive into Eastern India. However, strategies were mapped out to make attempts for the capture of key coastal strips of Australia and the destruction of Trincomalee in Ceylon which served as the only military link between Australia and Britain. Inasmuch as Japan had exhausted all her offensive power in executing the short-term war plan, these attempts proved futile. She had grievously miscalculated the rate of material consumption in terms of a total *blitzkrieg*. Hence, she was left without a reserve offensive power. This stalemated the war situation and enabled the United States to bolster her war production to the extent needed for the opening of the projected road to Tokyo.

Speaking at the 78th session of the Diet on December 24, 1941, Premier Tohjo declared that, if the Philippines and Burma would cooperate with Japan in the construction of a Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, Japan would grant them independence and help them to establish a 'Philippines for the Filipinos' and a 'Burma for the Burmans.' Regarding India, he said that the war had given the nationalists a heaven-sent opportunity to regain national independence. He urged India to rise as 'India for the Indians,' and hoped that India would 'cooperate for the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.' These announcements were made with two objectives in view: one, to impress upon the peoples of the Philippines, Burma and India that Japan was also fighting for their liberation; and two, to launch an effective ideological war against Britain and the United States. Again on February 16, 1942, one day after the fall of Singapore, Premier Tohjo speaking at the Diet reiterated Japanese willingness to assist the Philippines, Burma and India to regain their independence and asked for their cooperation in the construction of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. The adoption of such an Oriental policy by Japan motivated the

United States to restate her policy of granting freedom to the Philippines, while Britain was obliged to send the abortive Cripps Mission to India. In respect of the East Indies, Premier Tohjo outlined a plan of according progressive local self-government. Malaya was declared a strategic zone and incorporated into the Japanese Empire.

The war necessitated a thorough reshaping of the totalitarian political structure of Japan. A new body called the Taisei Yokusan Seiji Kai (National Service Political Association) was inaugurated, and to it was transferred the totalitarian political activity hitherto carried on by the Taisei Yokusan Kai. Whereas the former became the only wartime political organization, the latter became the only national spiritual mobilization mouthpiece devoted to keeping up the morale of the populace. Under the new political set up a general election was held in April 30, 1942. It goes without saying that the Seiji Kai candidates, all nominees of the Government, swept the polls, and so the wartime Diet became an appanage of the Fascist War Party.

In keeping with the national political adjustment, positive measures were put into motion in the Philippines and Burma to spur the emergence of local régimes pledging collaboration with Japan. Moreover, an Indian independence movement was sponsored to seek the sympathy of the Indian people. On the other hand, the Indonesians were told that they would be given self-governing rights in gradual stages to guide them toward the path of independence. Concurrently, relations with the Nanking Government were vitalized further to stabilize that Administration's power as a makeweight against Chungking. A Ministry for Greater East Asiatic Affairs was created solely charged with the task of rendering smooth the construction of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

The creation of the Greater East Asiatic Ministry considerably curtailed the functions of the Foreign Office whose main duties thenceforward were confined to political investigation, observation of international situation, and harmonization of relations with Axis Europe. The war propaganda was entrusted to the Board of Information, a separate ministerial organ, and yet the delicate international publicity affairs continued to be handled by the Foreign Office. In the policy-making structure of the Board of Information were included the representatives of the Army, Navy and Foreign Office. Information regarding the war situation and military affairs was released by the Army and Navy Information Sections of the Imperial Headquarters. Because of this complicated method of war information and war propaganda, Japan's ideological warfare from its very inception became dull and incoherent. No wonder that she was beaten by Britain and the United States in this form of war long before they turned to offensive action.

The victory in the war, instead of bringing relief to Japan, plunged her into a labyrinth of political and economic complexities. She found it practically impossible to put up an East Asiatic war structure in view of the peculiar political and economic conditions prevailing in the southern countries. She found that the Philippines, the East Indies, Malaya and Burma each had a different

political and economic outlook. Hence, she could not organize the local populace into a single economic unit. The obvious result was that she could not effectively use the economic resources of these countries for war prosecution. Lack of machinery, technicians, skilled labour and mutual cohesion coupled with the wartime confusion and disorganization jettisoned the hitchless construction of a single-dimensional East Asian defence fabric. An economic survey revealed that peaceful condition and substantial time were required to put the potentiality of East Asia to war use. Since Japan could not hope for the emanation of these two factors in the midst of a total war, she naturally focused her attention on stabilizing local régimes to create a semblance of political unity. Failing to make use of the southern economic resources, she was constrained to tighten her belt and to reinforce her war power by utilizing the resources available in the country and in Manchuria and Nanking-controlled China. The victory, therefore, proved an economic defeat, and as such, it was quite apparent that Japan's makeshift political compact with the southern countries would not last long, that is to say, it would crack the moment the war situation turned favourable to the Anglo-American nations. The subsequent events generated such a development.

The global war situation took a new turn in 1943, and both Japan and Germany for the first time felt the real power of their opponents. On January 9 the Nanking Government entered into a state of war with Britain and the United States, and Japan renounced her extra-territorial and concessional rights in China. Other Axis nations followed suit. Britain and the United States, too concluded agreements with Chungking relinquishing their similar rights in China. The same month, while President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill formulated war strategies at Casablanca, Japan, Germany and Italy signed economic pacts to streamline their war economy. In the month of May both Japan and Germany for the first time received telling punishments. The Anglo-American forces occupied North Africa, thereby clearing the way for the defection of Italy. In the Pacific, the United States recaptured Attu, and the Japanese people became conscious of the war power of their neighbour on the other side of the Still Sea. Premier Tohjo hurriedly visited Manila, Bangkok and Singapore and exhorted the people to enhance the joint defensive power. He also created a separate Munition Ministry to augment war production, particularly aircraft output.

On the surface the political strategy of Japan attained significant success. On August 1, Burma was declared independent. This was followed by Philippine independence on October 15. In the same month a Provisional Government of Free India was organized under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose. The 'Independent' régimes of Burma and the Philippines and the Provisional Government of Free India were recognized by Japan, as well as other Axis nations. These political developments invigorated Japan's diplomatic war, and by citing them she categorically proclaimed to the world that she was fighting for the liberation of the Orient. But intrinsically the political strategy proved inadequate to turn the war tide in favour of Japan. The imperialistic character of the Oriental liberation movement was thoroughly disliked by

a great many thinking people of occupied China, the Philippines, Indo-China, Malaya, Burma and Indonesia.

Although Britain and the United States dismissed these wartime regimes as puppet administrations, they were nevertheless forced to pay heed to the *de-facto* situations in Japan-controlled East Asia. They recognized the need of weakening the administrative authorities of the wartime regimes. They organized underground intelligence operations in Burma, Siam, Malaya, Indo-China, Indonesia and the Philippines. Their intelligence work became highly fruitful, because highly placed local leaders cooperating with Japan were closely associated with it. The undermining of Japanese power from within was thus begun, and Japan was hard put to suppress guerilla activities and the surge of open antipathy. In order to combat the local opposition and the Anglo-American ideological warfare, Japan sponsored an Assembly of East Asiatic Nations which on November 6, 1943, adopted a five-point Joint Declaration on the basis of non-domination and international cooperation. This ideological move had come too late, for the resistance movement in occupied East Asia had by then become a reality.

As regards the China Affair, it became a spent force diplomatically when the Japanese and Nanking Governments signed a Pact of Alliance and a protocol on October 30, 1943. The pact stipulated respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, economic collaboration, and promotion of harmonious relations on a basis of equality. The protocol specified the withdrawal of all Japanese troops from China on the restoration of Sino-Japanese peace. Undoubtedly these two agreements pointed to a complete reversal of Japan's attitude toward China; in fact, they removed most of the major causes of China's differences with Japan and put back Sino-Japanese relations to that existing in the pre-China Affair days. Then in pursuance of the principles embodied in the East Asiatic Joint Declaration, Japan transferred the right to tax Japanese subjects in China to the Nanking Government. By relinquishing the concessional and extra-territorial rights, by signing the Pact of Alliance and the protocol, and by transferring the taxation right, Japan manifested a new China policy of conciliating nature. About this time Japan, in recognition of her fighting limitation, had become willing to end the China impasse by agreeing to all reasonable terms of Chungking. Realizing that defeat in the war was inevitable, she wanted to right the wrongs done to China. But the tables were turned. It was China who asked Japan to take the knock-out blow which was coming to her.

Along with her new China policy, Japan made renewed efforts to stabilize Japanese-Soviet relations hinged on the Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact. On March 30, 1944, a protocol relating to the transfer of Japanese oil and coal concessions in Northern Saghalien to the Soviet Union, and another protocol relating to the prolongation of the Fishery Convention for five years were formally signed in Moscow. As a result, Japan stamped out a chronic cause of friction with her northern neighbour. From the power political angle, however, the Japanese move amounted to a retreat and an open invitation to the Russian amoeba to begin the preparation of a territorial meal of its own choice.

The Soviet declaration of war on Japan designed to shorten the duration of the Pacific hostilities marked the appearance of the Russian amoeba on the East Asiatic scene. The new approach of the Kremlin, adopted to fulfil its war obligations to the Allies, drove a wedge into the American-conceived postbellum order in the Far East. Naturally, in the after-war period both Washington and Moscow gave a gorgeous funeral to their wartime partnership. The loss of power by Japan all the more roused the determination of the Soviet Union to take such measures as would equilibrate her security in the Pacific on an enduring footing.

The East Asiatic Joint Declaration dynamited the wartime Oriental policy of Britain and the United States in so far as the ideological conception was concerned. Its five points were: (1) economic cooperation among the countries of Greater East Asia; (2) respect for each other's sovereignty and independence; (3) respect for one another's tradition and culture; (4) recognition of mutual prosperity; and (5) abolition of racial discrimination and opening of resources throughout the world. These five points formed the core of the proposed Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Whether or not Japan had any desire to translate them into action is a question which has become exanimate due to her defeat in the war. Yet the idealistic intention behind the Joint Declaration cannot be thought of lightly. The Japanese Government by facilitating the stabilization of power by the local *de facto* régimes had taken a forward step toward its implementation, however misguided or misused that step might be. The announcement of the Joint Declaration outmoded the Atlantic Charter in so far as the small and subject nations of the world were concerned. Today the change in the Anglo-American attitude toward Asia as a whole has been substantially influenced by the Japan-sponsored movement for Asian liberation, no matter how much one may disagree with the methods employed by her to foster that movement. The framing of the Charter of the United Nations has also been affected by the East Asiatic Joint Declaration.

The Assembly of East Asiatic Nations was followed by the Anglo-American-Chungking Cairo Declaration which said that 'in due course Korea shall become free and independent.' It made no reference to the liberation of other subject nations of Asia. The capitulation of Italy made it clear to the Japanese people that the conclusion of the war in Europe had just begun. They knew that they could no longer hope for a German victory: they would have to fight on by relying on their own war power. After Italy's capitulation the Tripartite Axis Pact became valueless, despite the organization of a Fascist Republican régime in Northern Italy under Benito Mussolini. In 1944 the Anglo-American nations took the offensive initiative in Europe and in the Pacific. On the other hand, Soviet counter-thrusts forced the German Wehrmacht to retreat as fast as it could. The Reich Army was no longer a match for the Red Army.

In 1944 the island-frogging tactics of the United States proved its worth when American forces occupied Kweilin, Saipan and Guam. Meanwhile the initiation of hostilities in Leyte completely disorganized the southern Pacific defence of Japan. In Europe, Britain and the United States opened their promised second front by landing on the western coast of France. Before

the fall of Saipan the position of the Toho Ministry had become untenable due to the rise of popular bitterness against it for its failure to improve the food situation, its policy of ruthlessly suppressing public opinion on the war, and its utter inability to grapple with the truculent war situation. No sooner had the war situation turned disadvantageous than Premier Toho virtually staged a military *coup d'état* to chain the Japanese people to a military dictatorship. He, besides retaining the post of the War Minister, became Chief of the Army Staff and made his Navy Minister, Shimada, Chief of the Navy Staff. This was certainly unconstitutional and an encroachment on the power of the Emperor. His action opened up a barrage of criticism from both the thinking and unthinking people. Then came the Saipan debacle and the Toho Cabinet retired on July 18, 1944. The official communique said that the resignation of the Toho Ministry was for the purpose of 'renovating public opinion and pushing the war effort with added strength.'

The fall of the Toho Cabinet sealed the doom of Japan, for the solidarity hitherto maintained between the people and the Fascist War Party became weak-hinged. The succeeding Koiso-Yonai Cabinet was too feeble to accomplish anything revolutionary in the face of the steady American offensive. Very soon Manila changed hands and the sign of exhaustion became visible in Japan. The Government policy of appeasing the people fell on deaf ears; the people had begun to lose faith in it and in the military. Premier Koiso made a desperate attempt to reinforce the war production structure, but the result obtained was negligible, for the people retorted: 'rice first, gun next'. Still they did not lose their fighting morale. Toward the end of 1944 American sky raiders began to appear over Japan. The anti-air raid defence was incomplete. Moreover, the aircraft production had fallen so low that Japan could not even maintain a minimum air pursuit defence.¹ At the same time Germany's position both on the eastern and western fronts had become mortally critical.

When 1945 was ushered in, Japan was thoroughly encircled by the United States. Earlier the loss of the mainbody of her Navy in the Philippine Sea battle had made the United States Pacific Fleet the supreme mistress of the Pacific Ocean. Not only Japan became vulnerable to land-based air attacks and carrier-striking operations, but she also lost air supremacy over Japan proper to the United States. While the battle of Iwojima went on furiously, American-carrier striking and B-29 attacks began demolishing systematically the main cities and industrial centres in Japan proper. Especially Tokyo became the target of incessant raids. On March 21 Iwojima was brought under American control and on April 1 American invasion contingents landed around the main Okinawa Island. Thus the war reached the very aorta of Japan and defeat became a matter of few months.

The invasion of Okinawa synchronized with widespread raids on Japan proper, and within two months Japan suffered so thorough a destruction that she found herself helpless to make a defensive stand. Though the people

¹ Premier Higashi-Kuni's statement at the 88th session of the Japanese Diet, September 5, 1945.

carefully avoided using the term 'surrender,' they nevertheless talked about the 'termination of the war.' The Okinawa invasion precipitated the resignation of the Koiso-Yonai Cabinet, and on April 7 Admiral Suzuki, President of the Privy Council, formed the third and last war Cabinet of Japan. In well-informed quarters the Suzuki Cabinet was described as the 'peace Ministry.' Its emergence denoted that Throne politics had become reactive, and that the Fascist War Party had been pushed into the background.

On May 7 the Allied Command formally announced the unconditional surrender of Germany. Two days later the Suzuki Ministry stated that Japan would carry the war to the finish against Britain and the United States. The statement was meant for domestic consumption only. It primarily aimed at restraining a Fascist uprising. On July 26 the Potsdam Declaration was issued setting forth the last conditions of the unconditional surrender of Japan. On August 8 the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima and on the following day the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. On August 14 Emperor Hirohito issued the 'Imperial Rescript on Termination of war in the Pacific.' Four things forced Japan to surrender. In order they were; (1) extreme armament, especially aircraft, inferiority; (2) food shortage on a starvation level; (3) Russian declaration of war and (4) atomic bomb.

The Imperial Rescript asserted that Japan had declared war on Britain and the United States out of her sincere desire to ensure her self-preservation and the stabilization of East Asia. The Rescript added that the Emperor had ordered the 'acceptance of the provisions of the Joint Declaration of the Powers' in order to save Japan from 'obliteration.' The Rescript is couched in a dignified language; its tone is not that of a vanquished but a distinguished contestant. The Imperial Rescript was broadcast to the people on a nationwide hookup at noon on August 15. Because the Emperor directly spoke to the people and told them why Japan had to accept the Potsdam Declaration, the Japanese people with the exception of a few hot-heads immediately laid down their arms, and a Fascist nation was almost overnight converted into a non-militaristic country. The bloodless changcover of Japan from militarism to pacifism was indeed singular. Though humiliated the people took their first defeat in their history calmly and in good grace.

As early as May, 1945, following the capitulation of Germany, the Suzuki Cabinet had entered into preliminary negotiations with the Soviet Union to sound out whether the latter by exerting her good office could bring about peace between Japan and the Anglo-American nations. During the months of May and June conversations merely resulted in a non-committal exchange of views. The Kremlin, although it heard the Japanese side of the case, refrained from expressing any opinion one way or the other. It was generally believed that Japan was prepared to restore the pre-China Affair *status quo* and to liquidate Fascist militarism provided the Anglo-American nations shelved their demand for the occupation of Japan. Authoritative non-official circles opined that during these two months peace talks were initiated by Japan simultaneously in Tokyo, Moscow and Stockholm. It can be safely conjectured that the Kremlin had transmitted the viewpoints of Japan to London and

Washington. This was evidenced by the subsequent stiffening of the Anglo-American attitude toward Japan following the framing of the United Nations' Charter at the San Francisco Conference and the adoption of the Potsdam Declaration.

Early in August a Moscow-London-Washington agreement was reached whereby the Soviet Union consented to a declaration of war on Japan by becoming a party to the Potsdam Declaration. The altered attitude of the Soviet Union signified Moscow's adherence to the provisions of the Crimea Accord in respect of Japan. The price for the Soviet involvement in the Pacific war was the Anglo-American concurrence to the Soviet occupation of Northern Korea, Southern Sanghaien and the Kurilie Islands. On the other hand, by an agreement with Chungking the Soviet Union secured the stationing of a part of the Far Eastern Red Fleet in Dairen and Port Arthur. It will be noticed that toward the conclusion of the War of Greater East Asia a rivalry had developed between Moscow and Washington concerning supremacy in the eastern territories of China. After Japanese surrender that rivalry became more than transparent.

On August 9 a conference in the presence of the Emperor was held in the Tokyo Imperial Palace. After deliberations lasting from 11-55 p.m. to 3 a.m. the following day a decision was reached to accept the Potsdam Declaration.¹ On August 10 an extraordinary Cabinet meeting was held from 1 p.m. to 2-50 p.m. to examine the manner in which the decision would be made public. The same day Japan notified her acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration to the United States through the Swiss Government on the understanding that 'the said declaration does not comprise any demand which prejudices the prerogative of His Majesty as a sovereign ruler.' The following day Japan received a cablegram from the United States saying: 'From the moment of surrender the authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government to rule the State shall be subject to the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, who will take such steps as he deems proper to effectuate the surrender terms.' On the afternoon of August 12 Premier Suzuki acquainted the Emperor with the contents of the American reply, which was also discussed at a Cabinet meeting and then at a conference of the Imperial Princes. Finally, a meeting of the Supreme War Council was convoked at which the question of Imperial prerogative in the light of the American reply was discussed, but no decision was arrived at. On August 14 the Emperor himself called a conference in the Imperial Palace at 10-45 a.m. and at his own initiative ordered the acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration inclusive of the explanation contained in the American cablegram. Premier Suzuki then made the necessary arrangements for notifying Japanese unconditional acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration to the United States. At noon of August 15 Japan formally announced her surrender, and the humiliation of a proud nation was complete.

On August 28 American airborne units landed at Atsugi Airfield to pave the way for the Allied occupation of Japan. On September 2 the surrender terms

¹ Statement of the Japanese Cabinet, August 15, 1945.

between Japan and the Allied countries were formally signed on the battleship *USS Missouri* which was anchored at a point six nautical miles off Yokohama. The ceremony was extremely brief: it only lasted from 9 to 9-15 a.m. Japan had declared war on Britain and the United States on a Sunday and it was certainly a travesty of fate that she surrendered to those very nations on a Sunday. The modern Japan that came into being with the Meiji Restoration died on August 15 by giving birth to a new Japan shorn of militarism.

General MacArthur on conclusion of the surrender ceremony delivered an address. He remarked: 'The energy of the Japanese race, if properly directed, will enable expansion vertically rather than horizontally. If the talents of the race are turned into constructive channels, the country can lift itself from its present deplorable position into a position of dignity'. Marshal Stalin spoke on Japanese surrender in Moscow. He averred: 'From now on we can consider our country safe from the threat of a German invasion in the west and of a Japanese in the east.' The outline of China's after-war Japan policy was sketched by Foreign Minister Wang Shih-chieh in a speech on August 29. He said 'Japan's impressive attitude even after the defeat, her maintenance of order, and many other attributes must be copied by the Chinese.' In other words, he hinted at Sino-Japanese cordiality in the post-bellum period.

On August 15 the Suzuki Cabinet resigned and Imperial Prince Higashikuni formed the first surrender Cabinet of Japan the following day. The Emperor for the first time ordered a Royal Prince to form a Ministry actuated by the desire of facilitating the Allied occupation of Japan as peacefully as conceivable. On October 5 the Higashikuni Cabinet resigned by taking responsibility of the bureaucratic proclivity of the Home Minister. General MacArthur had ordered the Japanese Government to remove from Office the Home Minister as he was found to be restricting the freedom of press. Since such an order cast a reflection on the entire Ministry, Premier Higashikuni tendered the resignation of his Cabinet. This followed the organization of the liberal and democratic Sidehara Cabinet which implemented measures for the holding of a democratic general election and the revision of the Constitution on a democratic footing by making the Emperor a constitutional monarch and by vesting the authority of the State in the Diet. The Emperor disclaimed any divinity and urged the people to construct a democratic Japan. Though the diplomatic ~~has~~ ^{the} recourse of Japan was stopped by an Allied directive, the Foreign Office nevertheless continued to function as an organ of international relations. Only the wartime offices, such as the Munition Ministry and the Ministry for Greater East Asiatic Affairs were abolished. Also the War and Navy Offices were discontinued.

During the tenure of the Higashikuni Cabinet the first phase of the surrender was completed. It signed the surrender documents, facilitated the bloodless entry of the Allied occupation forces, and commenced the rapid demobilization of the Army and Navy. With the progress of the occupation the Allied Headquarters issued a series of directives to the Japanese Government to make room for the speedy emergence of democracy in all walks of life. The ~~most~~ ^{most} important directive concerned the restoration of freedom of speech, assembly

and association. Another directive ordered the dissolution of all secret societies and ultra-nationalist bodies, as well as the release of all political prisoners, the majority of whom were Communists. The Taisei Yokusan Seiji Kai which was later reorganized into Dai Nippon Seiji Kai (Great Japan Political Association) was voluntarily dissolved, thereby putting an end to totalitarian politics. Another directive abolished the secret police system and the gendarmerie. By putting into effect these directives, the governmental structure, as well as the national body politic were renovated along democratic lines.

Toward the end of 1945 democracy had started operating in full force in Japan. There had appeared over a hundred political parties each with a democratic platform of its own. The oldline political groups had also come out in the open under different names. The Liberal Party, the Social Democratic Party and the Progressive Party comprising not a few oldline politicians controlled the new democratic politics of Japan. The remaining political factions, some 110 in number, nurtured varied types of labour, socialistic, capitalistic Emperor-centric and Communistic ideologies. Many former military officers and soldiers, as well as impoverished middle class peoples joined the numerous radical organizations which outnumbered the capitalist and Emperor-centric groups. It was not uncommon to see posters with such slogans: 'Emperor Must Go,' 'Communists Are Traitors,' 'Preserve the Imperial Institution,' 'Down with the Capitalists,' and 'Make Japan a Socialist State.'

One of the salient features of the post-capitulation period was the all-round enthusiasm shown by the people to reconstruct Japan on a genuine pacific setting.¹ Such an enthusiasm appeared to be spontaneous; it had no super-imposed backing. The masses were glad that militarism had disappeared, and they exhibited a passionate zeal to propagate a new Japan by exercising their inherent rights and privileges. The Japanese are a receptive people: they are also nation-centric in their outlook. These two traditional traits subconsciously guided them to demonstrate their good faith and good intention to the Allied Powers relative to the democratization of their country.

Before the close of 1945 all vestiges of militarism had been eradicated, and there were abundant signs testifying to the shaping of a democracy peculiar to Japan.² In spite of the acute food shortage, currency inflation and disorganization in living conditions, the Japanese people gave ample evidence of their ability to rehabilitate their nation in accordance with the terms of the Potsdam Declaration. The capitulation proved a blessing in disguise, for it brought to the forefront the pacific nature of the Japanese people and their mentality to bear the unbearable in an orderly manner for the lasting benefit of the nation. They persuasively pointed out that they were a highly organized people, and that in the future they would again occupy a significant position in the comity of nations.³

¹ News reports in the American Press, October 1 to 5, 1945.

² General MacArthur's October-November, 1945 report on Japanese occupation to Washington.

³ *Nippon Times*; and *The Mainichi* editorials, September 7, 1945.

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DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN ASIAN COUNTRIES¹

By B. RAMAMURTHI

STAGES OF DEMOGRAPHIC EVOLUTION

THE most important of the resources of a country are the human resources. Hence accurate measurement and scientific analysis of the magnitude, structure, growth and future trends are most essential for economic, political and social planning. This is particularly so at the present juncture when plans are being forged by the United Nations for rebuilding the world after the War, and maintenance of a just and durable peace and when for the first time in the history of the world, the population is under the grip of a remarkable 'vital revolution' which will be described below. The shifting balance of world population will result in new strains on present political and economic structure. The changes taking place in the size and composition of the population will affect widely divergent fields like land-tenure, demand for capital goods, old-age pensions, care of children, international trade, etc.

Demographic forces had been working slowly, gradually and persistently as under-currents, in spite of many surface upheavals like world wars. The effects of war may temporarily overshadow the working of vital forces, but in the long run the latter will far outweigh the former. The total human loss in England and Wales during World War I was estimated at about a million, whereas the loss between 1911-1926 as a result of declining fertility was about 2.2 millions.²

For a proper appreciation of the subjects it is necessary to understand the several stages of demographic evolution through which advanced countries

¹ In the preparation of this paper, materials and data have been freely drawn from the references cited.
² Ref. (2) p. 75.

have passed, which almost lead to the conclusion that other countries should in due course follow suit—may be at different speeds. The need for study in a world context is all the more imperative, as concerted international action by the United Nations can be the only possible method, for solving the demographic problems.

The latest estimate of the population of the world and its distribution amongst the various continents is given below:

TABLE 1¹
Population of Continents (1939)

Continent							Estimated Population ooo's omitted
Asia	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,154,000
Europe	..	..	..	..	..	..	402,000
USSR	..	..	..	..	..	..	172,000
America	..	..	..	..	..	..	273,400
Africa	..	..	..	..	..	..	158,000
Oceania	..	..	..	..	..	..	10,800
World	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,170,200

The population of Asia is more than half of the total world population. In fact it forms 53.1% whereas Europe and USSR form only 18.5% and 7.9% respectively. The main sources for the population figures are the national censuses conducted at periodic intervals. There are many countries in Asia, notably China, and in South America where censuses have not been instituted so far. In such cases the figures are only estimates made by scholars on the subject. Even in regard to censuses conducted by other countries, the standards of completeness and accuracy achieved widely vary.

When this is the position regarding data at present, it is naturally worse in regard to the past. But a careful study of the conditions over several countries shows clearly that the pattern was broadly one of high birth rate, high and wildly fluctuating death rate, with the result that the average survival rate was very slow indeed. The economy was highly agrarian, families large in size, literacy poor. It is just the dismal Malthusian picture of a growing population with limited resources, subject only to natural checks like pestilence and disease. We may call this the first or primeval stage. In fact the real spurt in population growth may be said to have started only with the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century. The table below setting forth the population of the world in the past, however crude, broadly substantiates the above conclusion.

¹ Ref. (1). ●

TABLE 2
Growth of World Population

Date							Estimated Population	Annual average percentage growth
1650	..	..	..	..	..	..	545	—
1750	..	..	..	..	..	..	728	0.29
1800	..	..	..	..	..	..	906	0.44
1850	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,171	0.51
1900	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,608	0.63
1940	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,171	0.75

The survival rate in the 17th and 18th centuries had been very slow as compared to the present rates of growth in several countries, 1.2 for US and 1.5 for India.

The population growth in the 19th century, particularly in Europe, clearly proved that the pessimistic Malthusian picture cannot be the perpetual one, but just the first phase in demographic evolution. Europe had more than doubled her population during the last century and still she had greatly improved her standard of living. It is, in brief, the effect of an era of modern sanitation, scientific advance, industrialisation and urbanisation.

The rapid advance of medicine and improvements in sanitation have led to a control of the various diseases which were having heavy tolls of life. Measures for child welfare and maternity welfare have arrested the main causes of mortality. With rapid industrialization and urbanisation, means of transport have increased, and considerably eliminated the effects of famine. These forces working together steadily brought under control the mortality rate. At this stage the fertility rate had not shown any response and had practically remained stationary, with the result that the countries exposed to these influences had experienced a period of steady and rapid growth, unheard of before, with improved conditions of living, consequent on rapid industrialisation, and increased food resources as a result of improved technological methods. Europe, and particularly Western Europe, had gone through this expansion stage in the first decades of the 19th century, although of course there had been wide regional differences depending to a great extent on the degree of exposure to these new forces. The table below showing the dates when the several countries brought their death rate to below 20 per 1000 will illustrate the point.²

Scandinavia	..	..	..	..	..	..	1860
England	..	..	..	..	..	..	1880
Netherlands	..	..	..	..	..	..	1890
Italy and Austria	..	..	..	..	..	..	1910
Eastern Europe	..	..	..	..	..	..	1920
Roumania and probably Soviet Union	..	..	..	..	..	..	1930

¹ Ref. (4) p. 3.

² Ref. (2) p. 49.

An indefinite continuation of this period of rapid growth for centuries would certainly overtake the rate of increase of natural resources, possible with the best of scientific methods and would certainly lead the carrying capacity of the country to breaking point. The next stage sets in, when the birth rate shows a declining trend. While death rate responds immediately to improved sanitation and public health measures, birth rate is comparatively inert until there is a distinct rise in the levels of living. This is mainly brought out by the diffusion of industrialisation and urbanisation and persists in spite of conservative and religious traditions. Part of the process is simply mechanical as for example, the disruption of rural family patterns, separation, mobility and women labour, but it is mostly the change of values effected by education, city life, industrial employment, popular participation in democratic processes and the advance of science.

The time lag between the commencement of decline in birth rate and that of death rate has been considerable and varied from country to country. It took almost a century for Europe and about 60 years in Japan. The fertility rate dropped below 30 per 1,000 in France in 1830, Sweden about 1880, England 1890, Germany, Netherlands, Czechoslovakia and Baltic countries between 1900-10, Italy and Spain in 1920, Poland and Balkans in 1930. Of the European countries only USSR and Albania had birth rates above 30 per 1,000 in 1939.¹

This third stage may be called the retarded-growth stage in which both fertility and mortality are being brought under control. During this stage, the population will still continue to grow, but the rate of growth will be contracting. The whole of Western Europe, United States and Australia are well on their way in this stage, and Eastern Europe and Japan have also started on this course.

The fall in birth rate, although it sets in later and is for a time slow, ultimately will be much more precipitous than the death rate and a final stage may be reached when the birth rate is equal to or less than the death rate, with the result that the population may become stationary or decline. In no other country excepting France, has this situation actually arisen but recent remarkable population forecasts worked out on the basis of the existing trends of fertility and mortality show that almost the whole of Western Europe would have reached the end of her growth by the end of 1970.² It is anticipated that Eastern Europe and United States will also cease to grow by the end of this century.

These countries are no longer oppressed by the spectre of over-population, but that of under-population. Policies are being forged towards increasing fertility by means of various economic and social stimulants, and thereby arresting the decline of birth rate, which, if allowed to continue, will also be catastrophic.

Much more remarkable than the changes in the growth rate of population is the consequent changes in the age-structure, which has more serious and economic consequences. The populations in the first two stages are young.

¹ Ref. (2) p. 49.

² Ref. (2) p. 56.

There is a greater concentration in the younger groups on account of increasing births. With decline in fertility, the younger element will relatively shrink and the older relatively predominate. The care of the aged will assume greater proportions and the aged labour force naturally slow, rigid, and less alert and adaptable to new methods will have serious economic repercussions. This aging can be roughly measured by the percentage of population below 0 to 15 and those above 65, which are given for various countries in the table below:

TABLE 3¹

*Percentage of Children and Aged Persons in Various Countries
(1940)*

Name of country	Percentage of those aged 0-15	Percentage of those above 65
UK	21.9	9.0
Northern Europe	23.0	8.6
West and Central Europe	23.6	8.4
Southern Europe	29.4	7.1
Eastern Europe	33.5	4.8
USSR	36.0	4.2
US	25.0	6.9
India	39.9	2.3
Japan	36.9	4.7

ASIA : GROWTH OF POPULATION

With the above background depicting the various phases in demographic evolution and their close interaction with economic forces, and the differential stages of development of the various countries in the world, we shall now be in a position to appreciate the demographic position and prospects in Asian countries and their causes and consequences in a world context. As pointed out already the population of Asia forms more than half the total population of the world and is bound to form a relatively larger proportion in the decades to come. Apart from statistical assessment, it is clear from a study of the economic conditions concomitant to each stage that most of the Asian countries, with the exception of Japan, are either in the primeval stage or have just embarked on the expansion stage.

The latest estimate of the total population of Asia and its distribution in the various countries is given below:

¹ Ref. (4) p. 144.

TABLE 4

*Population of Asian Countries (1939)*¹

Country or Group of countries	Population in millions
China	450
India	382
Japan (including dependencies)	104
Other parts of S. E. Asia	163
Middle East	55

The estimates for the various countries are crude. The serious obstacles in the study are the paucity and unreliability of the data, and these would only be partially made up from a careful study of the significant economic factors affecting demographic forces. We shall now take up in detail major countries—India, China, and Japan—and touch briefly on the remaining parts of South East Asia and Middle East.

INDIA

The first official census was conducted in 1872, and subsequent censuses taken every 10 years. India to-day is the largest country with a population census. The questionnaire, the area covered, and the degree of accuracy attained have shown considerable improvement and the census figures are almost complete and reliable.

The table below shows the growth of India's population from 1872:

TABLE 5

*Growth of India's Population*²

Year	Population in million	Increase due to new area	Increase due to improvement and method	Real increase	Percentage increase
1872 ..	206.2	33	12	3	1.5
1881 ..	253.9	33	3	24	9.6
1891 ..	287.3	6	..	4	1.4
1901 ..	294.3	3	..	19	6.4
1911 ..	315.2	2	..	4	1.2
1921 ..	318.9	..	..	34	10.6
1931 ..	352.9	..	..	..	..
1941 ..	388.9	Loss due to separation of Burma	..	50	14.8

¹ Ref. (1).² Ref. (5) p. 14.

The most significant feature of India's population growth is the wide fluctuation from decade to decade up to 1920. The retarded growth in 1870-80, 1891-1901 is due to famine and outbreak of plague. The slow-down in 1911-21 is due to the influenza epidemic which it is estimated has taken away 13 million lives. In other words population has been subject mostly to natural checks. From 1920 onwards there has been steadily increasing growth and most likely India has entered in the second phase of expansion in demographic evolution. This will also be clear from the reduction in mortality during this period. (vide Table 6 below.)

Of the 389 millions, about 286 millions are in British India and the rest in Indian States. Being a vast country there are wide regional differences and the percentage increase in the decade 1930-40 had varied from 9.8 Central Provinces to 25.2% in the North-West Frontier Province.

The total increase in population between the years 1872 to 1941 is almost 54% whereas in UK for the same period it was 56% and in Japan more than 100%. Thus although the absolute increase in numbers is considerable, the percentage increase as compared to other countries is not so.

As pointed out already the high rate of growth in the last four decades is mostly due to the reduction in mortality rates, as will be seen from the table below:—

TABLE 6

Birth rate, death rate, and infantile mortality rates of India¹

Year				Birth rate per 1000	Death rate per 1000	Infantile mortality
1920	..	..	..	33	31	195
1921	..	..	..	32	31	198
1922	..	..	..	32	24	175
1923	..	..	..	34	25	176
1924	..	..	..	33	28	189
1925	..	..	..	32	24	174
1926	..	..	..	33	25	189
1927	..	..	..	33	23	167
1928	..	..	..	34	24	173
1929	..	..	..	33	24	178
1930	..	..	..	33	25	178
1931	..	..	..	35	25	179
1932	..	..	..	34	22	169
1933	..	..	..	36	23	171
1934	..	..	..	34	25	187
1935	..	..	..	35	24	164
1936	..	..	..	36	23	162
1937	..	..	..	35	22	162

¹ Ref. (7).

Year				Birth rate per 1000	Death rate per 1000	Infantile mortality
1938	..	..	..	34	24	167
1939	..	..	..	34	22	156
1940	..	..	..	33	22	160
1941	..	..	..	32	22	..
1942	..	..	..	29	21	..
1943	..	..	..	26	23	..

The reduction in mortality is mostly due to improved medical and public health facilities and epidemics like cholera, plague, malaria being brought under control. It cannot be claimed that mortality statistics are complete and accurate, and there may be a good percentage of unrecorded deaths but these cannot belie the conclusion of a downward trend; if at all the count in 1940 must be much more accurate and complete than that in 1921 and could only have hidden a further decline.

The birth rate too has been steady with minor fluctuations, but even here according to the Health Commissioner, there may be an underestimation by about 20 to 25%, much more than that in mortality rates. Table 6 gives the birth rate, death rate and infant mortality from 1920 onwards.

Much remains to be done by way of achieving completeness and accuracy of vital statistics and reorganisation of the statistical machinery for collecting the same.

The birth rate figures for 1941, '42, '43, are 32, 29, 26 and show a distinct fall, but its exact significance cannot be assessed. May be, it is mostly the result of slackness of the reporting staff due to pressure of war work.

The table below gives the percentage distribution of rural urban population of India.

TABLE 7
Growth of Rural, Urban Population of India¹

Year				Percentage of rural population	Percentage of urban population
1871	..	..	..	91.28	8.72
1881	..	..	..	90.59	9.41
1891	..	..	..	90.54	9.46
1901	..	..	..	90.21	9.79
1911	..	..	..	90.65	9.35
1921	..	..	..	89.70	10.30
1931	..	..	..	89.00	11.00
1941	..	..	..	87.28	12.78

It is clear from the above that the degree of urbanisation is very slow although in actual numbers the urban population has increased from 37 millions in 1921

¹ Ref. (5) p. 29.

to about 50 millions in 1941, whereas Russia has increased the percentage in urban area from 16.6% in 1926, to 32.2 in 1939, and Japan from 32.9% to 40.9% between the years 1920-40.

Although questions on occupation were asked in greater detail in the 1941 Census, occupational tables were not constructed. The percentages of those engaged in agriculture and industry were respectively 65% and 10.3% in 1931.

The number of literates in British India had increased from 18 millions in 1931 to 37 millions in 1941, but then the percentage of literates to the total population is only 13%.

Although industrialisation has been comparatively speaking fairly rapid since 1920 and has received added impetus during World War II, still the percentage of industrial workers to the total working population has not shown marked increase to warrant any relief from the pressure on land.

Unfortunately age-sex tables were not compiled after the 1941 Census. We have only the age-sex tables of the 1931 Census and the Life Tables based on them. An examination of the age structure of women in the reproductive period shows an increasing reproduction potential.

Mortality is being brought under control from 1920 onwards. It has got to be examined whether this has been achieved only in urban areas or whether it has penetrated rural areas also. With increased public health measures contemplated by the Government, it may come down, and there is scope for the same as the mortality rate achieved by advanced countries is about 12 per 1000. At the same time there is already population pressure on resources and outbreak of famines and there is the possibility, which should be guarded against, of relapsing to the old scale of deaths.

Birth rate has remained stationary and it is not likely to show any decline in the near future unless the scale of industrialisation and urbanisation is considerably accelerated, and standard of living considerably increased.

Emigration and immigration are insignificant. The net result is that for some decades to come the population will continue to grow at a rate of about 11 to 13 per 1000 per year, so that as estimated by Prof. Fisher it can be expected to reach 500 millions in the next 20 or 25 years.

It is not possible to make any refined forecast with the data available. Age-group tables of 1941 census, fresh Life Tables based on them, and occupational classification are primarily needed. A close study of the differential fertility rates in various age-groups, in different geographical and economic cross sections, mortality rates in these groups by causes of disease, are the additional requisites for discovering short-term trends in the components of population growth.

CHINA

It is unfortunate that in China, the biggest country in Asia, demographic data are most scanty. The most surprising fact is that there has not been any national census like the one in India. We must be content with the estimates made at different times, some of which are given below:

TABLE 8

Growth of Population of China¹

Estimated by	Population in Millions
Imperial Government, 1910	325
Post Office, 1926	486
Maritime customs, 1931	440
Directorate of Statistics, Nanking, 1931	453

The opinion amongst competent scholars is that the population may be taken to be about 450 millions with a margin of error of 50 millions.

There has not been any compulsory registration of births and deaths and no complete vital statistics. The most reliable figures are those given below supplied by the Department of Agricultural Economics, Nanking (1934).

	North China	South China
Birth Rate	37.9	35.6
Death Rate	24.2	26.8
Increase	13.7	8.8
Infant mortality	186	132

The above data, though fragmentary, suggest a situation of high birth rate and high death rate. This is also confirmed by central fundamental facts which have a direct bearing on population trends, and which are unmistakable to any close observer of Chinese conditions. China is highly agrarian, large and densely populated and the great mass of people are desperately poor. Large families are quite a common feature. There are wide fluctuations in death rates, depending on the ravages of epidemics. Added to this are the constant internal strife and the absence of a strong Central Government and Central Health Organisation for improvement of public health. All these show that China is still in the initial stage of demographic evolution, just what India was prior to 1920 and is yet to embark on rapid population growth consequent to a steady control of mortality.

JAPAN

Of the Asian countries Japan is most advanced from all points of view, industrialisation, demographic evolution and organisation for collection and interpretation of demographic data. The first National census was conducted in 1870. Japan proper had a population of 73.1 millions in 1940, while the remaining parts of the empire accounted for 32.1 millions. The table below shows the growth of the population of Japan proper from 1870.

¹ Ref. (6) p. 22.

TABLE 9

Growth of Population of Japan Proper¹

Year						Population (ooo's omitted)
1870	..	..	..	..	..	35,000
1890	..	..	..	..	..	40,965
1900	..	..	..	..	..	44,710
1910	..	..	..	..	..	50,716
1920	..	..	..	..	..	55,963
1930	..	..	..	..	..	64,450
1940	..	..	..	..	..	73,114

It will be seen from the above that there has been a steady accelerated growth in population in spite of several wars during this period. The total increase in population from 1900 to 1940 is about 63.5% as compared to 36.4 for India.

This steady increase is mostly due to the sharp decline in mortality brought about by improved sanitation and health measures and standard of living. Japan is the only Asian country which, in spite of a doubling of population during the last 60 years, has also doubled her standard of living. Even as early as 1910, the death rate has fallen to 20 per 1000 and by 1940 it has come down to 15.4. Infant mortality has been brought down from 159 per 1000 births in 1921-25 to 114 in 1938. The rate of growth has been much higher in the other parts of the Japanese Empire.

It is only between 1925-1930 about 60 years after the industrial revolution that the birth rate began to decline, and even then it was slow. The birth rate has come down from 34.6 during 1921-35 to 29.9 in 1941. This might have been mainly due to two factors. The first one was a desire to maintain an aggressive and feudal social structure in spite of forced industrialisation. The second factor was that, although pressure of internal resources pointed out the need for population restriction, this has been far outweighed by imperialistic ambitions and military ideology which demanded as great an increase in manpower as possible. Japan may therefore be considered to be in the third stage of retarded growth; only the process is somewhat slow for the reasons stated above. The population will continue to grow for some ~~decades although~~ at a diminishing rate. This is also borne out by the fact that the net-reproduction rate has declined only slightly from 1.64 in 1925 to 1.44 in 1937, a figure much above the replacement level, under the present fertility and mortality trends.

It is estimated that Japan will reach her maximum population by the end of this century, but it is all conjectural in the absence of 'knowledge of war losses and the economic and psychological climate of post-war Japan.' As a result of rapid industrialisation almost all the surplus agricultural population could be drawn into non-agricultural employment. A striking feature is the rapid

¹ Ref. (6) p. 28.

growth of large cities. Cities with population over 100,000 contained 12.1% of the total population in 1920 whereas the percentage in 1940 has risen to 29.1%. Any post-war programme of a subdued pace of industrialisation would certainly conflict with the placement of an increasing population in the working age.

The rapid fall in death rate and slow decline in birth rate is reflected in the age structure of the population. The percentage of population between the ages 0 to 15 is about 36.9 being nearer to India's 40 in 1931, while for UK it is only 21.9, but the average expectation of life was 46.9 and 49.6 for males and females respectively in 1935-36 whereas for India the corresponding figures for 1931 are 26.9 and 26.6 respectively.

Of the Asian countries, Japan is the only country equipped with the necessary demographic data like differential fertility rates etc., requisite for refined population projections of the type worked out for European countries and for the calculation of the net reproduction rate. That Japan had set high value on statistics as the basis for policy is clear from the fact that within a year or so after the conquest of any area, the Japanese introduced compulsory registration of births and deaths. There is an Institute for research on population problems attached to the planning board of the Cabinet.

OTHER PARTS OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA

The table below gives the population, rate of increase, birth and death rates wherever available of the remaining countries of South-East Asia.

TABLE 10
Population of South-East Asia¹

Name of Country	Population in thousands in 1939	Average rate of increase 1920-40	Birth rate	Death rate	Year to which birth & death rates refer
Philippine Islands ..	16,300	20.8	32.4	16.5	1938
Netherland Islands ..	69,435	17.8	..	..	..
British Malaya ..	5,389	25.5	33.3	19.1	1931
French Indo-China ..	23,700	12.0	37.5	23.5	1930
Siam	15,600	27.1	..	..	..
Burma	16,600	12.2	32.3	22.9	1939
Ceylon	5,922	..	36.0	21.8	1939

It will be seen from the above that there is rapid growth of population in all these areas. This is mostly due to reduction in mortality rate which is lowest in Philippine Islands. These areas are mostly under the colonial administration of European powers, supplying most of the raw materials. At least as part of labour policy aimed at maintaining man-power at the maximum

¹ Ref. (1) and (4) pp. 76-77.

efficiency, sanitary and public health measures had been introduced. There had been hardly appreciable improvement in the economic conditions of the population with the result that birth rates continued to be high and steady. The population will, therefore, continue to grow for several decades and the main task is to accelerate measures for improvement of economic conditions, which will ultimately bring fertility under control. Luckily population pressure is not as heavy as in India and China, and natural resources are abundant and there is considerable scope for better utilisation.

MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES

The estimates of population in 1939 of the various countries of the Middle East are given below:—

TABLE 11
Population of Middle-East Countries¹

	Millions
Turkey	17.6
Iraq	3.7
Iran	15.0
Palestine	1.5
Syria	3.7
Arabia	7.0
Afghanistan	7.0

No further data appear to be available excepting for Turkey and Palestine. In the other areas the population is mostly agrarian, with a low standard of living and can well be said to be in the primeval stage. But there are wide regional differences. Turkey is full of natural resources still to be utilised, and comparatively speaking, sparsely populated. The birth rate is high at 47.8 and death rate 33.4. Modernisation has already started in the West and slowly diffusing eastwards. Palestine is interesting in that the Moslems and Jews therein form distinct demographic patterns, the former the primeval one and the latter the advanced western pattern of controlled fertility and mortality. This will be clear from the figures below:—

TABLE 12
Demographic Patterns of Moslems and Jews of Palestine²

	Moslems	Jews
Percentage of population	73	17
Percentage in Agriculture	69	15
Percentage in Industries	11	31
Percentage of Literacy	12	86
Birth rate	49	22.6
Death rate	22.1	8.1

¹ Ref. (1).

² Ref. (4) p. 103 and Ref. (1).

ASIAN PICTURE IN WORLD CONTEXT: FUTURE TRENDS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

Briefly then the different countries of the world are at different stages in demographic evolution, depending mostly on the degree of modernisation achieved. The majority of Western countries have brought both fertility and mortality under control. They had passed through the stage of rapid growth and have entered a period of retarded growth. The population as a whole is getting more and more aged. In striking contrast China and Middle East are still in the primeval stage of high birth rate, high death rate and low survival. India and the remaining parts of South-East Asia appear to have embarked on an era of rapid growth consequent to increasing control of mortality. The birth rate is still stationary. Japan is the only Asian country approaching the Western pattern, in her control of fertility also.

The majority of Western countries have a tendency to reach the end of growth by the end of this century and the main problem is to arrest the rapidly declining fertility. In Asian countries it will be surely one of steady growth for some decades to come, unless due to pressure of population on resources, they relapse into the old scale of deaths. China and the Middle East are also bound to join at a later stage. According to a recent estimate, South-East Asian population of 938 millions in 1940 has the potential under the existing trend to increase to about 1700 millions in 1990,¹ by which time Western countries would have ceased to grow. Asia which already comprises more than half of the total world population is bound to form a much larger majority by the end of this century, and surely this huge shift in population will involve radical changes in the political, social and economic structure. The task of equipping for this stupendous problem should tax the ingenuity of all the countries and call forth concerted action on an international scale.

It is certainly an advantage that we in Asia are only in the early stages of demographic evolution and have the benefit of the experience of more advanced countries, that of the Western Europe during the period of her growth of the last century, that of Eastern Europe in the early decades of this century, and coming to more recent times that of Soviet Russia in her efforts to increase the standard of living in the face of an increasing population.

It is again an advantage that we can bring to bear on the solution of our problems the remarkable progress during the last few decades, in science, medicine and technology and thereby quicken the pace of demographic evolution.

But on the other side of the scale is the grim fact that whereas Western Nations had started on their period of growth during the last century when there were plenty of resources unexplored, vast countries to migrate to and to supply raw materials for industrial expansions, Asian countries have started growing at a time where there is already heavy population pressure on resources, and there cannot be any outlet by way of migration to the West,

¹ Ref. (4) p. 77.

¹ Ref. (8) p. 104.

What then should be the duty of the Eastern Nations? A primary need is the collection of data. To embark on a population policy without population statistics is just like embarking on a commercial policy without foreign trade statistics. As pointed out already the position in this respect, with the exception of Japan, is deplorable. She has well-laid organisations for systematic collection of the requisite data for scientific modern analysis and projection; a national census, reliable vital statistics and an Institute for population research. India may be proud of the census, but the tabulations of the 1941 census are most inadequate. Fertility rates are still to be obtained. There is no permanent organisation for population research and censuses are but ten-yearly convulsions. China the biggest country has not even got the National census.* The same is true of many countries in South-East Asia and Middle East. In bringing into existence the organisation for the collection of statistics and filling up the gap in data it will be an advantage to have concerted action. There is a proposal to have a simultaneous social and economic census in 1950 of all the American countries, including the backward ones of South America. Such a course for the Asian countries based on common minimum standards will go a long way towards collection of requisite data in comparable standards.

The immediate problem is that of feeding the growing millions. There should be a strong drive under Governmental direction for rationalisation of agriculture, improvement of agricultural methods, and bringing more land under cultivation. Western countries have felt gloomy over the capacity to increase resources. The Famine Commission of India of 1943, after a careful study, have not taken such a pessimistic view. According to them 'it is possible by increased water supply, improved farming in the widest sense of the term, to produce not only enough food to meet the present needs of the growing population at subsistence level, but also to effect improvement in the diet of the people. But the magnitude of the task involved and its imperious necessity must be strongly emphasised.' When this is the view regarding India, the prospect is much brighter for the rich and sparsely populated countries of South-East Asia.

But even the fulfilment of the most sanguine hopes of Science will be inadequate in the long run to meet the growing needs of a population which will grow for some decades. There cannot be a solution unless the double process of increased production and decrease in population growth are simultaneously at work. Limitation of births is an absolute necessity, but the difficult problem is how to effect it. Experience of even advanced countries shows that it is not enough if the best contraceptive devices are placed at the disposal of the people. What is primarily required is the creation of these living conditions and social environment which is necessary for the adoption of these measures. Even when this is established, it will only touch the fringe of the population. The arrest of birth rate is brought about more by the change of values created by the processes of industrialisation, urbanisation, education, participation in democratic processes, etc.

Hence no amount of improvement in agriculture alone will solve the problem. Peasant family is conducive to family growth and preservation of conservative

traditions, and unless these are broken up there is no hope of a decline in birth rate. But an all-out industrialisation particularly in concentrated areas is not desirable as it cannot hope to absorb all the surplus agricultural population and may even have serious repercussions on cottage industries. What is required is a correct balance between agriculture and industrialisation, the latter particularly in respect of light industries, should be sufficiently decentralised so that urban industrial environment is not confined only to strictly urban areas, but should diffuse over rural areas. This process will serve the double purpose of increasing production and reducing the rate of growth. In countries rich in water power, hydro-electric development will be highly conducive to bring about such a situation.

All these imply political stability, internal peace and a strong measure of Governmental planning and direction.

It should be remembered that the above process is a slow one, and the immediate solution will be found in the fuller utilisation of unexplored resources particularly in thinly populated regions.

What then should be the duty of the Western Countries? Certainly when the East had been helping them during the period of their growth during the last century by allowing them to migrate to their countries and providing them with all the raw materials, it is the bounden duty of the Western countries to help the East in her demographic transition under more trying conditions. Colonial ambitions should be replaced by a better system of access to raw materials and capital goods and freer trade between the nations of the world planned for a more adequate employment of the world resources, including resources in population.

There cannot be a movement of men from East to West. Hence the alternative is the movement of capital resources from West to East. It is the duty of the West to see that all the capital goods, technical knowledge and men required for rapid industrialisation of the growing Eastern Countries are supplied so as to enable them to move forward in their demographic evolution with increasing standards of living and achieve that demographic balance of efficient reproduction by means of low birth rates and low death rates which the West had achieved under more favourable conditions.

No doubt a detailed population policy may vary from region to region but unless these are formulated and implemented and concerted action is taken by all the members of the United Nations towards securing the above objective of the new demographic balance, the primary goal of the UNO of freedom from want cannot be reached, and we must only look forward to periodical and devastating explosions.

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THE ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

By P. S. RAMANATHAN

GANDHIJI does not formulate a theoretical philosophy of life, but his life and activities embody a living sermon. He sets out to solve the problems of life as they confront him in the course of his rich and varied career. 'I have not the qualifications for teaching my philosophy of life. I have barely qualifications for practising the philosophy I believe.'¹ He conveys his message and teachings through actions and utterances that have a bearing on concrete situations. He does not merely proclaim ideals of conduct, but follows them up in his own personal life to their logical conclusion and thus puts them to test through experimental verification. 'If I had only to discuss academic principles, I should clearly not attempt an autobiography. But my purpose being to give an account of various practical applications of these principles, I have given the chapters I propose to write the title of "The Story of My Experiments with Truth."'² This remarkable story of absorbing interest bears witness on every page to his transparent sincerity, the exquisite harmony between theory and practice and the utter integrity of his personality.

Apart from his life which is his philosophy in action, his views are set forth usually in the form of answers to pointed questions during interviews or newspaper articles on pressing issues and thus they have an intimate relation to immediate contexts. 'At the time of writing I never think of what I have said before. My aim is not to be consistent with my previous statements on a given question, but to be consistent with truth as it may present itself to me at a given moment. The result has been that I have grown from truth to truth.' And he further adds 'Whenever I have been obliged to compare my writing even of 30 years ago with the latest, I have discovered no inconsistency between the two.'³ It would be unfair and inappropriate to make a fetish of any and every statement of his torn apart from the context in which it was expressed. It is true that sometimes, as the late Mahadev Desai had said 'in

¹ *Harijan*, 12-7-42.

² Introduction to his *Autobiography*, p. 6.

³ *Harijan*, 30-9-39.

the urgency of his vision Gandhiji has used rather crude language.¹ It may seem difficult to give a cogent account of his principles as these grow and develop in the course of his comprehensive life, but what is lacking by way of logical stringency in the abstract is more than made up by the sense of realism and the practical demonstration of the efficacy of his ideas.

It is only through a sympathetic rapport that the exact meaning of his words and the real motive of his actions can be discerned. A sincere attempt made without prejudice or perverseness to understand this moral genius will lay bare the hidden conflicts and agonies that gave shape to his ideals and methods. In understanding him we ourselves become transformed in our being. In the words of his political opponent in South Africa, F. M. Smuts: 'Men like him redeem us all from a sense of commonplaceness and futility and are an inspiration to us not to be weary in well doing.'² His influence on others is in the words of the late Rabindranath Tagore, 'ineffable, like beauty, like music' and its claim upon others is 'great because of its revelation of a spontaneous self-giving.'

Gandhiji is essentially a man of religion, and morality according to him is synonymous with religion.³ 'Morality is the basis of things and truth is the substance of all morality.'⁴ The fundamentals of religion are focussed in his personality and he expresses them in his manifold activities in diverse spheres of life. His life is a ceaseless endeavour to solve problems by methods derived from his inner-most convictions regarding the nature of God and Man. All claims and interests, both individual and corporate, receive devoted attention and service at his hands and he deals with them in accordance with a basic religious insight.

Religion enters into every aspect of life. 'The whole gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into water-tight compartments. I do not know religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis to all activities which they would otherwise lack, reducing life to a maze of 'sound and fury signifying nothing.'⁵ He reconciles the spiritual and temporal interests of life into a harmonious system on the basis of religion. He is not merely a patriot, a politician or a social reformer, he is not even a saint in the accepted sense of the term. Though canonised by millions as a 'Mahatma,' (a great soul) he does not stand aloof, but merges in and identifies himself with the whole of mankind. He does not point the way to spiritual salvation, divorced from life and activities in this world. He shows the way of life as an integrated whole. According to him 'there is no such thing as the other world.' All worlds are one. There is no 'here' and no 'there'.⁶ He harmonises the claims of the head, the hand and the heart. He unifies creed, craft and affections and pleads for a life of consecration here in this world. 'Salvation

¹ Preface to the New Edition of *Indian Home Rule*, p. v.

² *Mahatma Gandhi*, Edited by Sir Radhakrishnan, p. 276.

³ *My Experiments with Truth*, p. 207.

⁴ *My Experiments with Truth*, p. 51.

⁵ *Harijan*, 24-12-1938.

⁶ *Harijan*, 26-7-1942.

is nothing more and nothing less than living well in every way.¹ He does not live a holy life by himself, but seeks to make all lives holy.

Gandhiji does not accept the Hindu doctrine of the fourfold division of the individual's life into *Brahmacharya*, *Grihastha*, *Vanaprastha* and *Sanyasa* as successive and exclusive stages or *asramas*, but synthesises the characteristic features of all these into a single, continuous spiritual quest that is coeval with the whole of the earthly life of the individual.

Religion does not consist merely in a set of beliefs or a code of rituals, it grips one's whole personality and expresses itself in the way in which one lives. One cannot impart his religion to another by teaching, but can influence others by contact and example. It is the aroma that one radiates, the atmosphere that one creates around him that can truly affect others. 'Life is its own expression: Your life is your speech. . . . The language of the soul never lends itself to expression. . . . The moment there is a spiritual expression in life, the surroundings will readily respond. . . . Wherever Krishna appeared, people acted like those possessed. . . . There is no truer evangelism than life.'² He told the Christian missionaries 'Let your life speak to us, even as the rose needs no speech but simply spreads its perfume.'³ Gandhiji is opposed to the so-called conversion which is often made by methods which are improper and with motives which have nothing to do with religion. It merely tears one off from his cultural heritage and tradition. 'Any attempt to root out traditions, effects of heredity, climatic and other surroundings is not only bound to fail but is a sacrilege.'⁴ The ancestral religion in which one is born is best suited to him unless he feels the urge to change it for another in pursuance of a true inward spiritual need.

All religions are true as revelations of the one and only God, but all are imperfect because of the limitations of men who are their recipients. 'The soul of religion is one, but it is encased in a multitude of forms.'⁵ One's religion grows and develops in the course of one's life, and contact with those who follow other religions should deepen and enrich one's own rather than supplant it. 'My respectful study of other religions has. . . broadened my view of life. . . has enabled me to understand more clearly many an obscure passage in the Hindu scriptures.'⁶ He does not believe in one common religion, but holds that each one professing and practising his own at its best can live in peace and with goodwill towards others. True fellowship according to him consists in each one inwardly praying that a Hindu should be a better Hindu, a Muslim, a better Muslim, a Christian, a better Christian and so on. This is tolerance, not in the sense of indifferent sufferance, but imbued with a sense of equality and unity of religions.

Gandhiji says he is a Hindu because Hinduism gives him all that he needs and is continuously growing and is tolerant of other religions. Hinduism ex-

¹ *Harijan*, 1-8-1946.

² *Harijan*, 12-12-1936.

³ *Harijan*, 17-4-1937.

⁴ *Young India*, 25-9-25.

⁵ *Young India*, 25-9-1925.

⁶ *Young India*, 2-9-1926.

pects every one to worship God according to his light. 'The Hinduism of my conception is no narrow creed. It is a grand evolutionary process as ancient as time and embraces the teachings of Zoroaster, Christ, Mohammed, Nanak and other prophets that I could name.' It does not lay exclusive claim to truth, but recognizes the truth of all religions. Gandhiji declares that his belief in the Hindu scriptures does not bind him to accept every word and every verse as divinely inspired. He refuses to accept any interpretation however learned it may be if it is repugnant to his reason and moral sense. 'The letter killeth, the spirit giveth life.' He does not believe in the exclusive divinity of the Vedas, but acknowledges the Bible, the Koran and the Zend-Avesta to be as divinely inspired as the Vedas.

He recognizes that as there are different religions every one of them may need some outward distinctive symbol. But when a symbol is made into a fetish and an instrument of proving the superiority of one religion it is fit only to be discarded. Similarly any ceremony which has not the effect of uplifting one and making him a better man towards others has no use for him.

On matters which can be reasoned out, that which conflicts with reason should be rejected. He describes the relation of faith to reason thus: 'Faith does not contradict Reason but transcends it. Faith is a kind of sixth sense which works in cases which are without the purview of Reason.'² There is no place for authoritarianism or compulsion from outside in matters of religion, for these will corrupt rather than advance it.

The fundamental basis on which he rests his life and activities is the absolute certainty of God's existence. He does not need any arguments to prove the existence of God, he takes it as obvious and not admitting of the least doubt. He defines God as Truth, rather, Truth as God. Even the atheist cannot deny God when thus defined. 'There is an indefinable mysterious power that pervades everything. I feel it though I do not see it. It is this unseen power which makes itself felt and yet defies all proof because it is so unlike all that I perceive through my senses.' It is proved not by extraneous evidence but in the transformed conduct and character of those who felt the real presence of God within. Such testimony is to be found in the experiences of an unbroken line of prophets and sages in all countries and climes. To reject this evidence is to deny oneself.'³ 'Truth is not one of the many qualities that we name. It is the living embodiment of God, it is the only life, and I identify Truth with fullest life, and that is how it becomes a concrete thing, for God is His whole creation, the whole Existence.'⁴ God pervades all—animate and inanimate. God is the vital Force or Spirit, which is all-pervading, all-embracing. God reveals himself to every human being, but we do not hearken to 'the still small voice within?' Whilst everything around us is ever-changing and ever-dying there is a living power that is changeless, that holds all together, that creates, dissolves and recreates.

¹ *Harijan*, 8-3-42.

² *Harijan*, 6-3-37.

³ *Young India*, 11-11-28.

⁴ *Harijan*, 25-5-35.

He agrees with the description of God given by Indian seers as *Sat* (Truth), *Chit* (consciousness) and *Ananda* (bliss)—*Satchidananda*.

When Gandhiji sometimes describes God as 'Force' he does not want to convey that God is unresponsive to man's needs, for he emphatically states 'I have never found him lacking in response, I have found him nearest at hand when the horizon seemed darkest. . . . I cannot recall a moment when I had a sense of desertion.'¹ 'In all my trials of a spiritual nature. . . I can say God saved me.'² He exclaims in the mystic fashion 'I may live without air and water but not without Him.'³

In the light of the foregoing statements it would be a serious mistake to interpret Gandhiji's conception of God merely as an impersonal force that is inherent in everything that exists. It is true he even says, 'I do not regard God as a person. . . . God is an idea, Law Himself.'⁴ What he means is God has no limitations which pertain to the concept of personality as understood by us. The characterization of Truth as God and the insistence on morality as the basis of things show beyond doubt that according to Gandhiji, Truth is not divorced from value. It is only to safeguard His transcendent character while emphasizing His immanence and to dispel any notion of crude anthropomorphism that Gandhiji denies personality to God. 'God has as many names as there are creatures and therefore we also say that God is nameless. . . . If God is vast and boundless as the ocean, how can a tiny drop like man imagine what He is. He can only experience what the ocean is like, if he falls into and is merged in it. What matters then whether one worships God as person or another as Force. Both do right according to their lights.'⁵ Life has its source, direction and destiny in and through Life that is eternal and universal.

In the light of this basic conviction about the reality of God as all-comprehensive and identical with the whole creation, the supreme aim in life for the individual becomes crystal clear. It is to awaken the sense of divinity within and completely identify oneself with the Universal Spirit that pervades everything. It is to live the life of God within. The attainment of a unitary life in which intellect, emotions and desires are integrated by a sense of the universal is the supreme end in life. It is self-integration or self-realization.

The relation between God, the all-comprehensive Spirit and the individual soul is strikingly expressed in the following beautiful passage: 'If we shatter the chains of egotism and melt into the ocean of humanity, we share its dignity. To feel that we are something is to set up a barrier between God and ourselves, to cease feeling that we are something is to become one with God. A drop in the ocean partakes of the greatness of its parent, although it is unconscious of it. But it is dried up, as soon as it enters upon its existence independent of the Ocean.'⁶ Self-purification is the method by which freedom from egotism is to be attained.

¹ *Young India*, 12-5-1920.

² *My Experiments with Truth*, p. 96.

³ *Harijan*, 16-5-1938.

⁴ *Harijan*, 23-3-1940.

⁵ *Harijan*, 18-8-46.

⁶ From *Yarvada Mandir*, p. 46.

Complete renunciation or detachment—*Vairagya*—is indispensable for self-purification. There is no place for self-indulgence in life. It is the capacity for renunciation which differentiates mankind from the beast. The individual should lead a life of dedication. Daily life, all the twenty-four hours of the day must be a continuous yagna, 'an act directed to the welfare of others, done without desiring any return for it, whether of a temporal or spiritual nature.'¹

Gandhiji has undermined the traditional conception of saintly or religious life as one of withdrawal from the duties and obligations of worldly life and concentration upon spiritual austerities and meditation. In his view, he who wants to serve God must serve his creatures, and by his own life and example he has demonstrated that a life of service does not entail forsaking personal relationships and social ties. His tenderness and affection, purged of all carnal feelings, for his wife when alive, and the meticulous manner in which he spends the day of holy remembrance every month after her death illustrates the consummation of conjugal love in him.

The goal of self-realization is not to be attained by a life of inaction. The eternal teaching of the Bhagavad Gita, which he describes as his 'spiritual reference book,' 'dictionary of conduct,' is according to him *Anasakti Yoga*, action done in a spirit of renunciation of the fruits of action. He says, 'the common belief is that religion is always opposed to material good'. "One cannot act religiously in mercantile and such other matters. There is no place for religion in such pursuits; religion is only for attainment of salvation," we hear many worldly-wise people say. In my opinion the author of the Gita has dispelled this delusion. He has drawn no line of demarcation between religious life and worldly pursuits. On the contrary, he has shown that religion must rule even our worldly pursuits.'² The seeker after Truth must live a life of action with a true spirit of renunciation. 'God is continually in action without resting for a single moment. If we would serve Him or become one with Him, our activity must be as unwearied as His. There may be momentary rest for the drop from the ocean but not for the drop in the ocean, which knows no rest. The same is the case with ourselves. As soon as we become one with the ocean in the shape of God, there is no more rest for us, nor indeed do we need rest any longer. Our very sleep is action. For we sleep with the thought of God in our hearts. This restlessness constitutes true rest. This neverceasing agitation holds the key to ineffable peace.'³ True devotion or *Bhakti* and enlightenment or *Gnana* should be expressed in disinterested action. He who seeks self-realization should reduce himself to a zero and live his life attuned to the Infinite.

The key to Salvation or *Moksha* is through self-effacement, negation of egoism. Self-purification is the means, and prayer, silence and celibacy (*Brahmacharya*) are necessary steps for the same. "There is nothing so powerful as fasting and prayer that would give us the requisite discipline, spirit of self-sacrifice, humility and resoluteness of will without which there can be no real

¹ From *Yerwada Mandir*, p. 53.

² *Gita According to Gandhi*, p. 126.

³ From *Yerwada Mandir*, pp. 47-48.

progress. Prayer is an unfailing means for cleansing the heart of egoism and passions.¹ Gandhiji's nurse told him as a boy: 'when in fear take *Ramanama*, He will protect you.' Ever since, he says, *Ramanama* has been his unfailing refuge and shelter from all kinds of fear.

Fasting and dietic restrictions are necessary for self-purification. It may be resorted to also as penance and punishment. But if directed against another with a view to correct him it is a fiery weapon and Gandhiji warns that no one can undertake it unless he has the qualification to do so in virtue of the selfless service rendered before and the training he has undergone to do it without impatience, anger, egoism or lack of faith. Gandhiji is not responsible if thoughtless people abuse this weapon which has a place under certain conditions in his scheme of life.

The vow of silence that Gandhiji observes every week is both a physical and spiritual necessity. That is the time when one could best hold communion with God. 'God speaks to us only when we are silently ready and listen to him.'² By observing silence regularly and with a spiritual motive it is possible to fathom the depths of the 'Infinite personality of man' and draw upon the deeper life-energies and the individual who does so becomes a centre of repose and serenity and becomes capable of heroic achievements.

✓ *Brahmacharya* is conduct adapted to the search of *Brahma* or Truth. It means control of all the organs of sense and of thought, word and deed. 'Life without *Brahmacharya* appears to me insipid and animal-like. The brute by nature knows no self-restraint. Man is man because he is capable of and only in so far as he exercises self-restraint.'³ It is a deliberate effort to restrain one's inclinations and passions that proceed from one's animal nature in order to live the life of divinity, the higher principle in us. To root out egoism and self-interest and sublimate our animal instincts and impulses that God may truly live in us and motivate our activities, *Brahmacharya* should be rigorously practised.

Non-possession or *Aparigraha* and Equability or *Sambhava* should be accepted as ruling principles of life. Bread-labour is another concomitant of *Brahmacharya*. Every one, however exalted, should engage himself in body-labour everyday for some time. Gandhiji interprets the Gita verse 'He who eats without offering sacrifice eats stolen food' to mean bread labour. He acknowledges the influence of Tolstoy and Ruskin on him in bringing home to him the thought that 'to live, man must work.' 'This labour can be truly related to agriculture alone. But at present at any rate every body is not in a position to take to it. A person can therefore spin or weave, or take up carpentry or smithy instead of tilling the soil. Every one must be his own scavenger—scavenging will help one to a true appreciation of the equality of man... invidious distinctions of rank would be abolished when every one without exception acknowledged the obligation of bread labour.'⁴

¹ *Young India*, 31-3-20.

² *Harijan*, 10-12-38.

³ *My Experiments with Truth*, p. 387.

⁴ *From Yervada Mandir*, pp. 36-37.

If all lives are ultimately one, rooted in the Universal Spirit, then non-violence is a desideratum of life. Man is the highest manifestation of the Divine Principle. God as Truth seeks self-expression in man who is the highest product yet in cosmic evolution. As the next step in continuation of the biological process that has led up to man so far, Gandhiji advocates the principle of conscious *Abimsa* or (non-violence) as the supreme rule of life and conduct. 'Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. . . The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of the physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit.'¹ While animals live their natural lives under the unconscious guidance of nature through their instincts and impulses man endowed with self-conscious intelligence which confers on him a new status of a life of freedom, should realize his kinship with all and consciously establish the metabiological coherence of the universal life by consistent practice of *Abimsa* which respects the integrity of even the tiniest and weakest of creations.

If violence had been the law of our being, man would not have survived. Society is held together by non-violence, even as the earth is held in her position by the law of gravitation. Prophets and *Avatars* have taught the lessons of truth, harmony, brotherhood, justice and love—all attributes of *Abimsa*. History also reveals that there has been progressive *Abimsa* and diminishing *Himsa* (Violence).

Non-violence, in spite of the negative particle 'non' is not negative but positive. 'It is a force which is more positive than electricity, and more powerful than even ether. At the centre of non-violence is a force which is self-acting. *Abimsa* means 'love' in the Pauline sense, and yet something more than the 'love' defined by St. Paul.' 'Active non-violence is unadulterated love, fellow-feeling.'² It demands absolute faith in God and sustained individual effort. But it is not a cloistered virtue, confined to the *Rishis* and the cave-dwellers, or to be practised in a vacuum. It is meant to rule over everyday conduct.

Gandhiji is realistic enough, however, to admit that absolute non-violence is impossible so long as we have a physical body. Eating, drinking and moving about necessarily involve a certain amount of *Himsa*, destruction of life, be it ever so minute. But a votary of *Abimsa* should constantly keep the ideal before his mind and avoid *Himsa* to the best of his ability. 'Perfect non-violence whilst you are inhabiting the body is only a theory like Euclid's point or straight line, but we have to endeavour every moment of our lives.'³ However difficult the path may be *Abimsa* is our supreme duty.

While in its positive aspect it is love towards all forms of life, in its negative aspect it demands uncompromising resistance to evil. Satyagraha, strict adherence to Truth enjoins respect for the integrity of life in every living entity and absolute readiness for the preservation of self-respect and inviolability of one's own will. It is as objectionable to submit to injustice or dishonour,

¹ *Young India*, 11-8-20.

² *Harijan*, 14-3-36.

³ *Harijan*, 24-7-40.

through fear of violence from outside, as it is to inflict violence on others. Sanctity of all life, and inviolability of human personality including one's own are the basic elements in the concept of non-violence. The votary of truth should dissociate himself from evil in total disregard of the consequences. But there is no place for hatred or violence against the evil-doer. 'It is quite proper to attack and resist a system but to resist and attack its author is tantamount to resisting and attacking oneself.'¹ Gandhiji has absolute confidence in human nature and his optimism in the possibility of redemption for every one, however depraved he may be, is unbounded. In dealing with men who do evil he advocates the principle of returning good for evil so that the heart of the evil-doer may be touched and transformed. 'Self-suffering in an appeal to his better nature, as retaliation is to his baser.'² A Satyagrahi has no enemy. He who strays from the straight path has to be brought round by loving kindness.

'Satyagraha and its offshoots, non-co-operation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering. Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means one's whole soul pitted against the will of the tyrant.'³ A Satyagrahi must be prepared to sacrifice all for the vindication of truth, though he is always willing to see the opponent's point of view and is agreeable to enter into a compromise which will be honourable to both sides. But he would rather die than countenance peace at the cost of honour and self-respect. The method of Satyagraha or self-imposed suffering in the cause of what is fair and just is not mere passivity but a most powerful dynamic force. It defies evil, but there is no hatred for the evil-doer. Violence will not settle any issue, it will only beget more violence until there is all-round ruin.

Thus Gandhiji has forged a new weapon to settle conflicts between individuals and between nations. His struggles have been always for vindication of human dignity and freedom, for the preservation of moral values and never for mere material gains. He has been fighting for the freedom of India, not in a narrow-partisan spirit, but in the interests of humanity. He holds that his ideal of non-violence in the regulation of political and social relations can succeed only in India in the first instance, as she has a spiritual tradition of Ahimsa. He believes it is the duty of India to spread the message of non-violence all over the world. In order to fulfil her mission she has first to find her own soul. 'If India attains (what will be to me so-called) freedom by violent means, she will cease to be a country of my pride, that time will be a time for me of civil death.'⁴ His political work in India has thus a spiritual purpose.

Gandhiji is an optimist regarding the possibility of permanent peace in the world. Not to believe in it is to disbelieve in the godliness of human nature. 'It is my conviction that the root of the evil is want of a living faith in a living

¹ *My Experiments with Truth*, p. 337.

² *Harizan*, 26-2-42.

³ *Young India*, 11-8-20.

⁴ *Young India*, 9-5-29.

God.¹ Nations of the world should approach the problem of world peace with rockbottom sincerity, and a readiness to renounce imperialistic designs, economic or political, cease to believe in soul-destroying competition and give up the desire to indiscriminately multiply human wants and therefore to increase material possessions.

Non-violence is a weapon of the strong and it requires highest courage which is none other than loyalty to the Divinity within. Man is no man if he has no courage and does not vindicate his self-respect. A coward is less than a man. Those who prefer slavery have no right to live. He recently declared that he had come to Bengal to proclaim from the housetops that 'women should become brave or die.' 'Violence is any day preferable to impotence. There is hope for a violent man to become non-violent. There is no such hope for the impotent.'² True strength is strength of the spirit that comes from faith in God. 'Fear God and none else,' he exhorts us. 'When non-violence becomes a cloak for weakness, it emasculates us. Far better than emasculation would be the bravery of those who use physical force. Far better than cowardice would be meeting one's death fighting.'³ The non-violent way is of course the best way. 'I suggest that if it is brave, as it is, to die fighting against odds, it is bravery still to refuse to fight and yet to refuse to yield to the usurper. If death is a certainty in either case, is it not nobler to die with the breast bared to the enemy, without malice against him within.'⁴ It is not so much the pain and suffering caused by communal frenzy recently in Bengal and Bihar, but the degradation of the human spirit, both in the aggressor through his brutality and the aggrieved through the craven fear which showed lack of trust in God that tells heavily on him, for both have belied man's dignity and honour. Non-violence is not sentimental soft stuff, it is stern, relentless and unyielding, drawing its substance from the inner purity of the soul and abiding faith in God.

Gandhiji is in these days marching barefooted from village to village in East Bengal to find out whether his conception of Satyagraha is a weapon of the weak or really that of the strong. 'I must be on the scene of action and test the soundness of the doctrine which has sustained me and made life worth living.' He adds 'I know positively Ahimsa is a perfect instrument. If it did not answer in my hands the imperfection was in me. My technique was at fault.'⁵

Gandhiji's approach to every problem is from the standpoint of the human spirit. His unremitting efforts to promote Hindu Muslim unity and the eradication of untouchability which he characterizes as a 'hideous untruth' are not prompted by motives of political expediency, but are matters of religious significance. 'Service of Harijans is for me, as it must be for you, a question of repentance and reparation for the wrong we have done to our fellow-men.'⁶

¹ *Harijan*, 14-3-36.

² *Harijan*, 4-11-39.

³ *Harijan*, 2-4-38.

⁴ *Harijan*, 8-10-38.

⁵ Prayer Speech at Srirampur, 2-12-46.

⁶ *Young India*, 13-11-24.

Albert Schweitzer, another of 'God's Eager Fools' who is serving the aborigines in the wilds of Central Africa has stated in a similar vein: 'A heavy guilt rests upon us for what we the whites of all nations have done to the coloured peoples. When we do good to them, it is not benevolence, it is atonement.'

Gandhiji judges customs, habits, laws and institutions in the light of ethical values. Nothing that has any retarding effect upon the development of the divine spirit in man should be permitted. His advocacy of cottage industries, *khadi*, his conception of village Swaraj, his exaltation of the dignity of manual labour and his dread of totalitarianism whether fascistic or communistic—all these become intelligible when we grasp the basis on which his whole philosophy of life rests—sanctity of human personality and the integrity of the individual will.

Gandhiji's passion for simplicity and opposition to the use of machinery have been misunderstood and he has been charged as seeking to put back the clock of human progress. But when viewed in the context of the present circumstances and the operating motives behind the industrial life of to-day, it will be clear that it is not opposition to machinery as such, but his love of the common man that has determined his attitude. 'How can I be against it (machinery) when I know that even the body is a most delicate piece of machinery. The spinning wheel is a machinery and a little toothpick is a machine. What I object to is the craze for machinery, not machinery as such. . . . Men go on 'saving labour' till thousands are without work and thrown on the open streets to die of starvation. I want to save time and labour, not for a fraction of mankind, but for all. I want the concentration of wealth, not in the hands of a few but in the hands of all. To-day machines merely help the few to ride on the back of millions. . . . The machine should not tend to make atrophied the limbs of man.'¹ Village uplift is impossible unless old crafts are revived giving work to millions. No able-bodied person can keep his self-respect if he subsists on charity. To make the unemployed millions utilize their idle hours in useful occupations is itself social uplift. The earning from spinning, for example, is waste turned into wealth. The creative impulse in man must find scope ensuring him not only a means of livelihood but also the joy of work. Religious life presupposes economic freedom. It is only a self-reliant man that can pursue the spiritual goal. Gandhiji visualizes a non-violent society, without inequalities and class distinctions, and its economic life organised on a co-operative basis.

'Democracy and violence can ill go together. The States that are to-day nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian, or if they are truly to become democratic they must become courageously non-violent. It is a blasphemy to say that non-violence can only be practised by individuals and never by nations which are composed of individuals.'² Gandhiji admits, nevertheless, a non-violent society of his conception, which will not countenance force or authority in any form, is only a far off ideal.

¹ *Harijan*, 26-2-42.

² *Harijan*, 12-11-38.

His fight for the freedom of India is not merely for a change of political authority, but is a process of preparing the people of India to win independence and to preserve and enjoy it by non-violent means. The preparation for such *Poorna Swaraj* or Full Freedom lies according to him in the pursuit of the constructive programme he has placed before the country. It includes items which embody the principles of individual conduct and social ethics in accordance with spiritual values.

He places before the world to-day an alternative for capitalism and communism based on enlightened individualism which is psychologically individualistic but ethically universalistic. He pleads for a democratic way of life in economic, social and political spheres. His opposition to the Russian economic order is on account of compulsion and restraint on the individual that it involves. 'If it were not based on force I would dote on it. But to-day since it is based on force, I do not know how far and where it will take us.'¹ He hates privilege and monopoly of every kind. Whatever cannot be shared by all is taboo to him. His loin cloth and abstemious life are more due to his desire to identify himself with the starving and naked masses than to any spirit of self-immolation for its own sake.

According to Gandhiji Swadeshi is not a cult of hatred, but has its roots in Ahimsa or love. He interprets the Gita maxim: 'It is best to die performing one's own duty or *Swadharma*; *Paradharma* or another's duty is fraught with danger' as the Law of Swadeshi-*Swadharma* applied to one's environment.

His denunciation of child marriage, enforced widowhood, inferior status of women, caste notions of superiority or inferiority, the institution of Devadasis, insanitary habits of the people and drink evil and his experiments on diet and nature cure, all are actuated by lofty spiritual motives. Education according to him is primarily training in the art of living in brotherliness with others.

Gandhiji stands for integrated life, both for the individual and society in consonance with Truth, i.e., God. He lives his principles and his life is his message to humanity. There may be differences of opinion on some of the views expressed by him and difficulties in the practical application of his principles. He is himself aware of these. He asks every one to think for himself and follow the inner light. One may be incapable of attaining the ideal, but on that account we should not lower the ideal. 'We may never be strong enough to be entirely non-violent in thought, word and deed. But we must keep non-violence as our goal and make steady progress towards it. The attainment of freedom, whether for a man, nation or the world must be in exact proportion to the attainment of non-violence by each.'²

Gandhiji is more concerned with effort than achievement. Means must be as pure as the end itself and ultimately the means and the end are identical. This identity gives the clue to appraise life. The real aim is not the attainment of any concrete result, but the preservation of the spirit underlying the effort.

¹ *Cent Per Cent Swadeshi*, p. 104.

² *Young India*, 20-5-26.

The goal may not be reached, but that does not mean the method has failed. For the adoption of the method in its purity is itself a triumph of the spirit. He seeks to draw out the best in human nature and true heroism is not in the success achieved but in the noble endeavour. In the very failure lies the seed of future success, for only Truth will ultimately prevail. Success or failure depends on God and man has to do his duty and leave the rest to Him. This, is true detachment, action with renunciation of the fruits thereof, the message of the Gita which Gandhiji takes as the basis of ethical life.

He does not claim any supernatural powers or extraordinary gifts. He makes mistakes and confesses them and has often admitted impenetrable darkness before him. His life is an open book. He writes in his autobiography with a candour which is as rare as it is sweet: 'I had gone to South Africa for travel, for finding an escape from Kathiawad intrigues, for gaining my own livelihood. But . . . I found myself in search of God and striving for self-realization.'¹ He has never looked back from that moment in the night at Maritzburg Railway Station when he resolved to fight injustice through suffering. He started life as an ordinary man and it was his contact with life, the injustices, the indignities and inequalities that his fellowbeings suffered around him that awakened the divine spirit in him, and his resolution and mode of life took shape gradually in the course of his struggle and sufferings which have already lasted more than half a century and still go on without respite.

Gandhiji seeks to establish the Kingdom of God on earth. He points the way through his own life-history for the application of the principles of all religions to life here and now, and by all men in order that God may be realized by every one in this life. What was thought of as meant only for the attainment of a far off Heaven after release from the earthly bondage is to be practised for the attainment of Heaven in this world and in this very life—the key to it lies in one's own heart.

He believes that the prophets of old were all incarnations of God, for God only is, and everything is a manifestation of this Supreme Truth. Verily, he is himself an incarnation of God, typifying the common man to teach every one how to become an ideal man. He is indeed the prophet of Democracy who identifies himself with the humblest and whom every one may, not merely worship and adore, but emulate and follow. He not only heralds peace and goodwill between men and between nations, but stands on the threshold of a new era and exhorts 'Awaken the Spirit of Divinity within and unify Heaven and Earth!' He seeks to humanise man and thus make him divine. Self-realization is realization of God. *Aham Brahma Asmi*—I am *Brahman*, God and I are one.

¹ *My Experiments with Truth*, p. 197.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

THE POSITION IN MAURITIUS

By C. KONDAPI

INTRODUCTORY

THE island of Mauritius is situated in the Indian Ocean, south of India and about 1,500 miles from the east coast of Africa. It can be reached from Bombay by steamship in eleven days, from Colombo in nine days and from Calcutta in fourteen days.

The Dutch took possession of the island in 1598 and abandoned it in 1710 which was then annexed by the French in 1715. Later the island became a convenient refuge for French pirates who attacked the English vessels going to and from India. The British, therefore, landed on the island in 1810 with 8,000 Indians and conquered it from the French and thus Mauritius became a British Colony.

The area of Mauritius is 716 sq. miles with a total population of 419,473. The population is roughly divided into two categories (a) the general population which includes the British, French of pure descent, Chinese and the people of mixed origin, generally termed Creole; (b) the Indian population. Indians who have adopted European customs generally cease to regard themselves as Indians and are classed amongst the general population. Indians number about 300,000, the remainder being the general population including about 10,000 people of European origin and about 10,000 Chinese. The density of population is 546 to a square mile which is very high for an agricultural country. The common language of the island is Creole, a French patois.

The entire economic set-up of this island colony is based upon sugar which is its life-blood and is almost its sole industry representing no less than 98 per cent of the exports. Consequently the whole economic life revolves round it with the result that the economic destiny of the island is interlinked with the fluctuations in the price of sugar. A large number of Indians are, in spite of the abolition of indentured labour, still employed on the sugar estates. Indians have virtually a monopoly of the motor and vehicular transport in the island, the supply of fruit and vegetables, the milk industry and to a considerable extent control of the textile and grain industries and of most of the Cinemas. The Chinese control the trade in general goods.

The cane-growers of the island fall into two well-defined groups, the first comprising large estates, some of which are owned by the millers and the second comprising small planters (i.e.,) planters producing less than 1,000 tons of cane per annum and there are about 20,000 of them almost all of whom are Indians. Today there are no Indian mill-owners though there are a few Indians owning fairly large estates. Now there are 33 sugar mills belonging to various companies whose share-holders are exclusively people of French origin or British share-holders in London. In the country districts cane planting

is carried on by Indians exclusively as peasant proprietors or labourers. The small planters are often themselves labourers and are entirely dependent on the miller for crushing their canes. They supplied in 1940 about 20 per cent of the total canes crushed.

HISTORY OF INDIAN EMIGRATION

Mauritius was the first country to which the Government of India permitted in 1839 the emigration of Indian labour under the indenture system. Even in 1838 several abuses were detected in respect of the treatment of unindentured Indian labourers. T. Hugon of the Bengal Civil Service inquired into the abuses and recommended that the labourer should, instead of being bound by the contract as before, have the facility of avoiding it by a reimbursement of the expenses of his introduction reduced to the lowest sum possible by government interference. This recommendation was rejected. News of still serious irregularities in recruitment led to the appointment of an Inquiry Committee by the Government of India. The Committee reported in 1840 affirming the existence of abuses. J. Geoghegan of the Government of India stated that this Report 'may be said to have proved that very grave abuses had prevailed in India, emigrants having been, in too many cases entrapped by force and fraud, and systematically plundered of nearly six months' wages, nominally advanced to them but really divided on pretences more or less transparent among the predacious crew engaged in the traffic.' On the basis of this Report the Government of India prohibited emigration to Mauritius in 1840. In February 1841 the Governor of Mauritius requested that the ban be lifted but the Government of India rejected the request. In March 1842 the Governor again urged the removal of the ban and expressed full concurrence with the draft Ordinance of the Government of India forwarded by the latter to the Court Directors. This led to the enactment by the Indian Government of Act IV of 1842 permitting emigration to Mauritius from Calcutta, Madras and Bombay under certain conditions. After thus securing the resumption of Indian emigration, the colonial government turned its attention to the steps to be taken to prevent the return of Indian labourers. Thus Ordinance III of 1843 was passed increasing the indemnity for their passage money. There was however a relapse into the old abuses and the Government of India passed Act XXI of 1843 restricting emigration to the Port of Calcutta and authorizing the appointment of a Protector at that port.

This Act began to make itself felt. From 1844 the Governor began to urge the resumption of emigration from Madras which was rejected at first. It was however discovered later that the required 6,000 labourers could not be provided by Bengal alone. Hence Act VIII of 1847 was passed permitting emigration from Madras on the same footing as from Calcutta. Indian emigration under this Act was resumed from 1850. The terrible mortality of 284 out of 697 emigrants on board the *Hyderee* and *Futteh Mobarik* owing to gross negligence during the voyage compelled the Indian Government again to suspend emigration from 1856. But the modification of quarantine rules led in 1857 to the withdrawal of suspension. In the same year, Advocate

Savy charged the planters with the ill-treatment of Indian labourers by holding wages in abeyance and the magistracy with supporting the planters. The Commission appointed by the colonial government to inquire into these charges held that the charges had been disproved. Referring to the report of this Commission, Geoghegan stated that 'the colonial authorities were not alive to the absolute necessity for a thoroughly independent magistracy' and that the 'Report bears witness to the existence of a system under which large arrears of wages were habitual.' Subsequently the colonial planters attempted to depress Indian labour by importing it excessively on private account by sending their own recruiters. But the Bill providing for the legalization of this procedure was not passed into law. In spite of disappointment in this direction they succeeded later in 1862 by introducing changes in the colonial law extending the period of contracts to five years.

In 1864 the Indian Government passed Act XIII consolidating the then existing nineteen laws on emigration. Among other beneficial provisions the Act entrusted the Protector, and not the Agent, with the power of licensing the recruiters. The Protector and the magistrate were required to refuse registering the name of an intending emigrant who in their opinion had not understood the nature of the engagement or had been induced by fraud or misrepresentation to enter into it. The colonial government protested against these two provisions and also against the enforcement of the power taken by the Government of India under Sections 64 to 67 to suspend emigration to any country not providing for a return passage. Act XIII proved beneficial in removing the abuses at the time of contract but not in helping the labourer to free himself from the unfair obligations after he had entered the colony. Ordinance XXXI of 1867 partly rectified this defect by providing for the delivery to every immigrant of a certificate of his engagement and cancellation of indenture on showing sufficient cause. But as if to counteract the beneficial effects of these Acts the Colonial Government passed a series of restrictive laws with the avowed intention of discouraging free labour which resulted in grievous oppression. The old immigrants who were aimed at petitioned in 1871 to the government as a result of which a Royal Commission and a Police Commission were appointed to inquire into the matter. The latter Commission made a scathing criticism of the notorious vagrancy regulation which rendered the indentured labourer liable to arrest, imprisonment and heavy fines for failing to produce on demand at any time the police pass, the portrait ticket, certificate of engagement, day labourer's licence or return permission from employer. Harsh as these restrictions were, they were rendered harassing by the way in which they were enforced by the magistracy and the police. The total number of arrests for 1869 was 30,824 of whom 12,538 were condemned to hard labour and about 7000 were arrested illegally. The object and effect of this vagrancy law was to compel the immigrant to reindenture. The fact that in 1870 the number of engagements contracted with new masters was 31,481 while that with the old masters mounted upto 45,460 was a proof positive that the planters had succeeded in their attempts.

All the above abuses which continued unabated were again investigated

by a commission in 1874. As a result of this inquiry a new Labour Ordinance No. XII of 1878 was passed which while maintaining indentured labour gave better protection to the labourer. Referring to the report of this commission and the relentless pursuit of the fictitious crime of vagrancy driving the immigrant to reindenture which was the objectionable feature of pre-1878 labour ordinances, the Earl of Carnarvan, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, had stated that 'the allegations against the police had been shown to be in the main true' and that 'the police have evinced a want of discretion in enforcing the labour law.' The recruitment of Indian labour and the conditions of their life continued more or less in the same unsatisfactory manner for the next 30 years. The Emigration Committee of 1909 recommended the discontinuance of Indian labour emigration to Mauritius. In 1910 the Secretary of State for the Colonies accepted the recommendation and directed the discontinuance but stated that 'emigration to Mauritius should be free from all restrictions as in the case of Ceylon and that labourers should be recruited by Kanganis and Sirdars.' The planters were thus enabled to obtain free labour from India, if they could do so without government assistance. But the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India rejected the proposal. Consequently in February 1912, the Secretary of State for the Colonies requested the Governor of Mauritius to endeavour to secure legislation limiting the application of penal provisions of the law to contracts for periods not exceeding a month. In July 1912 and November 1915 the Governor requested the Government of India to reopen the question of resumption of emigration. As indenture was abolished in 1922 the subsequent opening of emigration operated under a free system. Till now the entire Indian labour was housed on the estates on which they were employed. With the abolition of indenture in 1922 the majority of Indian workers left the estates and became day labourers with the result that by 1937 there were only 30,5000 Indians living on the estates representing only 13 per cent of the labour engaged in the sugar industry.

The shortage of labour from 1921 and the Walter Deputation to the Government of India in 1923 facilitated the acceptance by the colonial government of the Indian Government's demand for a basic wage and variation of the minimum wage should change of circumstances require it and also for repatriation facilities. Consequently Indian labourers went to Mauritius but only to find that the promised wages were not available there. Sir Kunwar Maharaj Singh, who was deputed by the Government of India in 1924-25 to inquire into the effect which further emigration from India might have on the general and economic condition of Indian labour already domiciled in the colony, reported the utter dissatisfaction of Indian labour with its lot. Consequently the Government of India decided to terminate emigration from India and within a short time 844 out of 1395 Indian workers that emigrated to the colony returned to India.

At the end of 1937, of the 269,329 Indians (out of a total estimated population of 413,459) 30514 Indians were residing on estates and 238,815 off the estates. 80 per cent of the labour population of the island is composed of descendants of Indian indentured immigrants. Of the total area under

cultivation in 1937 which was 180,082 acres, Indians were cultivating 64,525 acres (i.e.,) 35.8 per cent. The total area under sugarcane cultivation was 145,096 acres of which Indians cultivated 56,025 acres (i.e.,) 38.6 per cent. The corresponding figures for 1923 show deterioration in the Indian position in 1937. The total cultivation in 1923 was 206,000 acres, total Indian cultivation being 87,000 acres. The total sugarcane cultivation was 171,000 acres the total Indian sugarcane cultivation being 77,000 acres. While in 1923 the proportion of Indian to total cultivation was 42 per cent and the proportion of Indian sugarcane cultivation to total sugarcane cultivation 45 per cent, the corresponding figures for 1937 were 35.8 per cent and 38.67 per cent. In 1923 Indians held under the morsellement system (fragmentation of land) 20,000 out of 77,000 acres of sugarcane. 40 per cent of sugarcane cultivation was in Indian hands while the actual lessees cultivated 6,000 acres. The decline is due to the fact that a majority of the Indian small landed proprietors fell into the hands of "Bailleurs des fondes"—financial agents who advance money to needy husbandmen. These agents collect not only the principal and 1 per cent more than the bank rate of interest but also a brokerage of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and a commission of anything upto $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on proceeds of the gross produce raised. The fall in income and the economic depression accelerated the morsellement system. All these causes led to the passing of land from the hands of agricultural Indians into those of non-agriculturist speculators and nearly half the land possessed by the Indian small-holders passed out of their hands during this century.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

From 1897 to 1937 the wages of Indian labourers remained more or less constant at 40 to 50 cents. These low wages coupled with certain decisions of the millers led to the labour unrest and the shooting incidents in 1937. Although the Minimum Wage Ordinance was passed in 1934 no action was taken until after the Hooper Commission, which was appointed in 1937 to inquire into the causes of the disturbances, had recommended the use of the Minimum Wages Ordinance 1934 for the periodical fixation of minimum wages with a sliding scale and an immediate increase of 10 per cent. In 1939 the Department of Labour asked the estates to give a further increase of 10 per cent as a war bonus. This was generally granted only to the estate labourers and was also not applied to day labourers. From the viewpoint of the agricultural labourer in regard to wages, the year is divided into two periods—the crop period of roughly four months (August to November) when there would be no surplus of labour and the daily wages average from 80 cents to rupees 1.80, and the inter-crop period when there would be less work to be done and consequently surplus of labour with the result that the wages average from 40 cents to Rs. 1.25 a day. Mr. S. Ridley I.C.S., who inquired into the conditions of Indian labour in 1940 had reported that while the Estate labourer was fairly well paid the day labourer was generally underpaid, and that as a result of the recommendation of the Minimum Wage Advisory Board created in 1939, a minimum wage based on a seven or eight hour day had been introduced.

ed in the Moka district for agricultural labourers based on a standard labourer's budget the cost of which was Rs. 18.61 based on prices ruling in June 1939.

In 1941 this recommendation of the Advisory Board was made to apply to the whole island as regards agricultural labourers. Major Orde Browne who paid a month's visit to the island in 1941 reported in 1943 that the increase in normal cost of living had been met by a war bonus of 12 per cent followed by another 8 per cent (July 1941)—a total increase of 32 per cent on the 1939 figure. Referring to the effect of minimum wages Mr. Browne says 'the actual result proved to be an increase in the wages of certain poorer-paid workers but no sweeping change was introduced.' The Moody Commission which was appointed to inquire into the disturbances which occurred in the north of the colony during the crop season of 1943 reported in 1944 that the monthly employed labourers to whom only, so far as labour conditions and wages were concerned, the disturbances were confined in the three estates in the north, were getting wages below the legal minimum rates as prescribed by Government Notice No. 210 of 1941 (i.e.) on the estates affected the absolute maximum for monthly paid unskilled labourers was the legal minimum wage of Rs. 20.00 a month plus 20 per cent, war bonus being conditional upon a minimum five days' work a week. They have also asserted that minimum wages fixed in 1941 as late as 1943 and based on the cost of living and level of prices in 1939 had, not been paid in several cases'. The Commission also reported that, according to the *ad hoc* study of the rise in cost of living made by the Director of Labour early in 1943 at the instance of the government, prices had risen from 1939 to 1943 by 100 per cent as regards foodstuffs and by 300 per cent as regards articles of clothing although of course many of these commodities were not available'. After these disturbances and as a result of the recommendation of the Minimum Wage Advisory Board, with effect from 1 October 1943 the *Grande Bande* (physically strong) labourers received Rs. 25.40 per month plus 30 per cent war bonus and *Petite Bande* (Physically weak) labourers Rs. 22.86 plus 30 per cent war bonus, deductions for absence from work being *pro rata* (i.e.) the war bonus payment was to be unconditional upon the number of days worked in the week. This recommendation had been applied to the whole island. Nevertheless the discrepancy between the cost of living and the rates of wages paid persists to the disadvantage of the Indian labourer.

Since Mr. Ridley reported in 1940 Indians made little headway in respect of the insecurity of the subleases of land and the exorbitant rents charged for them. During 1946 the European landlords or lessees of crown lands charged as much as Rs. 3.00 per acre annually or half the produce. The Indian tenant farmers were rendered totally dependent on the European middlemen both for capital and the final disposal of sugar. The Indian farmer was subjected to considerable loss in the course of production and sale of sugar. For every ton of sugarcane supplied the miller, it was reported, obtained 120 to 130 killos of sugar and the middlemen received 80 kilos while the farmer received only 67-70 kilos. And when finally he sold it to the European Sugar Syndicate, he had to pay usual brokerage to the European broker. Only

a complete and effective implementation of the Ridley recommendations of 1940 will save Indians from the present deplorable conditions.

There is a certain amount of labour and industrial legislation in the colony. In accordance with the recommendation of the Hooper Commission, the Industrial Associations Ordinance 1938 was passed giving employers and employees alike the right to combine and making provision for collective bargaining and the settlement of disputes. This Ordinance also empowered the Governor to appoint an Arbitration Court under certain circumstances when a dispute had not been otherwise settled. It also provides for the right to strike and similarly the right to lock-out after a period of unsuccessful conciliation. This period was reduced from 30 to 10 days in an amending Ordinance in 1941 which also permits peaceful picketing. Under Section 32 an employer is prohibited from stipulating for a restriction of the membership of an association among his employees and section 33 protects to a certain extent the association and its officers from actions for tort. Nevertheless as reported by Major Orde Browne the subordinate staff had been owing to its obsolete prejudices victimizing and penalizing such of the employees who openly identified themselves with an Association by accepting office in it. In 1940 there were 48 registered Associations of the workers and employers. But owing to uneducated nature of labour and very low bargaining power, besides other causes, the workers' Associations have proved disappointing. There were also not sufficiently experienced public workers to organize and guide them. The total lack of faith in the Labour Department referred to by the Moody Report and the feeling of distrust of the impartiality of the magistracy deciding labour disputes among Indian labour referred to by Mr. Ridley, are perhaps mainly responsible for the failure of the Associations. The Moody Commission has recommended that in future it should be no part of the Director of Labour's duties to institute criminal prosecutions against the workers or employers and that the functions of the Director in relation to labour disturbances should be conciliatory and advisory. It is well known that the Government has systematically discouraged the idea of one industrial Association of agricultural workers for the whole island for they fear that it would become too powerful to be grappled by the government. The Moody Commission recommended more direct representation to workers in the machinery of collective bargaining which would guarantee better that any agreement reached would be fulfilled; the formation of Regional Industrial Committees and a Central Committee of workmen's representatives, along with the establishment of conciliation Boards and an Arbitration Tribunal to which, in case conciliation should fail, the parties could by agreement refer their dispute; powers to the Governor to order the parties to submit their dispute to the Arbitration Tribunal for a decision which would be final and binding upon both the parties; provision for responsible officers on the spot who would promptly attend to the complaints of the workers and lastly the reorganization of the police force. It is not definitely known how far these recommendations have been implemented.

Under the Workmen's Compensation Ordinance XXXII of 1937 no compensation is payable for any period less than seven days. The Ordinance is not

applicable to persons earning more than Rs. 3,500 a year, and casual workers or persons employed on work to be done in their houses. The employer is liable for compensation to employees of contractors working under him. The schedule following the Ordinance fixes compensation for temporary incapacity at a figure upto 50 per cent. of the weekly wage and payments may continue for twelve months; those permanently incapacitated may receive compensation upto three year's wages. In case of death, compensation may amount to two years' wages. The Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children (Amending) Ordinance No. XVI of 1935 regulates the employment of women, young persons and children in industry to accord with the International Draft Convention on this subject and also with the Convention fixing the minimum age of employment at sea. The Factories (Safety of Workers) Ordinance No. IX of 1939 provides protection against accidents of workers in factories; the Governor-in-Council may make regulations prescribing appropriate safety regulations and appliances in all factories.

The Poor Law Relief has proved unhelpful to Indians due to racial discrimination in the matter of granting out door relief and to Indian disinclination to avail themselves of indoor relief extended by the institutions which are all denominational. If the Government is serious about affording this relief to Indians they should convert a few at least of the denominational institutions into government institutions.

One disturbing aspect of Indian life in Mauritius relates to loose marital ties. According to the law of the colony religious marriage itself whether Christian, Hindu or Muslim was not legal and only civil marriages were legally recognized. Though most Indians had reconciled themselves to this position, it was not a sufficient justification for the denial of their right to marry according to their personal law. Sir Kunwar Maharaj Singh reported in 1926 that in a number of cases persons married according to religious rites were discarding their wives after a few years of married life. According to the Census Report of 1931 only 17 per cent were married civilly, 6 per cent religiously and 12 per cent were living in concubinage. In actual figures 18,029 Indian males and 18,146 Indian females were living with a person of the other sex without having gone through any form of marriage. Sir Maharaj Singh had expressed the opinion that the Christian practice of not allowing religious rites till the civil marriage had taken place should be followed by Hindu priests and Muslim Maulvies. The prevailing unsatisfactory position calls for urgent inquiry by the Indian Government.

Education is still largely controlled by denominational bodies. The number of Indian children attending the primary schools in 1938 was 20,978 out of the total number of children which was 39,952 (i.e.,) 52.5 per cent while even as long back as 1923 it was 56.6 per cent. This retrogression becomes glaring when viewed in the light of the fact that on a population basis the percentage of Indian children in these schools should be 66 per cent. As regards Secondary education, while there were 192 Indian pupils in 1923 at the Royal College Curepipe, there were only 147 at both this College and Royal College School at Port Louis in 1940. Many of the Aided-Secondary schools have been putting

obstacles in the way of admission of Indian applicants. The denominational character of the schools and the compulsory religious instruction have inclined Indians in favour of avoiding these schools. One hopeful feature however is that there has been a fair increase in the number of girls attending the schools.

As regards Indian teachers, there were 167 Indian teachers out of 406 in the government primary schools and 184 out of 862 in Aided primary schools in 1940. The proportion is the same as in 1924. There was only one Indian Inspector in that year in spite of the fact that over half of the children attending the primary schools and a very large proportion of the teachers were Indian. The position does not seem to have very much improved since then.

The Indian position in public services is no less disappointing. All the senior administrative posts are held by members of the unified Colonial Services. Even in 1940 only 1 out of the 10 District Magistrates, 2 out of 14 medical officers and 1 out of 8 police Assistant Superintendents were Indians. Racial discrimination and educational backwardness of the Indian community are the two main causes for this plight.

THE POLITICAL ASPECT

There is no statutory bar against Indians in respect of Indian registration as voters and of rights of election. The high property qualification indirectly achieves the purpose of eliminating all but a fraction of Indian population. Indians constituted in 1940 only 30 per cent of the electoral roll as against 24 per cent in 1924. Mr. Ridley observes 'His (Indian's) remuneration can never be high and no matter what his education might be, so long as the existing rules remain unchanged he can never hope to have any voice in the election of members of the Council of Government'. The Indian demand for complete adult franchise has not also been granted in the constitutional proposals of 1946 though female suffrage has been introduced. The political set-up of the colony consists of a Governor, an Executive Council and a Legislative Council. Till 1940 there were no Indian elected members. Of the nominated members, two were Indians, one of whom continued for the previous 15 years. Also there were only two cases of an Indian having been elected to the Executive Council. This was because when an Indian contested, all other parties combined against him and put economic and other pressure against him and Indian electors. Mr. Ridley observes 'The Indian representation in the Council of Government is certainly disproportionate to the size of the Indian population and to the number of Indian voters. No one will deny that the Indian community has a number of able men who are well fitted to sit in the Council of Government, and although there is no racial discrimination, at the same time it is obvious that there are influences at work which prevent Indians from securing election'. The 1946 proposals were designed to broaden the basic representation on the Executive Council and to devolve wider responsibility on it. They provide for a Legislative Council with 19 elected members out of 39 instead of the present 10 of 27. They affect adversely the bulk of Indian labour population and small farmers. The special representation of workers is opposed by Indians on the ground that it would

prove dangerous to the future trade unionism in the island. Indians cannot hope to enjoy their due share of political power till there is a substantial lowering of the present property qualification and extension of the electorate by the adoption of a literacy qualification.

INDIA AND THE WORLD

PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND COMMITTEES

THE ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE

NEW DELHI, 23 MARCH—2 APRIL, 1947

THE Conference organised by the Indian Council of World Affairs opened on 23 March at New Delhi and was attended by delegations from Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bhutan, Burma, Cambodia, Cochin-China and Laos, Ceylon, China, Egypt, Georgia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Korea, Malaya, Mongolia, Nepal, Philippines, Siam, Tadjikistan, Tibet, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Viet-Nam. From Palestine, a Jewish delegation attended the Conference. Besides, the Arab League, the Australian Institute of Political Science, the Institute of Pacific Relations, Moscow and New York, the India Institute, London, the United Nations Organisation, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and the Australian Institute of International Affairs, have sent observers. The Conference discussed the subjects set down on the agenda, namely, racial and migration problems, the transition from a colonial to a national economy, agricultural reconstruction and industrial development, labour problems and social services, cultural problems, status of women and women's movements, and national movements for freedom, at five round table groups and the results of the discussions were reported at the Plenary sessions which adopted them unanimously.

Inaugurating the Conference Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru observed: 'For too long we of Asia have been petitioners in western courts and chancelleries. That story must now belong to the past. We propose to stand on our own feet and to cooperate with all others who are prepared to co-operate with us. We do not intend to be the playthings of others. . . . We have to think in terms of the common man and fashion our political, social and economic structure so that the burdens that have crushed him may be removed and he may have full opportunity for growth.' Touching on the ideal of 'One World' Pandit Nehru said: 'We support the United Nations structure which is painfully emerging from its infancy. But in order to have 'One World' we must also in Asia think of the countries of Asia cooperating together for that larger ideal.' The leaders of delegations from other countries who spoke at the opening plenary session echoed the sentiments expressed by Pandit Nehru.

There was a large measure of agreement on the wide range of problems confronting Asian countries. In the report on the 'Transition from colonial

to National Economy' it was laid down that the aim of national economy, namely, attainment of balanced structure, should be guided by broad-based social objectives with a stress on the raising of the general standards of living. The Report on 'Agricultural Reconstruction and Industrial Development' states that the problem of Asian agriculture 'is pre-eminently the problem of raising the standard of living' of the agriculturists. On the side of industrialisation, the Report adds that the 'test of Asian independence would be the extent to which she is able to achieve a substantial measure of industrialisation.' The group generally favoured planned development in each country. The Report on 'Labour Problems' recognised that 'labour conditions of industrial workers cannot be improved materially without improvements in the conditions of agricultural labour.' The Report on 'Cultural Problems' dealt with the problems relating to scientific research, education and general aspects of culture. The Report on 'Racial and migration Problems' suggested that there should be complete legal equality of all citizens, and religious freedom and social equality for all racial groups should be assured.

Mahatma Gandhi addressed the concluding session of the Conference on 2 April and appealed to the delegates to spread the message of love throughout the world and added that it is upto the East to conquer the West with this message.

The plenary session on 2 April unanimously passed a resolution approving the formation of the Asian Relations Organization and to that end a Provisional General Council consisting of two representatives of each participating country, was constituted.

The Indian delegation to the Conference was led by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and included, among others, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Vijayalaxmi Pandit, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. Ambedkar, Jai Prakash Narain, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit H. N. Kunzru, Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, Dr. P. P. Pillai, and Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao.

I. L. O. INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEE ON INLAND TRANSPORT

GENEVA: 7 MAY, 1947

The second session of the Committee opened on 7 May 1947, to consider (i) the general report which gave an account of the action taken by the various countries to give effect to the decisions of the first meeting, (ii) the problem of mag-power, (iii) industrial relations in the various branches of transport and (iv) the position regarding inland transport statistics. The Indian delegation consisted of the representatives of the Government, employers and workers. The Government was represented by V. K. R. Menon and S. M. Hasan, the employers by M. H. R. Chinoy and G. L. Mehta and the workers by B. K. Mukherjee and Faiz Ahmad. One delegate from each of the three groups was appointed on the sub-committees on employment and industrial relations; Mr. Menon was on the steering Committee. The resolutions passed at the meetings provided for the establishment of inland transport statistics to be arranged on an internationally comparable basis. Vocational guidance and decasualization of dock labour was also considered by one of the committees.

Since the resolution on industrial relations contained many provisions already incorporated in the Indian Industrial Disputes Act and the Trade Union (Amendment) Bill, Mr. Menon suggested the drafting of the resolution on the lines of Indian legislation. The Indian Delegate's suggestion for compulsory arbitration was accepted in preference to voluntary arbitration provided in the draft resolution before the Committee.

U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION ON PALESTINE

NEW YORK: 27 APRIL, 1947

The Session opened on 27 April to discuss the Palestine Problem. India was represented by H. E. Asaf Ali, Indian Ambassador at Washington. The Indian delegate successfully appealed to the Jews and Arabs not to boycott the Session but to give the benefit of their views to enable the Assembly to understand the position better. The Assembly was in Session for 18 days. The Indian delegate took a prominent part in the proceedings and also presided over the plenary session on the second and third days. He vehemently and successfully opposed the inclusion of any of the Big Five in the Fact Finding Commission. The Assembly decided to set up a Fact-Finding Commission of 11 nations which consisted of India, Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, Iran, Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay and Yugoslavia. On 15 May, during the closing session of the Assembly Mr. Asaf Ali observed that the Palestine issue has become the 'acid test of the human conscience' and warned the nations that 'if the peace of Palestine is broken, a third Great War will definitely be precipitated.'

THE FAO RICE STUDY GROUP

TRIVANDRUM 16 MAY, 1947

The Group met at Trivandrum to draft the agenda and prepare the material for a Rice Conference, which will consider the formation of a Rice Board for South-east Asia, to be held in one of the South-east Asian Countries. The Group consisted of representatives from eight governments, namely, India, China, Philippines, Siam, UK, USA, France and Netherlands. The members of the Indian delegation were Sir S. V. Ramamurthi (leader), S. Y. Krishnaswamy (alternate leader), D. R. Sethi, B. V. Nath, T. Prasad, B. M. Piplani, G. Parameswaran Pillai, K. R. Narayana Iyer, C. S. Thyagaraja Mudaliar and Asutosh Bhattacharya. Mr. Krishnaswami was elected Chairman of the Study Group.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer welcoming the delegates stressed the necessity to consider the scientific development of rice culture. Dr. Rajendra Prasad inaugurating the Group observed that 'it would not be possible in future for one country to have too much when other countries were starving.' He added: 'The UNO, the FAO, the IEFC, all these go to show that the world is realizing the importance of planning, not of one country but for the world at large.'

The Group worked in three Committees, namely, Committee on Expansion of Production, Committee on Marketing, and the Committee on International Trade, to consider the various problems at an expert level. A working draft

report was drawn up and was considered at the final plenary session. While the reports of the first two committees were accepted without much difficulty, there was a sharp conflict of opinion between the Indian and Burmese delegations on the question of the international organisation necessary to deal with the problem of rice. The Indian Delegation suggested the setting up of a Rice Board while the Burmese delegation felt that a little more extension of the existing international mechanism is all that is needed. The prospect of a deadlock was averted by a skilful wording of the report by the Chairman, incorporating the views of both. The final decision is left to the full-fledged Rice Conference to be soon held. The work of the Group concluded on 6 June.

THE I. L. O. INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEE ON COAL MINING
GENEVA: 24 APRIL 1947

The agenda for the second session included the adoption of the General Report dealing with the action taken in the various countries to give effect to the decisions of the first session, and a discussion on the utilization of the resources of coal-mining industry, both human and technical. The Indian Delegation consisted of V. K. R. Menon (Government); Chhaganlal K. Parekh (Employers); P. C. Bose and Chapal Bhattacharya (Workers).

The resolutions passed at the session relate to regulation of recruitment in coal-mines, general problem of coalminers' housing; apprenticeship and vocational training, protection of young workers underground, hours of work, safety and health, maintenance of suitable economic measures for stabilizing production and distribution, and collection of factual data relating to miners' invalidity and old age pension schemes.

As there was some controversy regarding the draft resolution on workers' housing, a small drafting committee was set up under the chairmanship of Mr. Menon. Mr. Bhattacharya moved a resolution requiring the I. L. O. and the Asian Regional Conference of the I. L. O. to watch the implementation of the decisions of the committee in the undeveloped and underdeveloped countries. The resolution was passed by the Committee. Mr. Parekh expressed the readiness of the employers in India to give effect to the recommendations of the Indian Government which might be made to ameliorate the conditions of labour in coal-mines.

INTERNATIONAL EMERGENCY FOOD COUNCIL
WASHINGTON: MAY 1947

India was represented by Mr. N. G. Abhayankar. The US Secretary of State for Agriculture proposed the summoning of an urgent Conference in Europe of all Ministers of Food and Agriculture of Member states in July, to avert 'the worst ever' food crisis. The Indian delegate appraised the seriousness of the food situation in India and said that 'the worst type of starvation is possible unless very adequate allocations are granted and delivered' to India by September. He warned the members against the danger of commercial and political influences in deciding allocations and pleaded for considerations

of comparative need and individual country's efforts in solving their food problems. The US proposal for an Emergency Conference was accepted.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE

GENEVA: 19 JUNE 1947

The 30th Session opened on 19 June to consider the Director's Report, financial and budgetary questions, provisions for a convention regarding minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories, organization of labour inspection in industrial and commercial undertakings, employment service organization, report on the application of conventions contained in Article 22 of the Constitution, and freedom of Association and industrial relations.

The Indian delegation consisted of the Hon. Mr. Jagjivanram Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda (Government delegate), S. Lall (alternate government delegate), N. H. Tata (Employers) and N. M. Joshi (Workers).

On the motion of Mr. Lall, it was decided to change the name of the regional Conference from Asiatic Conference to Asian Conference of the ILO. The Conference is proceeding.

U. N. E. S. C. O. PARIS APRIL 1947

The Executive board of the U. N. E. S. C. O. decided on 13 April to take positive steps to secure the removal of barriers, such as 'censorship' to the free flow of news and ideas between the different countries of the world. It approved a new programme for increasing the use of press, radio and films, in an effort to stimulate international peace.

On the financial side the Board held the view that U. N. E. S. C. O. could not negotiate agreements with private organizations or give aid-grants until individual governments had been consulted and the Board approved the view by a two-thirds majority.

The Executive Board decided to set up a Nutrition Research Centre in India. Sir S. Radhakrishnan's reference to the Wardha Scheme and Sargent's Plan of education, which are being implemented in India was highly appreciated during the discussions on fundamental education.

THE FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC COMMISSION

SHANGHAI: JUNE 1947

The Commission was set up by the UNO Economic Commission to consider the methods of collecting information on economic reconstruction and report the results of the investigation. India was represented on the Commission by R. K. Nehru.

The Indian delegate made a fervent appeal to include representatives from Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Ceylon and Viet Nam. He added that while only four nations of Asia are represented on this Commission, membership was confined only to European countries and the USA on a similar Commission for Europe. He strongly criticised the terms of reference also. While the European Commission is asked to recommend the measures to be taken and

given the power to set up subsidiary committees to carry on the work, those powers are not given to its counterpart in Asia.

The Commission agreed on 18 June to establish 'a committee of the whole Conference' to study the best method of collecting information relating to economic reconstruction, to make such investigations and to report on the results of the investigations.' The Commission is still in session.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA REGIONAL CONFERENCE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENT SERVICE, MADRAS: JUNE 1947

This conference met at Madras on 10 June under the presidency of Dr. Zakir Hussain. Delegates from Burma, Indonesia, India, Viet Nam, Ceylon, Malaya and Siam attended the Conference. Visitors from Holland, France and Czechoslovakia were also present. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a message to the Conference expressed the hope that the Conference 'will strengthen the friendship between India and her neighbours in Southeast Asia.' In his presidential address Dr. Zakir Hussain observed: 'Good Education is essential to the maintenance of good political and economic institutions and to ensure their steady and healthy growth.' He also stressed the necessity to transform the schools from 'Places of theoretical intellectual one-sidedness into those of practical human many-sidedness, from centres of mere acquisition of knowledge to those of creative activity, from places of individual self-seeking to places of devotion to social end.'

The Conference which met mainly to consider the problems of university education discussed at the plenary session on 12 June the problems of 'technological vs. University education,' 'expansion of university education,' and 'student movements and student organizations' on the basis of reports of the three Commissions, which were adopted. The first two commissions presided over by Mr. Ubani (Indonesia) and Mr. Ravindra Varma (India) stressed the need for a 'thorough orientation of the policy.' The Conference concluded its deliberations on 16 June after adopting the report of the Commission on 'Organization and Policy of International Student Service (ISS) in South-east Asia.' This Commission recommended the creation of a South-east Asian Council of the ISS. It also suggested Indonesia as the venue for the next World Conference. The Conference accepted the invitation of Burma to hold its next session in 1948 at Rangoon. In his concluding address Dr. Zakir Husain appealed to young men and women to play an active part in shaping the education of their respective countries on truly democratic lines.

THE WORLD CONFERENCE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS HAGUE: MAY 1947

Prof. N. G. Ranga M.L.A., (Central) led the Indian delegation. The Dutch Socialist Minister for Agriculture—Mr. Mansholt, who opened the Conference, stressed the need for farmers of the world to aim at maximum production. In his inaugural address President Turner expressed the hope of achieving 'equality of trading partnership with other industries.' The Czechoslovakian

delegate drew the Conference attention to the absence of 'several neighbouring countries of Central and Eastern Europe.' So were several Asian and African countries not present in the Conference.

In his address to the Conference Prof. Ranga laid stress on the Indian ideology of democratic partnership between peasants, proletariat, artisan and professional classes with a view to achieve equality of standard of living and distribution of the world's wealth between agricultural and other classes of toilers. He also protested against the spirit which pervaded the Conference, which failed to realize the international character of the Conference. European and American delegates gave the impression that they were too much pre-occupied with their own problems centering round wheat, wool and dairy produce to think of the Asian and other interests.

The Conference demanded that all agricultural and economic programmes of nations should be integrated to prevent scarcities in some commodities and surpluses in others. It also expressed its determination to use every effort to ensure that the World Food and Agriculture Organization was made effective. It recommended that 'food products in excess of immediate effective demand should not be converted into non-edible foods until the requirements for direct and indirect human consumption had been met. Stressing the need for 'international examination of annual agricultural production programmes; it asked member organizations to study their national programmes designed to stabilize agricultural production and prices and bring about greater stability of world price and employment levels including the study of world monetary problems, the activities of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund etc. Besides pledging its support for negotiation of agreements for suitable commodities on a multilateral basis, the Conference indicated that the minimum price levels should bear a close relationship to real cost of production in the exporting countries, bearing sufficient flexibility to facilitate within the framework of a general planning of world production and trade in agricultural products. It also took care to add that the domestic production price and marketing policy pursued in any one country should be the concern of that country. There was a heated discussion on the draft wheat agreement worked out by the London Conference. While according its approval to the agreement the Conference insisted that such an agreement with suitable changes, should be concluded by the Governments concerned without any delay.

DELEGATIONS AND MISSIONS

INDIAN TRADE MISSION TO THE MIDDLE EAST

MARCH—MAY 1947

The Mission was sponsored by the Government of India to make a brief survey of trade with the Middle East Countries—Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Sudan and Hedjaz—with special reference to their potentialities as markets for Indian goods and to suggest methods by which trade could

be developed between India and these countries. The mission which was led by A. M. H. Ispahani, consisted of Haridas Laljee, Haji Dawood Bhoy Habib, and C. C. Javeri with Ebrahim Yusuf Ziamal Ali Reza as the adviser and Mr. Ayub as Secretary. The Mission was at Beirut till 12 April and left for Transjordan after studying the prospects of increasing Indian Trade with Syria and Lebanon. They found that these countries could export dried fruits, olive oil, natural silk, and citrus fruits.

The leader of the Mission, after his return expressed the prospect of some of the countries they visited sending their delegations to India. Especially Turkey and Egypt were very much interested to further their trade connections with India. But the difficulty that the Mission experienced during its negotiations was that most countries wanted commodities which India herself needs most, for example, textiles, foodstuffs etc.

THE BRITISH AIR DELEGATION TO INDIA

FEBRUARY—MAY 1947

The Delegation sponsored by the British Ministry of Civil Aviation arrived in India on 10 February 1947. The object of the Delegation is to plan a survey of new air routes for extension purposes and find suitable sites for aerodromes. During its fifteen weeks' tour, the delegation visited all the countries of South-east Asia including China, Japan and Philippines. The leader, Mr. G. Warcup termed his mission as a 'great success.' The other members are Cohens and B. E. Chapman. The Delegation will submit its report to the Ministry of Civil Aviation on its return to London.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS OF INDIA

INDO-DUTCH AIR AGREEMENT

In pursuance of the Convention on International Civil Aviation and the International Air Service Transit Agreement of 1944, the Government of India and the Government of Netherlands entered into an agreement on 31 May 1947 at New Delhi. This bilateral Air Transport Agreement was signed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar on behalf of India and by A. M. L. Winkelman, Charge d'affaires Netherlands Embassy in India, on behalf of the Netherlands Government. The Agreement is on the lines of the Indo US-Agreement signed in November 1946.

It defines the conditions under which the scheduled air services of each country are to be operated between the territories of the Netherlands and of Indonesia on the one hand and of India on the other. The contracting parties are required to designate an air line to whom the operating permission is granted and the agreement lays down that substantial ownership and effective control of the designated air lines should vest either in the parties themselves or their nationals. The categories of traffic to be handled by India and by Netherlands are set down. Article IV lays down that the air lines of each contracting party shall enjoy equal rights in the operation of air services and that in the operation of the lines each party shall take the interests of the airlines of the other party

into consideration. Regulations regarding the use of air ports, control of rates, customs, exchange of information and statistics also form part of the agreement.

The settlement of disputes relating to the interpretation or application of this agreement is to be effected through the machinery of the International Civil Aviation Organisation in accordance with the provisions contained in the International Convention of 1944.

The Annex to the Agreement gives the routes to be operated by the two countries. The airline designated by the Netherlands Government is entitled to operate the following two routes:

(1) The Netherlands through Europe, the Near East, and Iran to Karachi, Delhi and Calcutta, and thence to a point in Burma, a point in Siam, a point in Malaya to the Netherlands East Indies; via intermediate points and beyond in both directions.

(2) The Netherlands East Indies through Malaya, Siam and Burma to Calcutta, via intermediate points in both directions.

The airline designated by the Government of India is entitled to operate on the routes specified as under:

(1) India through the Near East and Europe to Amsterdam or Rotterdam via intermediate points and beyond in both directions.

(2) India through Burma, Siam and Malaya to Batavia, Sourabaya, Koe-pang, via intermediate points and beyond in both directions.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF FULL EMPLOYMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN. By Allen G. B. Fisher (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs. Oxford University Press, 15s.)

IN our current political and economic discussions few phrases have become more familiar than 'Full Employment.' The ideas associated with this term today dominate the economic world of all countries. Amongst the governing principles offered as a basis for discussion at the International Conference on Trade and Employment in 1945 it was 'recognised that (a) in all countries high and stable employment is a main condition for the attainment of satisfactory levels of living and (b) the attainment of approximately full employment by the major industrial and trading nations and its maintenance on a reasonably assured basis are essential to the expansion of international trade on which the full prosperity of these and other nations depends.' Disappointing as is the over-cautious phraseology of these clauses, they nevertheless indicate the existence of compelling conditions which disfigured our past with ugly unemployment and the equally compelling desire to avoid this disastrous phenomenon. The possibilities of full-employment have grown more convincing since the War.

The argument naturally was that if full employment could be maintained during the war, why not in peace-time.

Economics like other social sciences has made some notable advances especially in its relation to basic vital problems that underlie our national life such as employment which is both the result as well as in turn the cause of major disasters. Such advances in social science call for new techniques and instruments for eradicating the old evils and widening our scope for controlling those forces which we had hitherto thought cannot be controlled and were like the elementals. We have now come to believe that the judicious application of the new techniques would ensure greater stability and evenness of development, so necessary for the welfare and security of human beings.

Despite the lively and legitimate interest which these problems have aroused, it is not an easy task to set forth in terms likely to be easily grasped by everybody, the essential elements in the meaning of full-employment. Allen Fisher has ventured on this and laid out in his book a clear exposition of both the national as well as international implications of full employment. For it came to be increasingly realised during the interval between the two world wars that national economics are to a large extent influenced by international factors and vice versa. This is particularly so in the case of large countries and it was commonly said that the United States exported unemployment. Full employment in any country is therefore partly determined by international conditions and also in turn affects the fate of other countries. The significance for international economic policy of the elements of policy thus briefly outlined, is far from uniform. Some of the methods of maintaining full employment will create difficulties for other countries, others will not. One of Allen Fisher's aims seems to be to show how far the acuteness of international problems might be mitigated or intensified by varying the emphasis placed upon the various techniques which have been listed.

The book gives an elaborate analysis of the meaning and implications of full employment followed by a similar analysis of the concept of the international order. Full employment and an open international system are both objectives to which, in somewhat different ways, Great Britain is now formally committed. But while full employment is widely accepted as an end desirable in itself, even the warmest supporters of an open international system do not think fit as more than a means for the attainment of other ends; though in so far as they regard it as a certain and perhaps even the only means to ends so highly approved by them, they often confuse ends with means.

It is obvious that if techniques are to be made applicable to every type of economics and at the same time satisfy the international conditions, they must be cast in general terms which will require adaptation before the methods are applied to any individual economy. But in a world which has throughout a whole generation, been obliged to move unceasingly from one bewildering set of uncertainties to another, many naturally feel impelled by the strongest possible motives to seek for assured safeguards against any repetition of these unhappy experiences. It is therefore perfectly reasonable to search for safeguards. It is to ensure these safeguards that at international conferences dealing

with economic affairs that progressive sections have pressed for international agreements for securing such safeguards. The Australian Government, for instance, demanded that by a resolution each country should bind itself to undertake 'a national obligation to its own people and an international obligation to the other signatory governments, henceforth to take such measures as may be necessary and practicable to the creation of employment for the peoples of other countries and to an increase in their well being.' True no country has been willing to bind itself but the seeds have been sown that must bear fruit soon.

Allen Fisher's book is a painstakingly detailed study of a most pressing problem and should be read by all who are interested in this very fundamental factor of modern society. For unlike in the old days when unemployment was attributed to personal defects, it is accepted as a grave flaw in the structure of our society. It is however very doubtful how the type of planning and economic control that full employment calls for is consistent with free enterprise.

(MRS.) KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

THE PATTERN OF SOVIET POWER. By Edgar Snow (Bombay: Thacker & Co., 1946 Rs. 7-14)

Most people in touch with politics feel that Russian policy has become an enigma, and Snow only adds to our fears by saying that 'on ability to veer and talk with dramatic suddenness is indeed an important asset in Soviet diplomacy which is likely to continue to surprise us in the future.' *The Pattern of Soviet Power* is a comprehensive review of Russian policy, fair and straightforward enough. But it would have been much more illuminating if Snow had taken care to avoid the Communist technique of expression, the new terms that have been given currency to confuse those who would bluntly call a spade a spade.

This book is an attempt to explain rather than excuse, and though Snow's leanings are obvious, his democratic upbringing also makes itself evident. One may get a little muddled sometimes, but one is never deceived. It is quite clear that what the Russians call 'political strategy' is another name for power-politics and bears no relationship to justice, morality or even logic. 'The Kremlin continued to lend advisers and send supplies to the Generalissimo (Chiang-Kai-Shek), even though it was then widely known that Soviet supplies were being used by Chiang to equip troops maintaining his anti-Red blockade.' 'But Soviet policy is always dynamic, and on the side of political change, wherever change can help make frontiers safe for Soviet Socialism.' 'Henceforth the Eastern European peoples will operate on the principle that warm friendship and collaboration with the Soviet fatherland are not only the best policy but the "only possible" policy.' 'It is hardly in keeping with Russia's new commitments for the security of Europe that she should remain in any way dependent on Turkey... for access to the Mediterranean. A showdown is coming for the control of the Dardanelles.' Such is the strategy of today and tomorrow. We shall know little about it from the people directly affected. In Poland, and obviously enough in other countries of east and south-east

Europe 'freedom of press, speech, assembly and worship would more closely parallel the Soviet definition of those rights than the Anglo-Saxon parliamentary conception.'

The home policy of the Russian Government is also clarified. "The new 'autonomy' law does not, of course, enable republics like the Ukraine to make direct trade agreements with foreign States, or to plan independently of the Centre." What shall we think, then, of the right to secede guaranteed to them by the Constitution? 'The dictatorship of the proletariat,' according to a definition of Stalin himself, 'is, substantially, the dictatorship of the party, as the force which effectively guides,' and the party is not in full control of Russia only but of all Communist parties outside also. 'German and Austrian Communist Parties, both... have headquarters in Moscow for abolition of the Comintern did not, of course, mean the end of national parties.' Everything that the Communist party does seems to have a different moral quality. The piece-work system is, wherever adopted, a means of getting the utmost out of labour. In Russia 'Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist' teachings give it an entirely moral and progressive complexion. But we know from different sources that in Russia labour is being exploited, and foreign labour most of all. Snow does tell us enough to justify the assumption that German prisoners of war get food in proportion to the amount of work they do, and we might be quite thankful that he omits to mention the 14 million men working in slave camps conducted by the Ministry of the Interior.

M. MUJEEB

THE EVOLUTION OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES ECONOMY.

By H. J. Boeke (Netherlands and Netherlands Indies Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1946, X+180 Royal: \$ 2)

Prof. Boeke is a well-known authority of the economic problems of the Netherlands East Indies. The present work, written in a German concentration camp during World War II, is the companion volume of the same author's earlier work *The Structure of Netherlands Indian Economy* published in 1942. The book under review deals with various economic policies pursued in the Netherlands East Indies in the decade preceding the outbreak of World War II.

Students of colonial economies know that the World Depression of 1929 brought about a complete breakdown of many colonial economies and the governing Western powers in them had to abandon their century old *laissez faire* policies under its impact. They had to substitute them by economic policies of a more positive character. It was a new orientation of colonial policies and has much interested the students of colonial problems all over. The present work of Prof. Boeke deals with that very period and illustrates in great detail the new policies that were adopted by the Dutch in the Netherlands East Indies. It makes available to the English knowing world many facts and records contained in Dutch Official Reports which were so far beyond its ken. The subject has been ably handled and the standard of performance attained in the earlier volume is well maintained in the present one. It is

indeed a credit to the author that under conditions of prison life he was able to produce a work of such fine quality.

It should be pointed out, however, that the discussion in this book (and even in the earlier one) moves along very narrow grooves. The problems of the Netherlands East Indies are treated in isolation and their international historical background is either completely ignored or scantily treated. Indeed one doubts whether Prof. Boeke is at all aware of the general problems involved in the transition from a colonial to a national economy that are facing the colonial world. The colonial economies in South East Asia developed, under the impact of the Industrial Revolution, as complementary economies to the metropolitan economies of their Western overlords. The resulting colonial economic structure was lopsided and dangerously unstable, as it was based on export of a few raw materials. These onesided and unstable colonial economies completely broke down during the World Depression of 1929. Since then it has been realised that the development of the colonial economies must be planned along lines of allround economic development which would put an end to their complementary character. This would necessitate an end of plantation economy, more economic self sufficiency, less dependence on exports, industrialization, etc.

Such a development would obviously mean a great economic loss to the Western metropolitan countries; for their prosperity has in the past depended in no small measure upon colonial exploitation. This is particularly true of the Netherlands. In 1930 a Dutch newspaper estimated that about 80,000 persons in the Netherlands were directly or indirectly employed in home industries exporting to the Indies, that the Netherlands received \$ 16 crores in annual profits from the islands, that 80,000 more persons were employed in consuming those profits and that the Indies were a matter of livelihood for about 4 lakhs of Netherlanders. (L. K. Rosinger, 'Independence for Colonial Asia—The cost to the Western World,' *Foreign Policy Reports*, February 1944.) Prof. Boeke seems to realise this when he observes: '*In a general way*, it is true that the Indies mean more economically speaking, to the Netherlands than the Netherlands means to the Indies.' (Italics in the original, p. 106.) But nowhere does he make the attempt to view the economic problems of the Indies as a part of the general problem of colonial economies. He also does not seem to be aware of the new forces of nationalism that have risen in the Indies and the effect these are producing on the relationship of the Netherlands and the Indies. The inwardness of recent developments somehow escapes him altogether which gives the discussion an undertone of unreality. Is this result of an unwillingness to face unpleasant facts and problems by 'ignoring them completely? Or was it perhaps the result of the peculiar conditions in which the present book was written? One wonders?

N. V. SOVANI

GUNG HO! THE STORY OF THE CHINESE COOPERATIVES. By
Chen Han-seng. (American Institute of Pacific Relations Series No. 24
* Edited by Mr. Maxwell S. Stewart, New York 1947. 63pp: 25c.)

This illustrated pamphlet gives in detail the romantic story of the Indusco,—the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives. Mr. Chen Han-seng, its author, was closely associated with the movement, having served as Secretary on its International Committee and Chairman on its Promotion Committee in Hongkong. With a view to gather first-hand information on the workings of the Cooperatives, he has also visited several industrial areas in China.

The Indusco is not unknown in India, for it was Nym Wales, who, first introduced us to this Chinese Social organisation through her book, *China Builds For Democracy* which was followed by Newspaper articles and references in publications like *China After Five Years of War* issued by the Chinese Ministry of Information. Yet due to paucity of more informative literature on the Indusco movement, its objectives and achievements were not so widely known in India. This illuminating I. P. R. pamphlet, therefore, will prove immensely helpful to all those interested in the study of the Indusco organisation of China.

The Indusco or the C. I. C., popularly known in Chinese as Kung Ho or Gung Ho from the two characters meaning 'Work Together' was initiated in 1938 by a New Zealander, Mr. Rewi Alley, sometime Chief Factory Inspector of the Shanghai Municipal Council. In cooperation with a number of well-known Chinese social workers including Mr. Chao Shu I, first organiser of the Indusco, who was then studying naval engineering and Mr. Wu Chu Fei, a Ford trainee, Mr. Rewi Alley set himself to the task of organising the Cooperatives in the interior parts of China. Free China was then economically strangled by Japan. All her coastal areas and big industrial centres were in the occupied areas. With unlimited labour power and unemployed trained factory workers, war refugees and wounded soldiers available in thousands to start this new industry, Rewi Alley and his enthusiastic band of workers received a ready response from the people. They rallied round the banner of the Indusco and pushed through the work of reconstructing the economic life of war-torn China so as to make her self-supporting in every walk of life. Kansu and Shensi provinces, the ancient cradle of Chinese culture and civilization became the cradle of modern Indusco. The first cooperatives were organised in these provinces. Being a patriotic association, whose aim was to resist Japan's economic aggression by the production of daily necessities and help the cause of national reconstruction according to Dr. Sun Yat Sen's 'Three Peoples Principles', Indusco not only received the spontaneous support of the masses but also the patronage of national leaders like Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Dr. T. V. Soong, Dr. H. H. Kung and public men like Mr. K. P. Liu, Mr. Frank Lem, Sir Archibald Clark-Kerr and the Right Rev. R. O. Hall, Bishop of Hongkong. They all gave the movement financial and technical assistance. Much monetary help also came from patriotic Chinese from Overseas countries and from voluntary contributors from the United States and England through the International Committee Productive Relief Fund formed in Hongkong.

The Indusco is a private Association with Government backing. Sectarianism, colour bar and party separatism, which create hatred and disunion among individuals and nations have not polluted its portals. The communist areas

are also much benefited from the Indusco. With C. I. C. headquarter's financial help from Chungking, a depot was started in Yen-an in 1939 and a well-organised movement developed in those areas. During the war years, the Indusco saved millions of Communists from death by supplying them with the bare necessities of sustaining life and thus strengthening their morale of resistance against Japanese aggression.

The types of machinery in which the Indusco is engaged are: machines and metal working, mining and metallurgical, textile, chemical, pottery, food supplies, printing, leather and rubber works, furniture and brick-making. Business and economics are not the only concern of the Indusco, but also education, recreation, nurseries for the workers' children, medical schemes and other activities. Another noteworthy feature is the research Institutes, known as 'Bailie Schools' founded after the name of Joseph Bailie, an American Missionary who formulated a plan for industrialising China but died before his scheme could be carried out. These schools are centres for training administrators and organisers in the improvement of industrial technique and introduction of new production methods.

The importance of industrial cooperatives as a means of reconstructing India's economic life has been recognised by our national leaders and a number of plans have been formulated by them. Among them is the Gandhian Plan. Comparing all these Plans in his book under the title 'Gandhian Plan' Professor S. N. Agarwal, its author says that the 'value of the Chinese Indusco movement to India is very great indeed.' The Indusco has passed its experimental stage and is worthy of emulation by India, which is still in the process of planning.

This I. P. R. pamphlet read together with three other publications, namely, (1) Chinese Industrial Cooperatives issued by the International Committee of the Indusco; (2) Industrial Cooperation by Mrs. Pupul Jayakar of the All India Women's Conference and (3) Cottage Industry in Indian Economy by Messrs. K. Mitra and P. P. Lakshman of the A. I. C. Economic Research Department will be very useful for those who intend to organise cooperative producers and consumers' societies in India.

VISVABHARATI CHEENABHAVANA

1 June 1947

V. G. NAIR

FOREIGN BOOKS ON INDIA

MY IMPRESSIONS OF INDIA. By Reginald Sorenson. (London: Meridan Books Ltd. 10/6 net.)

India has suffered as much through literary exploitation as through economic or political. Englishmen have looked upon public slandering of India as part of their duties as rulers for it proved an effective way of justifying their reign in India. For the darker the Indian people were painted, the more the evangelical British interests in India succeed. It is a well known fact that the British Government spent fabulous sums of money on this unholy task of pre-

sending the Indian people as a most decadent, depraved people who needed to be governed for their own sake and in their own interest.

That is why Mr. Sorenson's book is welcome. For it attempts to strike a new note. A visit to an outside country offers an almost irresistible temptation to dash off a book on it—even though the visit be brief and passing. But in Mr. Sorenson's case, it turned out to be otherwise, though the visit was, especially for a vast country like India, much too brief. In his own words is the explanation for it vouchsafed: 'My impressions—the impressions of one who for fifteen or sixteen years has been earnestly concerned with Indian life and political affairs, and has striven to gather available knowledge and to give what service I could.... Moreover I must add that I know many who have resided in India for some years including incidentally eminent Indians themselves but some appear to be as reactionary or as progressive in their judgment at the end of their sojourn as at the beginning. I think a great deal depends upon one's personal faith and outlook.' Five weeks was too short a time but nevertheless travelling as the member of an accredited delegation, enabled him to see and experience in those short days an incredible amount of contacts, study and experience. Mr. Sorenson's long association with India through his labours on her behalf, had made him like rich receptive soil in which the seed had but to fall, for it to quickly burgeon out.

With this background, a sympathetic and understanding approach, a penetrating vision, have all combined to provide Mr. Sorenson produce a charming and readable book, written though in the travel-talk style nevertheless lays bare many fundamental problems of this country and its people, and discuss their causes and cures. As a convinced Socialist, he is particularly sensitive to the economic and social ills.

A book of this type has limitations nevertheless. At all times to compress into some two hundred and odd pages impressions of a mighty sub-continent is an impossible task. To attempt to do so at a time when India was moving with almost a meteoric speed, men and events changing so fast one could hardly keep back on them, made this task even more herculean at the time of the Parliamentary delegation's visit to this country. Even as recorded, the narrative seemed to belong to the past. Yet the more abiding aspects of Indian life, its terrifically complex problems, its challenging future, are accepted and narrated with understanding as are drawn the pictures of some of the personalities. 'The real India is the India I saw in village and slum, in the patient crowds at railway stations, in the jostling bazaars and the squatting audiences at public meetings.... Of course the real India does contain much else of charm and promise, many good and beautiful things,... in the touch of artists, in the eagerness of response to political appeals, in fraternal and domestic virtues that shine out despite all else....'

'This book is most welcome, especially at this juncture when the relationship between India and England is being put on a different basis and all such writings will help better understanding and closer friendship between the two countries.'

INDIA'S INSOLUBLE HUNGER. By John Fisher, (Bombay: Vora & Co.,
Re. 1/-.)

This little booklet by an American journalist who spent a year in India when the great black famine was on, to represent the U. S. Economic Administration, is, as the title suggests, the utter bewilderment of a young Westerner used to the wasted affluence of the new world, when face to face with India's red famine. Mr. Fisher is poignantly moved by the colossal devastation of 1943 and the easy snuffing off of millions of lives, on an average 10,000 a week and equally oppressed by India's irrepressible fertility—some 5 million extra every year or so.

But although Mr. Fisher worked on the Economic Mission, it is obvious, he did not try to grasp the basic principles of economy but fell into the easy reasoning of bourgeois chauvinism which says that subsistence living is due to large population. There is no doubt that large populations are a strain on economic planning and reconstruction. But human beings are not a mere burden as economists of Mr. Fisher's mental equipment would have us believe. On the contrary they are also the productive power. Even large countries like Canada, Australia, Brazil, etc., are considerably handicapped for want of adequate manpower to develop the enormous potential wealth of their countries, and they actually encourage colonisation under certain restricted plans. Actually if one studies international figures the rate of increase in some countries such as the U. S. A. or U. S. S. R., is greater than in this country. But while there manpower has been harnessed to develop the country's wealth, in India its rulers have allowed these power generators to merely become a burden on the land and its depressed economy. It is not the vast population which is at fault. It is those who shaped her destiny and grossly neglected their duty. Mr. Fisher bent under a false premise sees little hope for India even when freedom comes. He feels the Bombay Plan is unworkable. Nobody suggests that a national Government will straightaway solve all these heavy problems, nor that the Bombay Plan work magic. Still a solution is there if only our economy is radically altered and functions for the purpose of catering to the needs of human beings instead of bringing profits to a few individuals.

Mr. Fisher writes with great sympathy but little confidence which can come only out of a strong conviction in a social philosophy and faith in its being translated into practice. The book has little to offer Indian readers, who are expected to be better informed on these questions than what the book offers. But to a stranger it presents in a concise form a vital point in India's fabric—her poverty.

(MRS.) KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

OTHER BOOKS

TO THE PROTAGONISTS OF PAKISTAN: GANDHI SERIES 5. Edited
by Anand T. Hingorani, 1947 (Allahabad: Anand T. Hingorani, Rs. 6/8/-)

This is yet another addition to the Gandhi series which readers who would like to have a classified collection of Gandhiji's writings and speeches are sure to welcome. It is a collection of articles written by Gandhiji from time to

time in *the Harijan*, on the Hindu-Muslim problem, and his references to the communal problem in his prayer addresses and other press interviews.

The idea of the unity of India is stressed by Gandhiji long before the Muslim League has formulated the Pakistan demand. He never accepted the two-nation theory of the Muslim League. Even when he accepted the June 3 statement and recommended it to the A. I. C. C. it is on the principle of non-coercion rather than on the acceptance of the two-nation theory.

The fundamental difficulty in the maintenance of this principle of unity arose perhaps, as recent events have shown, from an equally firm faith of Mahatma Gandhi in non-violence and its logical conclusion, non-coercion. When one political party, especially based on communal lines, demands partition and when we believe in the principle of non-coercion and not swerve from it even if such a departure be in the greater interests of the nation, the result is, at one stage or other, we have to surrender one or the other of the two principles. The Congress has given precedence to non-coercion over unity on the ground that 'political ends are not to be achieved by methods of violence, now or in the future'—but this under circumstances of violence resorted to on a large scale by the other party in its 'Direct Action' programme.

Since the acceptance of the June 3 statement by the Congress with the approval of Gandhiji, the idea of unity of India has been relegated from the realm of practical politics to that of an ultimate ideal towards which we should work. The present tendencies, however, are not favourable for the realization of such an ideal in the near future. On the other hand, there is a danger of further balkanization of the country with the endeavour of some states to declare themselves independent. Only a change in the approach to the problem consequent on the emergence of a rationalist outlook from the present emotional obscurantism can provide a real framework for a better solution, namely, unity of India. Whether such a change will come at all, if once separate independent sovereign states are established (especially in view of the experience of nation states and the growth of nationalism in Europe) and if such a change comes in what way and when it will come are matters on which nobody can prophesy. But a collection of the views of a great leader like Gandhiji is nevertheless bound to be handy to future generations who may have a more rational outlook on political problems and work for the realization of a *united* India which we are unable to achieve along with the attainment of independence.

BH. VENKATARATNAM

ON TOUR WITH GANDHIJI. By Bharatan Kumarappa, 1947 (Aundh: Aundh Publishing Trust).

This collection of articles contributed by the author to various papers covers the period 20 November 1945 to 4 February 1946 when he accompanied Gandhiji on his tour through Bengal, Assam, and Madras. The articles refer to, besides the crowds that gathered at every place to have *darshan* of Gandhiji, the hardships and oppression which the people underwent since August 1942.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. By Dr. M. S. Natarajan
(Published by the author: 30, Ferozeshah Road, New Delhi, Rs. 2/8/-)

Part I is a summary of the Cabinet Mission Plan, and the events that followed thereafter—formation of the Interim Government, December 6 Statement, and the meeting of the Constituent Assembly. It also gives a brief resume of the work of the Constituent Assembly upto 22 January. Part II deals with such questions as the representative character of the Assembly and its sovereign character, the position of the princes in the Union, fundamental rights etc. For the most part, the brochure is an account of the constitutional developments in the form of quotations from views expressed by leaders, resolutions of the political organisations and statements by H. M. G. Since the acceptance of the June 3 Statement much that is written on the basis of the unity of India has ceased to be of any practical significance. But this booklet will be useful as a summary of the work done and progress made since the Cabinet Mission Plan upto the February 20 statement. BH. V.

GANDHI AND THE YOUTH. By S. Ramanathan, 1947 (second edition: Published by the author).

ARTICLES ON INDIA IN FOREIGN PERIODICALS

General

INTER-ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE. *Amerasia* May 1947.

A brief objective summary of the work of the Conference together with the joint statement of Viet Nam and Indonesian delegations.

ALL ASIA AT DELHI. By Iqbal Singh, *The Spectator*, 18 April 1947.

An estimate of the work of the Asian Conference—hypercritical at some places, perhaps because of the anxiety of the author to satisfy the European readers.

ASIAN UNITY: FORCE OR FACADE. By Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *Far Eastern Survey*, 7 May 1947.

The authors used much avoidable force to rig up a pall of misunderstanding around the Asian Conference—its objectives and its work. As Observers (themselves Research Associates) from the IPR, which holds similar conferences, they could have afforded to be more responsible and discreet in the criticism of the delegations and their work.

Cultural

THE DOON SCHOOL. By A. E. Foot, *The Asiatic Review*, April 1947.

A brief account of the School at Dehra Dun organised on the English Public School Model.

THE WOMEN OF INDIA. By H. H. The Princess of Berar, *The Asiatic Review*, April 1947.

Economic

THE PLANNING OF POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA. By Lieut. General Sir Thomas Hutton, *The Asiatic Review*, April 1947.

A sympathetic review of the work of the Planning Department during its short period of existence and defence of its abolition.

THE FOOD PROBLEM IN INDIA. By E. J. Kail, *The Contemporary Review*, May 1947.

Of repeated suggestions for agricultural improvement in India—irrigation, control of erosion, scientific farming etc.

ROADS AND ROAD TRANSPORT IN INDIA. By Sir Kenneth Mitchell, *The Asiatic Review*, April 1947.

A factual account of this aspect of the communications position in India.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF PAKISTAN. By Dr. Anwar Qureshi, *The Asiatic Review*, April 1947.

The Author, an ardent supporter of Pakistan, argues that Pakistan is workable on economic grounds—Pakistan consisting of provinces included in groups B & C of the Cabinet Mission Plan.

EAST AND WEST IN CO-OPERATIVE ACTION: A HIMALAYAN DREAM. By Sir William Stampe, *The Asiatic Review*, April 1947.

The author unfolds the plan of his 'dream' to link the 'stupendous power of the mountain torrents in the Himalayan and Vindhyan Systems' and 'the vast underground river,' to foster the economic development of India.

INDIA REVISITED II. By Sir John Thorne, *The Spectator*, 4 April 1947.

The author discusses the difficulties that may be encountered by and the prospects of British business in independent India.

Political

THE PROSPECTS OF PAKISTAN. By H. N. Brailsford, *The New Statesman and Nation*, 10 May 1947.

The author presents the usual problems implied in discussion of India, a consequence of fixing the final date for quitting by Britain.

JUNGLE WARFARE IN INDIA. By Chaman Lal, *Voice of India*, March 1947.

A discussion on the 'Direct Action' campaign of the Muslim League and the alternatives before it,—Pakistan or United India and the implications of each.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE FUTURE DEFENCES OF THE NEW INDIA. By Major the Hon. Anthony Strachey, *The Asiatic Review*, April 1947.

A plea, based on India's geographical position, for the co-operation of India with the defence machinery of the British Commonwealth and the Empire.

INDIA REVISITED. By Sir John Thorne, *The Spectator*, 21 March 1947.

The author deals with the future position of the British members of the Services controlled hitherto by the Secretary of State for India.

INDIA—WHAT NEXT? By Woodrow Wyatt, *The New Statesman and Nation* 15 March, 1947.

A plea to hand over power in June 1948 to the Interim Government in fact and leave any question of partition to be decided by India herself.

REALITIES IN INDIA. *The Economist*, 15 March, 1947.

This despatch from its Bombay correspondent, works against the reiteration of British pledges to Indian minorities, which was the main feature in Lords Debate on India which may encourage 'Unjustifiable intransigence among minorities'; it also deals with the position of Englishman as an individual in future in India.

PAKISTAN. *The Economist*, 22 March, 1947.

Deals mainly with the realignment of boundaries in the event of Division of India so as to secure definite majority of Muslims in Pakistan 'to assure the regions a definite Moslem character.' Other implications of division also are mentioned; and ends with the familiar way of blaming the Congress and harping on special responsibility of British Government towards the Muslim majority.

SCRAMBLE FOR POWER IN INDIA. *The Economist*, 10 May 1947.

Analyses the consequences of Premier Attlee's Statement on withdrawal of British control by June 1948—troubles in the Punjab and N. W. F. P. created by Muslim League, confusion in Bengal, the attitude of Princes—with a few common place jibes at the Indian Ministries.

AGREEMENT TO SEPARATE? *The Economist*, 17 May 1947.

Written before the announcement of June 3 Plan, the article considers the possibility of peaceful settlement in India by the political parties agreeing to division of India, with partition of Bengal and the Punjab.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY. *Current notes on International Affairs*, December 1946.

Gives extracts from Speeches by Pandit Nehru since his assumption as member for External Affairs in the Interim Government, and by other leaders both in India and at International Conferences bearing on foreign policy.

INDIA'S DEADLOCK UNBROKEN. *The Round Table*, March 1947.

The Article dated January 1947 briefly reviews the political events since the acceptance of Interim Government by the political parties.

NOTE AND MEMORANDA

INDO-IRANIAN RELATIONS

By ALI ASGHAR HEKMAT

THE narration of cultural links between this great land of India, where I am at present a guest, and my own land, i.e., Iran, is a lengthy one. In order to unite these separated links of this long chain, one has to study minutely the text of history, tales of travellers, poetry, folk lore, religious records as well as ancient monuments, relics, sites of ruined cities etc. I cannot undertake to trace the long course of events on this vast subject in the course of this short article.

Three years ago I undertook to gather material on this subject and it is now my intention to compile a book for presentation to my friends in India and Iran as a souvenir of my visits to India. For the present I content myself to place a few of the facts I have been able to collect, and I hope that this will give some idea of what is my final intention to prepare.

* * * * *

Relations between the two countries came to be established in different ways and by different causes. Some of them got created by the contiguity of land and these may be styled as 'territorial contacts.' Others might have been brought into existence by the junction of common seas. We may call the latter 'maritime relations.' Others sprang up from the peaceful and salutary behaviour of the two peoples and some may have resulted from the wars which were waged between them. These may be called 'Pacific' and 'hostile relations' respectively. India and Iran possess two different climates and are also widely apart in the field of production. This feature attracted the attention of the trading classes through whom certain relations came to be established which we may call 'Commercial relations.' We have also the valuable contributions of great scholars, philosophers, religious thinkers, poets and artists from India and Iran, who travelled from one land to the other and thus left behind them a precious legacy in the world of spiritual learning which we may call 'Cultural relations.'

* * * * *

The most prominent example of territorial relation in the history of these two countries is the migration of tribes who marched from Central Asia to India by land, and during their passage through the Iran table land, they brought with them a treasure of old souvenirs from that country. Even as far back as 3,000 B. C., the Chalcolithic culture, a period in which the use of stone for implements had not quite died out, was in existence both in Indus valley and Mesopotamia. The Mohenjodaro ruins may provide the first feature of a cultural link between India and Iran. Later on, before the growing empire

of Magadha, in 700 B. C., the name of Ghandhar, which passed to the Achæmenides in the Sixth century, is often mentioned and that city proved to be the land junction between India and Iran in the bygone ages. In later times, centuries near to our era two ethnics, 'Saka' and 'Pahlava,' are regularly associated with each other and frequently with the 'Yavanas' in Indian literature and inscriptions. It proves that these people for centuries had certain allegiance with the Persian empire; i.e., to the settled and more highly cultured people of Iran and from there to the Western India. Furthermore, in the history of South India the name of Patlava is mentioned which is equivalent of Pahlava. It proves that families of Persian origin had come from the North-West and West into the Deccan in the early centuries of the Christian era and taken services there. The Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman in the middle of 2nd century states that his minister was a Pahlava named Suvesakha.

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No other example will illustrate the significance of maritime relations more than the famous story of 'Sind-Bad,' the sailor. This name as the word indicates is a Persian word, whose trace can be found in the Arabian Nights. The story shows that this Persian sailor sailed up to the Malaya peninsula and he as well as those who preceded him used to visit the Indian shores also. Sind-Bad's exploits are conspicuous samples of Indo-Iranian Maritime relations. The usage of the word, 'Rah Namij,' which means the guide book of a sailor is a Persian word and it shows, as the French Scholar, Gabriel Ferrand, indicates, that the name was given by all the sailors to the books written for navigation in Indian Ocean. The word traces back the history of Persian navigation in the seas of this country to old ages. In the book of Ajaib-ul-Hind translated into French by Devic (1883-1886) we find many tales about the Persian sailors who penetrated the Indian shores. These people with their few Persian names, such as 'Mardan Shah' and 'Marzaban,' proved that the Maritime relations between Persia and India were established since long.

* * * * *

In the prosperous and peaceful times of the Great Monarchs of the two countries, we have many examples of Pacific relations having been established between them. One, which has certain significance, is the inscription on the monuments in different parts in India. Some of them which are in the local script of Kharushti, which ran from right to left is very indicative and yet the writers of some of the Brahmin inscriptions even in the far south, give their signature in Kharushti, which suggests that they were brought from the North-West to do the work. There is no doubt that the idea of inscriptions and edicts on stone was borrowed from the Persian custom, and the very formula with which they open, 'Thus speaks King Devanamapriya, Priyadarsin' seems to be modelled on the corresponding Achæmenid formula. The word 'LIPĪ' or 'DIPĪ' meaning an inscription, is also Persian. The Kharushti alphabet had been in use in the provinces of the North-West, which had been under the Persian rule. All these are indications that during the peaceful times of Great Monarchs such as Asoka, certain arts had been introduced from one country into the other.

Now I would like to show, though it may seem odd, how out of hostility and war some happy results came forth. It is true that war always breeds disaster and calamity, and the tragic effect caused by the Indo-Iranian wars during many centuries and epochs are so regretful that a historian is always ashamed to enumerate them. The fields and mountains in western India, unfortunately, had been the scene of many battle tragedies. They have not only stained the two countries with blood and the hearts with ugly scars but they have also reduced the contemporary history into a dismal reading. Nevertheless, there is a silver lining to the clouds of unhappy wars fought between India and Iran. Some of these military expeditions and onslaughts were undertaken, not so much with a view to destroy the invaded country as to render assistance to the Monarch who could not maintain peace and order in his realm. The most ancient trace of such a happy invasion can be found in the legendary story of 'Garshasb-Name', which was versified by our poet, Asadi Tousi, some one thousand years ago. The legend describes how Garshasb, the hero of the story, a Persian warrior, with an Iranian army came to this country, and marched from the northern plains to the southern shores. In this beautiful epic poetry, we find many interesting points concerning geography, tradition, habits and customs of India, even flora and fauna. The story reminds us to a certain extent of the assistance given by Shahtahmasp of Persia to the emperor Humayun in the middle of the 16th century.

Pages of history describe barbarous and inhuman invasions from the west of India such as those of Alexander, Mahmud of Ghazni, Taimur the Lame, and the last of Nadir Shah, but at the side of the same aggressiveness which makes us blush with horrors, there are so many human and salutary aspects. Many scholars, philosophers, savants and sages came with the invaders and left everlasting records in the world of this country of that age. The best example of this kind of work is the book of India (*Kitab-el-Hind*) by Al-Beiruni, which was written in the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, and corresponds to the records left by Megasthenese after the Alexander campaign of India.

* * * * *

Commercial contacts between the two countries left everlasting and beneficial results and the subject is so vast that it can easily form the theme of a fair-sized book. Peoples in western Asia and Europe always had a covetous eye on the precious products of India, its fruits, its mines and its riches. The only bridge over which the caravans could transport these enviable commodities from India to those parts of the world was geographically the highways of Iran; and from the sea shores of southern India the commercial boats used to cross through the Persian Gulf as well. Innumerable varieties of plants, spices, woods, ivory, carrols: ginger, indigo, silk, gums, sugar cane, animals, birds etc., etc., were exported from India to Iran and from Iran to Europe. The Persian merchants were naturally the agents of this long and animated bazaar who used to frequent this country in the past.

Reinaud, the French Orientalist in his introduction to the famous book of geography *Abul-Fida*, has justly said: 'In the time of the monk Cosmas,

the Romans who had assumed the supreme position in the eastern seas during some centuries, began to decline' and according to Procope, the Greek writer, the Iranians became the supreme masters of the eastern markets. In the 6th century, in the time of *Cosroes*, that Iranian monarch, invaded the Indus valley from where fleet was sent to the shores of Ceylon to rescue the Persian merchants who were in danger there. 'That is why,' the Arab historian, Hamza Isphani, says 'Anoshirvan, conquered Sarandip (Ceylon)'. Procope also says that Persians were living in all the ports where the Indian ships used to touch and they had to buy all their merchandise from them.

The Commercial intercourse between Persia and India caused the Iranians to think in another field which is called Culture. During the same century many Sanskrit books were taken from India and were translated from Sanskrit to Pahlavi. The most conspicuous example is the famous book *Panchatantra*. We do not want to discuss in this short space, a long and detailed report of what the cultural and literary relations between the two countries had produced. In India as one of the famous Persian poems says, 'From different monuments, inscriptions and broken walls, one can see a living picture of the great men of Ajam.'

A few features which I quoted above are the examples of the long and secular relations between Iran and India. In this age, which is the age of culture, and human contact, we have to wish that these relations may be more and more fostered and effects more useful to the humanity be produced. Buzusieh, the Persian physician and philosopher, who was roaming in the quest of the tree whose fruit would enable a man to attain immortality, at last arrived in India and found the same tree which was knowledge. Therefore we who are living in the age of knowledge must nourish that tree which is our inheritance. At this time when modern science has brought within our easy reach all resources, it is shameful if we do not eat the fruits of this plant offering immortality.

INDIA AND HER NEIGHBOURS

By

T. K. VENKATRAMAN, M.A., L.T.

Professor of History, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras

With the rise of India as a Sovereign Power the countries surrounding our territories acquire a special political significance. Prof. Venkataraman traces the historical connection and what part the Britishers have played in guiding our political relations with the neighbouring lands, e.g., Afghanistan, Tibet, Nepal, Burma and Ceylon. A learned book for the students of Political History and Diplomatic Services.

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CHRONICLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

INDIA, BRITAIN

- 2 April 1947** A general conference of Princes and Ministers in Bombay adopted a resolution ratifying the agreement reached between the Negotiating Committees of the Princes Chamber and the Constituent Assembly giving freedom to individual States to go into the Constituent Assembly 'at any time judged appropriate by the States concerned.'
- 4 April 1947** The U. S. Acting Secretary of State announced that Dr. Henry F. Grady had been appointed U. S. Ambassador to India.
- 8 April 1947** The Central Assembly adopted a resolution to delink the Rupee from the Sterling and securing for the Rupee an international status of its own. The delinking is achieved by amending the Reserve Bank of India Act by deleting Sections 40 and 41 which limit the Bank's transactions to Sterling and substituting a Section authorising the Bank to deal in all foreign currencies.
- 13 April 1947** It was announced that the Government of India and the U. S. S. R. had decided to exchange diplomatic missions at Embassy levels.
- 15 April 1947** Dr. Dalton, the Chancellor of the Exchequer presented the budget. Raising of the earned income relief from 1/8 to 1/6 and lifting the maximum from £150 to £250 and the increase of tax free allowance of a child from £50 to £60 are important features. The deficit in the year just passed was £569 million which was £167 million less than the estimate. The total revenue from all sources was £180 million more than the estimate while the expenditure was £23 million more than the same.
- 17 April 1947** It was announced that the Government of India and the Netherlands Government had decided to exchange diplomatic representatives on Embassy level.
- 17 April 1943** The Secretary of State for India, Lord Perthick-Lawrence, resigned. Lord Listowel has succeeded him as the Secretary of State for India.
- 18 April 1943** Addressing the All-India States People's Conference which opened in Gwalior, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru stated that any Indian State which did not come into the Constituent Assembly now would be treated as a hostile State by the country.
- 18 April 1943** The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference opened in Madras under the presidentship of Mr. Devadas Gandhi who stressed the responsibility of the Press in India in the period of transition through which the country was passing.
- 28 April 1943** Eight Indian States entered the Constituent Assembly when it reassembled for its third preliminary Session.
- 30 April 1943** The Constituent Assembly decided to set up two committees, one to report on the principles of the Union Constitution and the other on a model provincial Constitution. The Assembly unanimously approved the clause that the Indian Union should not confer any titles.
- 30 April 1943** An announcement by H. M. G. that they had accepted the obligation to see that the members of the Secretary of State's services would be duly compensated for the termination of their careers consequent on the transfer of power, was made in both the Houses of the Parliament.
- 2 May 1947** The Constituent Assembly adjourned *sine die* after considering the Sub-Committee's Report on Fundamental Rights.

- The suggestion of the President, Babu Rajendra Prasad, that the Constitution be written in Hindustani and English was accepted by the Assembly.
- 8 May 1947** Mr. A. M. L. Winkelman was appointed Charge d'Affaires of the Netherlands Embassy in New Delhi pending the appointment of an Ambassador.
- 8 May 1947** A provisional trade agreement between U. K. and Poland for 3 years was concluded providing for the purchase of wool, rubber, tin and raw materials by Poland to the extent of £20 million and machinery and capital goods worth £15 million.
- 12 May 1947** Mr. Attlee in reply to a question in the House of Commons had stated that Mr. Hugh Dalton's statement on May 6 that mass war debts owned by Britain must be substantially scaled down represented British Government's policy.
- 15 May 1947** H. M. G. invited Viceroy to have final discussions before the announcement was made on June 2.
- 16 May 1947** The Indian Pay Commission Report was published.
- 16 May 1947** Mr. Bevin, in his speech winding up the debate on Foreign Affairs in the House of Commons, said that it had been agreed to resume the four-power trusteeship in Korea on 20 May to establish a Provisional Government. Regarding the Egyptian-Sudan issue he observed that they could not go any further in the matter and as to withdrawal of British troops he said: 'Now that the proposal for our withdrawal has been refused by Egypt, we stand on the 1936 Treaty.'
- 16 May 1947** The Indian Government Representative in Malaya, Mr. S. K. Chettur, was formally accredited as India's representative to the Government of Hongkong, British North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei,
- 16 May 1947** China's first Ambassador to India, Dr. Lo Chia Luen presented his credentials to Lord Louis Mountbatten.
- 17 May 1947** The Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, left for London to discuss with the Cabinet the Indian situation. He was accompanied by Mr. V. P. Menon, the Reforms Commissioner.
- 22 May 1947** Mr. Albert Hupperts, the Belgian Consul-General in Calcutta, was appointed Belgian Ambassador for India.
- 23 May 1947** India was elected a member of the Executive body of the World Civil Aviation Council.
- 29 May 1947** India had put in a claim for 18 per cent of the total number of items which might be available as reparations from Japan as her share.
- 30 May 1947** The correspondence initiated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with Field Marshal Smuts on Indo-South African Relations in terms of U. N. resolution is published today. While Pandit Nehru expressed the readiness of Indian Government to open negotiations to implement the U. N. Resolution, Field Marshal Smuts, in reply, insisted that Government of India should send back their High Commissioner 'who would be the natural and obvious medium for exchange of such a purpose.'
- 30 May 1947** As from 1 June, the Indian Commonwealth Relations Department and the External Affairs Department will be amalgamated into one Department designated Department of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations.
- 30 May 1947** The British Air Delegation led by G. Warcup, which toured India since its arrival on February 10, to study and plan a survey of new air routes for extension purposes and for finding new sites for aerodromes, left for London. The Delegation, which includes Cohens and B. E. Chap-

man, will submit its Report to the British Ministry.

31 May 1947 A bilateral Air Transport Agreement between the Government of India and Netherlands was signed.

2 June 1947 The resignation of the Nawab of Bhopal as the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes was accepted.

3 June 1947 H. M. G's proposals for transfer of power were announced. The proposals provide for two Constituent Assemblies, partition of the Punjab and Bengal, referendum in the N. W. F. Province and Sylhet District in Assam, and power to the Governor-General to initiate negotiations regarding administrative consequences of partition. Pandit Nehru commending acceptance of the proposals by the people observed that they promise a 'big advance towards complete independence.' Mr. Jinnah while reacting favourably towards the Plan reserved the final decision to the Council of the Muslim League. Sardar Baldev Singh also broadcast the acceptance of the Plan by the Sikhs on the lines of the Congress. Mr. Attlee while announcing the Plan in the House of Commons observed that there was nothing in the Plan 'to preclude negotiations between the Communities for a United India.' Regarding States, the Cabinet Mission Plan stands.

5 June 1947 A Cabinet Sub-committee consisting of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and Sardar Baldev Singh has been appointed by the Viceroy to consider the problems connected with partition.

A Board of Research in Atomic Energy has been set up under the Chairmanship of Prof. Bhabha.

9 June 1947 The Muslim League Council has accepted the Mountbatten Plan 'as a compromise.'

10 June 1947 The procedure to be

followed in regard to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab was announced by the Governor-General. The Governors of the Provinces are to summon provincial legislatures in two groups and if any member wants a joint meeting, then a joint meeting of the groups will be held and subsequently meet again in groups to take decisions referred to in paras 6 and 8 of June 3 statement.

12 June 1947 A joint conference of the Sikhs (Panth Assembly Party, Working Committees of Shromani Akali Dal and the Pratinidhi Panthic Board) accepted the H.M.G's. plan of June 3 for the partition of the Punjab with the reservation that they would countenance no move to split the community.

The Government of India and the Nepalese Government have decided to exchange diplomatic representatives at Ambassadorial level.

15 June 1947 The A. I. C. C. ratified the resolution of the Working Committee accepting the June 3 plan by 153 votes against 29. It also passed a resolution repudiating the right of States to declare independence and live in isolation from the rest of India.

16 June 1947 A Special Cabinet Committee consisting of the Viceroy, Sardar Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Liaquat Ali Khan, Abdur Rab Nishtar was set up to conduct and coordinate detailed investigations on the problems arising from the administrative consequences of partition. As soon as the decisions of the Provinces indicate that there will be partition, it will be replaced by a Partition Council which will represent the interests of the two future Governments.

20 June 1947 The members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly from the non-Muslim majority areas voted for partition of Bengal in

terms of June 3 statement.

- 24 **June 1947** The Egyptian Trade Delegation arrived in Calcutta. One of the main objects of the delegation is to expedite the export of jute and jute goods which Egypt urgently requires.
- 26 **June 1947** India celebrated the Second anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Charter by arranging meetings and lectures to explain the significance of the Charter.
- 30 **June 1947** The personnel and terms of reference of the Boundary

Commission for the Punjab and Bengal were announced by the Governor-General. Both the Commissions were composed of High Court Judges with a common chairman who would act as a co-ordinating link. Regarding the terms of reference of the commission while the chief basis for determining the new boundaries would be the principle of contiguous Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas, the commissions have been specifically instructed to take other factors into account.

SOUTH EAST ASIA

- 4 **April 1947** It was announced in Rangoon that an air agreement allowing the Pan-American and the Trans-world Airways to co-operate in Burma had been concluded between the U. S. and Burma.
- 9 **April 1947** Polling took place for the Constituent Assembly elections in Burma.
- 2 **May 1947** Sumatra has been made an autonomous province of the Indonesian Republic under a decree of the Republican Government.
- 2 **May 1947** The Government of Burma announced the appointment of a National Planning Board under the Chairmanship of Abdul Razak, the Minister for Planning, to 'prepare an integrated development plan for Burma.'
- 4 **May 1947** The independence of a new State in West Java to be called 'Negara Pasundan' was proclaimed by the Sundanese Peoples Party at Bandoeng with a view to sever this part from the new Indonesian Republic and making it an independent State in a federative union under Netherlands Crown.
- 9 **May 1947** The Prime Minister of Siam, Mr. Thamrong Nawasawat, revealed that the Kandy Military Agreement of 1946 with Britain had been abrogated and that only two clauses of Singapore agreement relating to enemy property and war criminals would continue to operate.
- 11 **May 1947** The Indonesian Republic rejected the Dutch proposals for 'joint regulation of trade, foreign exchange and customs.'
- 17 **May 1947** The Dutch-Indonesian talks on economic proposals were resumed.
- 20 **May 1947** According to the draft Constitution submitted by U. Aung San to the A.-F. P. F. L. party convention, Burma is to be proclaimed an Independent Sovereign Republic. The proposed 'Union of Burma' will comprise 'Union States,' 'Autonomous States' and 'National Arcas.' The draft also envisages 'an economic system not wholly Socialist but almost so.'
- 21 **May 1947** The Anglo-Burmese Financial Agreement was announced. The British Government agreed to contribute £ 12 million towards the deficit in Burma's budget for 1946-47, and advance £ 18,375,000 towards current fiscal year's expenditure on rehabilitation projects.
- 26 **May 1947** The French demand for 'virtually unconditional surrender' in reply to Viet Nam proposals for truce has been rejected by Dr. Ho Chi Minh.
- 27 **May 1947** The Dutch proposals conveyed today to Sultan Sharir, the Indonesian Premier, provide for

a Federal Interim Government in Java and cover Federal foreign service and military and economic aspects. The Council to deal with foreign affairs is to consist of the Head of the Far Eastern Section of Netherlands Foreign affairs, two representatives of the Indonesian Republic, a representative of East Indonesia and one of Borneo. A number of diplomatic posts are to be created. A joint Defence Council for military affairs is to be established.

27 **May 1947** U Ba Win and U Ba Gyan were sworn in as members of the Burma Executive Council in place of U Ba Pe and Sir Maung Gyi who resigned.

2 **June 1947** The new Siamese Cabinet of Dhamrong Nawasawat took office.

4 **June 1947** A five year plan for peacetime defence estimated to cost £ 250 million was announced by the Australian Minister of Defence in the House of Representatives.

7 **June 1947** Dr. Sultan Sharir declared that the Indonesian Cabinet had accepted the principle of the Netherlands Government's proposal for the establishment of an Interim Indonesian National Government.

10 **June 1947** The Burma Constituent Assembly met.

14 **June 1947** The Burma Government promulgated an Emergency Immigration Act prohibiting the entry of non-Burmans excepting British subjects domiciled in U.K. without a passport fully visaced

by the Government or permit issued by the Controller of Immigration.

17 **June 1947** The Burma Constituent Assembly unanimously adopted the 'Independence resolution' which envisages an 'independent sovereign republic to be known as Union of Burma.'

23 **June 1947** The Netherlands Government released the text of an Aide Memoire appealing for the acceptance of the Dutch ultimatum of May 27. The appeal asked for the immediate establishment of a Federal Council so that a joint Dutch-Indonesian authority could solve the 'pressing economic and financial problems.' Dr. Sharir, while accepting the proposal for the establishment of an Interim Government demanded that it itself must work and define the tasks of the proposed Federal agencies including the setting up of a joint police force.

27 **June 1947** President Sockarno of Indonesia accepted the main lines of the Dutch proposals of 27 May for the formation of a Federal Interim Government for the whole of the former Netherlands East Indies.

He assumed responsibility for Government owing to Dr. Shariar's resignation during the day consequent on the rejection by his own Socialist and other main political parties of the concessions he made earlier in the week to the Dutch in the hope of solving the deadlock over the country's future.

FAR EAST

2 **April 1947** The Central Committee of Kuomintang passed a resolution recalling General Chenyi, Governor of Formosa, following the uprising in March and the executions of Formosans.

3 **April 1947** The U. S. State Department announced that they had directed General MacArthur to make immediately available 30

per cent of all Japanese industrial equipment which could be removed as reparations to China, the Philippines, the Netherlands Indies, Burma, Malaya and British colonial possessions in the Far East.

7 **April 1947** The Chinese Defence Minister announced a 'new deal' for Formosa which

- includes the status of a province but with a larger number of provincial Councillors than in the mainland provinces, all deputy departmental and bureau chiefs being Formosans.
- 7 April 1947** Marshall-Molotov letters on China were published by the Tass Agency. In the course of a reply to Marshall, Molotov had stated that the presence of foreign troops in China could only fan the civil war. After recalling the complete evacuation of Soviet forces from Manchuria even by the middle of last year, Molotov declared that continued presence of American troops in China was a violation of the Three-Power Moscow Agreement of 1945 on China.
- 9 April 1947** The Chinese Foreign Office declared that China had considered it imperative that the U. S. should immediately carry out their decision on advance withdrawal of reparations material from Japan before the final peace settlement.
- 16 April 1947** General Chang Chun, Governor of Szechuan Province, was designated the new Premier of China by the major parties and Independents after the signing of a 12-point agreement providing for reorganization of the Government.
- 17 April 1947** Dr. Sun Fo, son of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, Founder of the Chinese Republic, was appointed vice-President of China. Dr. Sun Fo will retain his office as head of the Legislative Yuan.
- 20 May 1947** Shigeru Yoshida, the Conservative Premier of Japan formally submitted the resignation of his Cabinet to Emperor Hirohito.
- 21 May 1947** The Joint Soviet-United States Commission on Korea met again to discuss the formation of a Provisional Government for Korea.
- 23 May 1947** Tetsu Katayama, leader of the Social Democrat Party of Japan, was elected Prime Minister by the Japanese Parliament.
- 7 June 1947** The National Government of China approved the division of Manchuria which comprises at present of three provinces into nine administrative provinces.
- 11 June 1947** The Japanese Government announced the economic programme designed to facilitate 'restoration of Japan to her normal position.' The plan provides for equitable distribution of foodstuffs, control of prices, establishment of wage standards a sound financial policy and procurement of raw materials for basic industries.
- 26 June 1947** The Philippines and France signed in Paris an Eternal treaty of friendship which provides for an exchange of diplomatic representatives, establishment of a Consular Convention in the near future and the drawing up of a commercial and navigation agreement between the two countries.
- 28 June 1947** The Nanking Government issued an order for the arrest of General Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party charging him with organising an illegal political party and instigating rebellion for the overthrow of China's constituted Government.
- 27 June 1947** The U. S. State Department announced U. S. decision to turn over to China one hundred thousand million pounds of surplus rifle munition for Gen. Chiang Kai-shek's troops.

THE NEAR EAST AND MIDDLE EAST

- 2 April 1947** The Turkish Premier announced that Turkey's alliance with Britain was 'as strong and sincere as it always was' and

that the direction of Turkish foreign policy was already towards that of the western Powers and that her policies were never directed against Soviet Russia.

17 April 1947 It was announced that the Arab League States had agreed to demand the end of Britain's Mandate over Palestine when the United Nations should begin discussion of the Palestine problem.

3 May 1947 A 10-year treaty between Iraq and Transjordan of friendship and alliance within the framework of the Arab League was concluded. It provides for co-operation in defence and in maintaining peace on their frontiers, for exchange of military missions and extradition of criminals and rebels.

18 May 1947 Nokrashy Pasha, the Egyptian Premier, in reply to Mr. Bevin's statement that unless a fresh treaty was signed the treaty of 1936 would be in force, demanded the immediate withdrawal of British troops and announced that Egypt would take her case to the United Nations 'to obtain a just settlement.'

22 May 1947 A Turkish-Iraq Treaty

was concluded. It provides for the non-interference in one another's internal affairs, and deals with the distribution of the waters of Euphrates and Tigris and other economic, educational and trade matters.

25 May 1947 The Egyptian Delegation to submit the Egyptian case to the U. N. Security Council would, it was announced, be led by Nokrashy Pasha, the Egyptian Premier. The other members of the Delegation were, Abdul Razzak Sanhury Pasha, Riaz Bey, Ahmad Ramzi Bey.

30 May 1947 Iran has asked for a loan of \$ 30,000,000 from U. S. in military credits to modernise her army and gendarmes. She also proposes to secure a loan of \$ 250 million from the International Bank liquidating commercial credits to finance a seven-year programme of internal development.

14 June 1947 The Arab Higher Committee decided to boycott the U. N. Palestine Enquiry Commission.

21 June 1947 A new Iranian Cabinet was formed by M. Ghavam Sultanch.

DOMINIONS AND COLONIES

2 April 1947 Under the new Constitutional changes in Fiji, the veto power of the Governor on the resolutions of the Legislative Council was removed; extension of franchise, equal voters' qualifications between Indians and Europeans are other important features.

4 April 1947 It was stated that the Kenya Governor had proposed to the Colonial Secretary that the present number of African seats in the Kenya Legislative Council be increased to four to create an 'unofficial majority' in the legislature. The European and Indian representation would remain unchanged. Under the proposals there would be 22 non-official members in the new legislature

of whom there would be 5 Indians, 2 Arabs, 11 Europeans and 4 Africans while the official members would number 15.

7 April 1947 H. M. the King opened the Rhodesian Parliament.

6 May 1947 Field Marshal Smuts refused to introduce legislation to prevent Indian 'penetration' into the Cape province and the motion brought forward by the Nationalist Party was rejected by 67 votes to 47.

28 May 1947 A White Paper was issued today by the British Government suggesting a Federation of West Indies of the British Colonies of Barbadoes, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Trinidad, Windward Island, British Guiana and British

Honduras.

18 June 1947 The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Creech Jones, announced in the House of Commons the intention of HMG to negotiate agreements with the Ceylon Government under the new Cons-

titution which will be constituted in October on a number of subjects, and thereafter take immediate steps to amend the Constitution so as to confer upon Ceylon a fully responsible status within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

AMERICA

8 April 1947 The U. S. Secretary of State wrote to Molotov requesting him to agree to resumption of meetings of the joint Russo-American Commission in Korea so that the re-establishment of a Provisional Korean Government might be speeded.

10 April 1947 The Foreign Liquidation Commission announced in Washington that air right agreements, involving disposal of surplus U. S. property overseas, had been concluded with 15 countries including India. As a result of the agreements, U. S. air lines will be able to fly on almost all the routes which they are authorised to operate, using the navigational aids, airfields and facilities which were turned over to various Governments.

11 April 1947 Mr. Henry A. Wallace made a stirring appeal in London for ending the two world policy pursued by the United States which, by offering loans to feudal régimes to fight Communism, was leading the world to another war.

18 April 1947 The U. S. Secretary of State announced that U. S. was 'continually at work on the details of the Japanese Peace treaty.'

22 May 1947 President Truman signed the 400 million dollar Greek and Turkish Aid Bill as 'an important step in the building of peace.'

25 May 1947 United States and Nepal signed a pact of friendship and commerce.

26 May 1947 President Truman urged the Congress to enact legislation providing for hemispheric defence plan which involves a

programme of full military co-operation of U. S. A. with Latin America. For the first time the inclusion of Canada in this plan is also suggested.

31 May 1947 President Truman has signed a \$ 350 million bill passed by the Congress for relief of the war-devastated countries in Europe and Asia.

2 June 1947 The U. S. Secretary of State, George Marshall, ordered the cancellation of the unused half of the 30 million dollar credit to Hungary where a pro-Communist régime is just established.

11 June 1947 President Truman on his first State visit to Canada stressed in an address to the Joint Session of Canadian legislature the need for U. S.-Canadian co-operation on peace policy directed towards a peaceful world, world recovery and assisting those who seek to promote these ideals.

20 June 1947 The House of Representatives decided to override the veto of President Truman on the Republican-sponsored anti-labour Bill. Earlier in the week the President's veto on the cut in the U. S. domestic taxes was sustained by the House.

The U. S.-Greece Agreement providing for U. S. aid 'to avert economic crisis, promote national recovery and restore internal tranquillity' in Greece was signed. The agreement also provides for an American Mission in Athens to determine the terms and conditions of assistance from time to time.

The U. S. granted 25 million dollar loan to Iran for the purchase of American surplus property for the Iranian Army.

EUROPE

- 1 April 1947** King George II of the Hellenes passed away. Crown Prince Paul was proclaimed King of the Hellenes to succeed King George II.
- 7 April 1947** Criticizing the new French Constitution and the present political parties, especially the Communists, de Gaulle declared his intention at a meeting at Otrabourg to promote a new political group to save France from the internal political and economic crisis.
- 11 April 1947** The Finnish Coalition Cabinet resigned after the Social Democrat and Agrarian Parties had expressed lack of confidence in the Premier, M. Mauno Pekkala, leader of the extreme Left-wing People's Democratic Party, for not agreeing to promise a firmer policy against inflation and include an extra Social Democrat minister in the Cabinet.
- 16 April 1947** M. Sakari Tuomioja, Director of the Bank of Finland, and a member of Liberal Party accepted the invitation of President Parsikivi to form a Government.
- 20 April 1947** King Christian of Denmark died.
- 20 April 1947** Elections held in all the three German provinces of British occupation zone recorded a swing to the Left consisting of the Social Democrats and the Communists.
- 4 May 1947** The French Premier won a vote of confidence on the wage and price fixing policy and the Cabinet decided to ask the President to replace the Communist Ministers of the Cabinet since they voted against the Government in the National Assembly.
- 4 May 1947** A second post-war development State loan of 20 billion roubles for the development and reconstruction of Soviet national economy was announced repayable during the next twenty years.
- 7 May 1947** The Italian Government sent a letter to the Secretary-General of the U. N. O. seeking admission as a member State.
- 13 May 1947** Dr. Schacht, Hitler's 'financial wizard,' was sentenced to 8 years in a labour camp' by the German De-Nazification Court.
- 13 May 1947** Signor Alcide de Gasperi, the Italian Prime Minister, tendered the resignation of his Cabinet to the President consequent on the accusation of the Premier by the Parliamentary Socialist Group as being responsible for fomenting a crisis.
- 26 May 1947** The Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. issued a decree abolishing death sentence during peacetime, the sentence in place of capital punishment being 25 years hard labour.
- 30 May 1947** The Hungarian Premier, Ference Nagy, leader of the Smallholders' Party, resigned consequent on the Soviet charge of an anti-democratic plot against him. A new Cabinet was formed by Gen. Dinnycs, a former Minister of War.
- 2 June 1947** The Anglo-American Agreement, regarding the two German zones, gives the greatest measure of self-administration. It provides for an Economic Council of 54 members, chosen by the Provincial Governments, to deal with production, allocation and distribution of goods and raw materials and foodstuffs and foreign and internal trade.
- 23 June 1947** A White paper issued by the Hungarian Government on recent ministerial crisis alleges that Britain and the USA offered funds and material help to the ex-Premier M. Ference Nagy and his party to carry on anti-Soviet activities in the country.
- 25 June 1947** The Italian President Signor Eurico de Nicola resigned presidentship because of ill health.
- 27 June 1947** The 'Big Three' For-

sign Ministers of Russia, Britain and France held their first con-

ference on the Marshall plan for economic aid to Europe.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

- 2 April 1947** The Security Council unanimously approved the U. S. trusteeship agreement over the former Japanese mandated islands in the Pacific. The entrusted area is defined as a military and strategic area under the jurisdiction of the Security Council.
- 2 April 1947** The Asian Relations Conference at New Delhi concluded its session.
- 24 April 1947** The seven-week old Foreign Ministers parleys at Moscow ended. The Ministers failed to reach an agreement on major issues relating to German and Austrian peace treaties. They, however, decided to set up a special Austrian Commission to meet in Vienna on 1 May to examine all outstanding disagreements to the Austrian Treaty.
- 28 April 1947** U. N. Assembly opened to discuss the Palestine problem.
- 15 May 1947** The U. N. Assembly approved the appointment of a special neutral fact-finding commission of 11 small nations to enquire into the Palestine problem.
- 20 May 1947** The Far Eastern Commission has agreed to the distribution of reparations from Japan on the basis of the damage suffered by each during the war and the contribution which each made to the defeat of Japan.
- 23 May 1947** The 11-Nation Balkan Investigation Commission recommended to the U. N. Security Council that any support of armed bands violating Balkan frontiers should be considered a threat to peace within the meaning of the U. N. Charter.
- 6 June 1947** The 'Big Five' Committee of U. N. Commission on Conventional Armaments failing to agree on the programme of work for decreasing world rearmament, submitted a divided report to the 11 Nation Commission.
- 16 June 1947** The U. N. Enquiry Committee on Palestine started its work at Jerusalem. The Arabs staged a strike to emphasise their boycott of this investigation.

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THE TASK BEFORE THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

By P. S. LOKANATHAN

THE year 1947 has already made history. It would be difficult to exaggerate the significance to Asia and indeed the rest of the world, of the emergence of independent India and Pakistan. India held the key to Asian independence, and with her freedom the freedom of the rest of Asia is assured. Only next in importance for the future well-being of Asian countries have been the convening at New Delhi in March 1947 of the Asian Relations Conference under the inspiring leadership of Pandit Nehru, resulting in the establishment of a permanent Asian Relations Organization, and the setting up, also in March 1947, by the United Nations Economic and Social Council of an Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, with temporary headquarters at Shanghai. Both these events are epoch-making, and carry promise of a fruitful era of economic co-operation among the nations of Asia, lifting the peoples from their present morass of poverty, low standards of living and insecurity of livelihood. It is significant of the new urge and consciousness of the needs of Asia, that almost simultaneously two organizations should have emerged independent of each other, but obviously with similar aims and objectives and with possibilities of influencing each other. The Asian Relations Organization is an unofficial one which represents the ambitions and efforts of the peoples of Asia in their individual and national capacities to get together, know themselves and understand their problems and difficulties. The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, (ECAFE for short), is an inter-governmental organization set up by the UNO, composed of governments of the countries embraced within the geographical area of the Commission, and is concerned with problems of rehabilitation and reconstruction. It is somewhat more limited in scope, being concerned with the mere economic problems of the countries and, not, as the Asian Relations Organization, with the wider cultural, social and other aspects. But being governmental in character, the policies and recommendations approved by the Commission stand perhaps a better chance of implementation by the individual member countries, provided, of course, those recommendations meet with approval. It is not possible to forecast the relationship between the Asian Relations Organization (ARO) and the ECAFE, but I have no doubt that the expert, impartial and objective studies of the ARO in its fields, unhampered by governmental inhibitions and limitations, are bound to influence the work and activities of the ECAFE. It is possible that in the not distant future, the representatives of the ECAFE and ARO may participate in the meetings and conferences of the two bodies as observers, and benefit from mutual exchange of ideas and information in the fields of activity in which each may be interested.

II

Few in this country seem to be aware of the origin, the scope and purpose of the ECAFE. One of the earliest acts of the United Nations was to set up in June 1946 a temporary sub-commission to study the needs of the war-devastated countries, especially as UNRRA had been designed purely as a temporary institution. The sub-commission divided itself into two working groups one for Europe and another for Asia and submitted a preliminary report which recommended for Europe the setting up of an Economic Commission and for Asia further study. The Working Group for Asia continued its study, and in its report, presented to the Economic and Social Council early in March, came to a similar conclusion, emphasizing the need for another Commission for Asia and the Far East. On 28 March 1947 the Council approved the recommendation and decided to set up this commission known as the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. The view has sometimes been expressed that the economic problems of the world are a whole, and cannot be isolated and broken into regional divisions and that their treatment should be on international, not on regional, lines. It is also pointed out that by separating the problems of Asia and Europe, there is the danger of emphasizing differences and of evolving patterns of policy and development that may not harmonize with each other. Such fears are groundless. Regional studies and solutions are not necessarily in isolation from or in opposition to international studies and policies. They can be perfectly consistent with each other, and also effectively coordinated. There are further special reasons why the economic problems of Asia and the Far East deserve separate treatment and the setting up of a separate commission. In the first place, there is a comparative lack of basic data in Asia. For ages, Asia has been kept in isolation from the world, and from itself. Secondly, Asian problems are not only different from those of the West, but have a broad similarity of their own and present certain common features. Thirdly, the task before post-war Asia is different from that of post-war Europe. Europe (the West in general) by and large possesses already a well developed economy and has evolved skills and techniques sufficient to provide for its population a fair and steadily rising standard of living. The war has battered this economy and the task today is to restore the war-torn and damaged economy, and to reconstruct its agriculture and industry. Very different is the situation confronting Asia. Here the peoples are still (subject to exceptions here and there) in a primitive economic condition; their production methods are mediaeval; they have not developed technology or modern methods of production and organization. They have been living for ages in conditions of gross poverty and low standards of living. Hence the restoration of pre-war standards which is the immediate task in European countries would have no meaning to the peoples of Asia, where the problem is concerned with more fundamental conditions. Finally, one half of the world's population have been left in the past in ignorance, neglected and oppressed. The United Nations are now pledged, with a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being, based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, to promote higher standards.

of living and conditions of economic and social progress and well-being. It is true that there are a number of international agencies and subsidiary bodies which, if functioning properly, could facilitate and accelerate economic reconstruction in Asia. But none of them is concerned with the short-term problems of reconstruction. Furthermore, the scope of their functions is specialized in character. The task of reconstruction in Asia is so vast and complex that, to quote the Report of the Working Group, 'it seems to us imperative to have a special organization which could see the problem as a whole, bring together into a common focus the efforts of functional organizations and coordinate both the needs of countries concerned and the measures of assistance which the United Nations can afford.' The danger of any such organization thinking and acting in isolation or exclusiveness has been completely safeguarded against by the general policy of informing all the organs and subsidiary bodies of the United Nations and of regular mutual consultation and exchange of information.

Since the Commission was established in March 1947, it has had its first meeting at Shanghai in June to deal with substantive matters of programmes and plans of action, and a sort of overflow meeting at Lake Success in New York, to consider certain special matters concerning membership of the Commission and terms of reference, which could not be finally settled when the Commission was set up. There is a certain dichotomy between membership of the Commission and the territories within the Commission's geographical scope, reflecting the present political dependency of some of these countries. When the Commission was first set up, the members of the Commission were India, China, the Philippines and Siam, which were also countries included within its geographical scope. But the other members of the Commission were U. K., U. S. A., France, Netherlands, and U. S. S. R., and Australia, who are there either because they are sovereign powers in the area or have substantial interests. It was, however, clear that without the close association and co-operation of the peoples of the territories concerned in the task of reconstruction and development, in which not only are they vitally interested but where obviously their wishes should prevail, the Commission would suffer a great deal in its work and be much the poorer. The territories falling within the scope of the Commission's activities are extensive and extend from the east of Iran to the entire western Asia. They are India, Burma, Ceylon, China, North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak, the Indo-Chinese Federation, Hongkong, the Malayan Union and Singapore, the Netherland Indies, Siam and the Philippine Republic. The Middle Eastern countries are outside the scope of the Commission but it is expected that at a not distant date, something will be done to set up a similar organization. Already the Council has appointed a committee to examine what should be done to promote the development of Latin American countries. The question was discussed at great length at the meeting at Lake Success in July as to the best method of associating the peoples of these countries not now responsible for their own international relations. India took a leading part in these discussions as well as in all matters concerning the Commission's work and

pleaded for full membership on the application of such territories. The U. S. S. R. pressed for an all-inclusive membership of all member countries of the United Nations in Asia and Far East, but with a dangerous logic, which in result is not helpful to the peoples for whom U. S. S. R. has the greatest sympathy, would admit only as consultants the non-member States of Asia and the Far East; the U. K. put forward the scheme of associate membership without voting rights, to be granted to the governments of territories not responsible for the conduct of their international relations; other countries proposed slightly varying schemes. In the end the Commission accepted the U. K. proposal, and it is worthy of record that at its recent meeting the Economic and Social Council, after approving the above, has also recommended that applications for such associate membership should be transmitted by the respective metropolitan powers. Associate members would participate as fully as possible in the work of the Commission, and would enjoy all the privileges of membership, short of the right to vote, and would be fully eligible to hold office in any committee and subordinate bodies with the right to vote therein. Those territories which are not members or associates have the right to be invited for consultation in all matters of particular concern to them. On the whole, the solution arrived at is as satisfactory as may be hoped for at the present time. At the meeting of the Commission, the metropolitan powers went on record accepting the principle of proposing for associate membership at an early date certain of the territories for which their governments were responsible. Burma and Ceylon would, of course, be shortly eligible for full membership.

III

In establishing the Commission, the Economic and Social Council had defined its general mandate to which subsequently considerable additions were made. The Commission is, of course, to work within the framework of the policies of the United Nations, and subject to the general supervision of the Council to which it should present periodical and annual reports. There is one provision to which attention should be drawn because that is basic. The Commission can take no action in respect of any country without the agreement of the government of that country. Its purpose and scope were outlined as follows: (1) to initiate and participate in measures for facilitating concerted action for the economic reconstruction of Asia and the Far East and for maintaining and strengthening the economic relations of these areas both among themselves and with other countries of the world; (2) to make or sponsor such investigations and studies of economic and technological problems and developments within the territories of Asia and the Far East as the Commission deems appropriate and (3) to undertake or sponsor the collection, evaluation and dissemination of such economic, technological, and statistical information as the Commission deems appropriate. Further having previously taken note of the information already available to it the Council requested the Commission more specifically 'to undertake the collection of further information relating to economic reconstruction and make such investi-

gations, including enquiries in the field, as it may consider necessary and to submit a report on the result of those investigations to the next or subsequent session of the Council.'

These were more or less the directive and terms of reference given to the Commission in the first instance, but as the Council felt that these terms needed further elaboration it requested the Commission to recommend changes in or additions to the above. The Commission for Europe had wider powers and broader terms of reference assigned to it. It had the power for example of establishing subsidiary bodies for special purposes, of making recommendations directly to member governments and specialized agencies, and of establishing contacts and holding consultations with the Allied control authorities in Germany and other ex-enemy countries in Europe. Although the work of the Far Eastern Commission is not identical with that of the European Commission, there is little doubt that if the work is to be equally effective similar powers should be granted. At the meeting at Lake Success in July the Commission examined the question and unanimously adopted the following additions to its terms of reference, which have since been approved by the Council. The ECAFE is empowered to make recommendations within its competence to the governments of members or associate members concerned, governments admitted in a consultative capacity, and the specialized agencies concerned. It has the right to establish subsidiary bodies like a transport council, or a power board or food board or anything like that, and finally it has the right to consult and be consulted by representatives of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Japan and control authorities in Korea, in respect of matters concerning the economies of Japan and Korea in relation to the rest of the Asian and Far Eastern economy.

Widened and expanded as the terms of reference have since become, it is clear nevertheless that the functions of the ECAFE are mainly in the sphere of study, and investigation, and its decisions can only be recommendatory, advisory, and consultative. It is not an executive body having any operational activities like the UNRRA or the Fund and Bank. It cannot provide itself with resources for Asian reconstruction. In this its position is poorer than that of the FAO or the ITO when it comes to be set up. In this regard its counterpart in Europe the ECE is more fortunately placed, having certain operational functions to perform. The ECE has taken over certain functional bodies already existing, like the Transport Board and the Coal Board and is, therefore, unlike the ECAFE, both a recommendatory and operating body. But despite the limitations under which ECAFE would function, I for one am convinced that its utility is not any the less important or great and that its potentialities are as vast as one may hope for. Let me set down what I consider to be the most valuable features of its scope and activities.

In the first place, we shall have in Asia an organ of the U. N. responsible for continuous study of the reconstruction problems of Asia, bringing into focus and in very specific terms the needs of these regions. A thorough analysis of the needs is half way to solution.

Secondly, I attach the very greatest importance to regional co-operation and

handling problems regionally. In the sphere of food production and distribution, in transport, irrigation, post-war development and in the planning of industrialization there is vast scope for regional co-operation. Apart from the exchange of information relating to reconstruction and developmental plans, it may be possible to enter into regional arrangements for the provision and supply of common needs. To take one outstanding example, in the sphere of technical training it is conceivable that well equipped high grade post-graduate training institutions may be set up jointly by two or three countries to serve the needs of those countries. Similarly, a power scheme or irrigation scheme that can confer benefits on more than one region can be planned and operated on a wider regional basis. Again, as long as supply is short, regional allocation on a voluntary basis could be arranged and a common programme for import and distribution outlined. It may also be possible to avoid duplication of effort, if economic development is linked up not only with a particular country's resources but with the resources of a region. Indeed, it would not be an exaggeration to say that there is an unlimited field for economic co-operation among the countries of Asia and the Far East, and it is not operational activity so much as knowledge, understanding, and analysis that are essential.

Thirdly, the Commission would become a storehouse and clearing centre of information and particularly of economic and social statistical data. At present Asia is a statistical vacuum. Luckily, the various specialized agencies have recently been at work to fill in the gaps as much as they could. The FAO has already a considerable measure of achievement to its credit and will shortly set up a regional centre in Asia capable of gathering data regarding food, agricultural and industrial raw materials. The World Health Organization is also collecting information regarding vital statistics and related problems of health and nutrition. The regional conference of the I. L. O. to be held in New Delhi this autumn will add considerably to our knowledge of Asian labour matters. The Bank and the Fund have already agreed to work in collaboration with the Commission for the collection of economic and financial data in China, the Philippines and in the other countries of the Far East. It would be the aim and policy of the Commission to gather by its own initiative as much of information as possible, and to bring together and coordinate all available data coming from various sources. The emergence of Asia as a power house of knowledge would in my judgement be one of the most glorious achievements of the United Nations and its subsidiary agencies, and in so far as the ECAFE could contribute to this end, it would have fulfilled one of its essential purposes.

Lastly, while the Economic Commission cannot by itself provide any aid, technical or financial, and must leave this to be furnished by other agencies, there is every hope that its recommendations based on a careful analysis of conditions and factors will lead to concrete action on the part of governments of the territories concerned, both individually and cooperatively, as well as on the part of other international specialized agencies. For example, whether a particular development project could be financed or not would be for the

International Bank to decide, but the Bank will certainly be grateful to and will be influenced by the considered judgement of the Commission of which countries other than those within the area of the Commission are also members. The United States in particular has repeatedly expressed its genuine desire and anxiety for the promotion of the well-being of the under-developed countries of Asia and the Far East. It has not come forward with a Marshall plan for Asia, but if the Commission can work out a carefully conceived and concerted plan of development for countries in Asia and Far East, it is bound to receive sympathetic consideration and treatment. Again, it is open to the Commission to recommend the establishment of special operational or executive agencies for specific purposes and if approved by the Economic and Social Council, they could be set up. These Agencies will be serviced normally by their own staff but will be under the general supervision of the ECAFE or under separate management on which the ECAFE will be represented. Thus without being unduly sanguine, I have no doubt in my own mind that the ECAFE can become an instrument of great good for Asia. Its future depends not so much upon the terms of reference within which it has to operate as upon the manner in which it fulfils the high destiny which it has been its privilege to be assigned to.

IV

The ECAFE is conceived as a temporary institution for the present. In 1951 the Council will review its work and achievement and the further needs to be met and then a decision as to its continuance, its scope and functions will be reached. It is not my business nor does it fall within my purview to anticipate events. But thinking about it as a student of world affairs, it is almost certain that in some form or other it is bound to continue, as by the time the review is due the work of reconstruction would have given way to the more fundamental problems of development. The raising of the standard of living of one thousand millions of the world's population, who are on such low margins of subsistence, is not a matter of three to four years. Many more years will be required, and whether the Economic Commission will be asked to continue its energies in this more important field, will largely depend upon its performance in the next two or three years. The question therefore is: will the Commission be able to face the judgement of the world and to give a creditable account of itself?

The answer lies partly with the members of the Commission and partly with the Secretariat of the Commission. The Commission should avoid extremes. It should not be unduly timid nor seek to interpret its work too rigidly and narrowly as merely consisting in getting for these countries of Asia food, seed, fertilizers etc. Fortunately such a contingency is remote. Every one of the members composing the Commission has agreed that reconstruction in Asia has a different connotation from that in Europe and that the problem is how to graft on an ancient and somewhat primitive economy, the industrial and scientific technique of modern times. But there is another danger against which we should be on guard. Our enthusiasm should not be permitted to

run ahead of our capacity to achieve. If we set to ourselves tasks which are beyond the administrative and economic resources of the Commission and which cannot be completed within the very limited time at our disposal, we shall only be raising undue expectations, thus jeopardizing the fate of the Commission. On the whole, the Commission has struck a middle ground, and for the moment outlined a programme of enquiry and preparatory work which, given adequate research and other staff, should be capable of being performed reasonably efficiently. Perhaps, the Commission has not allowed itself sufficient time because its next meeting is to come off in November, by which time it is doubtful if the assignment given to the Secretariat could be completed. The recruitment and gathering of personnel for international bodies is of more than average difficulty. Located at Shanghai, where the regional headquarters of the United Nations has been established temporarily, the Economic Commission has to get together the necessary staff from various countries and principally from the countries of the Far East. This takes time. But political and other conditions are yet in a disturbed state in several parts of Eastern Asia. Communications are still unsatisfactory. Many countries are not in a position to answer all the questions which the Commission has sent out. The supply of administrative personnel in certain countries is so seriously short that nobody can be easily spared for answering the elaborate and ambitious questionnaire which the Commission or the Secretariat may send out. The process of investigation and collection of data is a much more arduous affair, requiring a great deal of patience and time.

For the moment the Commission's main concern is to know more fully than now, the exact amount of needs in various directions. The Secretariat has been asked to estimate the short-term requirements in respect of essential reconstruction needs such as food, seed, fertilizers, textiles, and raw materials, industrial, agricultural, mining and transport equipment; coal and other fuel; to ascertain the extent to which these requirements can be met from domestic sources, from within the region and from all other sources, and secondly, to suggest measures necessary to facilitate training in the economic field of administrative and technical personnel, and obtaining competent technicians from outside for the countries in need of them. In the light of the preliminary enquiries made by the Secretariat it has also been called upon to submit a report containing suggestions for the establishment of field teams for special studies, including suggestions regarding their character and functions. It will be seen from the above that the emphasis is on short-term requirements, to be followed by closer enquiries and investigations, and this is as it should be at the initial stages for during the next year or two the Commission's duty should be to ensure that the urgent needs of reconstruction are immediately met.

If political uncertainties and disturbances are removed, the task of the Commission would be easier. Economic factors are basic to the people's well-being; but unless they are allowed to operate in the framework of political stability and peace, no economic progress is possible. Peace is the essential requisite and conditions the economic well-being of the masses of the population all over the world. But given peace and the guarantee of peace, the

role of the Economic Commission in promoting the prosperity of the Asian peoples cannot be exaggerated. /

MILITARY TRAINING ABROAD

By AMARNATH JHA

IN view of the scheme for setting up the National War Academy in India, it will be of interest to study the syllabus and working of service institutions in other countries. In this article a brief survey of some of these institutes is attempted.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

United States Military Academy, West Point

In 1776, the Board of War agreed to the proposal of John Adams for the plan of a military academy: the intention was to form a Corps of Invalids whose duties would include the operation of 'a military school for young gentlemen.' General Knox's idea was that the training should be on the lines of the Royal Military College at Woolwich. In 1779 Hamilton suggested a plan for an academy consisting of four schools; for fundamentals; for engineers and artilleryists; for cavalry and infantry; and for the Navy. Washington said that the establishment of such an academy 'has ever been considered by me as an object of primary importance to the country.' President Jefferson decided, in 1801, on the immediate establishment of a military school at West Point, and on 16 March 1802 Congress passed an Act establishing the Military Academy. It was at the start only a small engineering school; there was no entrance examination and no age limit. In 1812, the Congress reorganized the Academy and enacted that it should consist of the corps of engineers, and professors of French, natural and experimental philosophy, of mathematics and of engineering in all its branches. It was enacted also that the cadets shall at no time exceed two hundred and fifty. The characteristic features of West Point training were determined by Thayer who was appointed Superintendent in 1817. The curriculum included mathematics, engineering, natural philosophy, drawing, and French. To these he added chemistry, general history, moral philosophy, law, geography, and ethics. He established a rule of recitation, 'every cadet, every day, in every subject.' He established, too, the Honour Code.

The Academy continued to progress, though naturally it had its periods of neglect and spasms of experiment. When in 1919 Brigadier General Douglas MacArthur became Superintendent, the War Department wished him to consider the desirability of reducing the period of training to three years. (It had been increased to five years in 1854, but had been restored to four in 1861). As a result of his recommendations the Act of 1921 stated that the course of instruction shall be four years. It was then too that the value of the honour system, established by Thayer, was re-emphasized. The Secretary of War writing to the Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the House of Representatives said: 'Men may be inexact, or even untruthful in ordinary

matters, and suffer as a consequence only the disesteem of their associates, or the inconveniences of unfavourable litigation, but the inexact or untruthful soldier trifles with the lives of his fellowmen, and the honour of his government; and it is, therefore, no matter of idle pride, but rather of stern disciplinary necessity that makes West Point require of her students a character for trustworthiness which knows no evasions.'

After the experience of the War of 1914-18, the Academic Board, which had to plan the curriculum, declared that 'the function of the Military Academy is to give, in addition to that character-building for which it has long been famous, and in addition to the necessary military and physical training, such a combination of basic general and technical education as will provide an adequate foundation for a cadet's subsequent professional career.' There has been a more recent and more detailed statement of the objectives of the Academy. According to the decision of the War Department in 1939:

The mission of the United States Military Academy is to produce officers of the Army having the qualities and attributes essential to their progressive and continuing development, throughout their careers as officers and leaders. The mission is accomplished by education and training directed toward the inculcation and development of the requisite moral, mental, physical, and professional qualifications and attributes upon which graduates may build as commissioned officers and readily acquire the technical and professional proficiency commensurate with their duties and responsibilities,

- 1—The development of character, high ideals and mentality with particular emphasis upon: high standards of honour and personal conduct; moral courage; loyalty; devotion to duty; inherent conformity to the will of authority; judgement; force; co-operation; acceptance of responsibility; clear, rapid, analytical thought, leading to logical conclusions; power of expression; application; self-reliance, initiative, and resourcefulness.
- 2—The development of physical qualities and attributes including, good health and sound physique; endurance and alertness; co-ordination; military bearing; ability to participate in and to conduct sports; high sense of sportsmanship.
- 3—Accomplishment of academic and professional fitness through:
 - (a) a balanced and liberal education in the arts and sciences, embracing knowledge of the social, economic and political history of mankind; basic principles and applications of the mathematical and physical sciences; knowledge and use of English and foreign languages, and appreciation of literature; fundamentals of law.
 - (b) a basic military education embracing military history; theory and application of military art; essentials of leadership; the principles of construction and operation of weapons and equipment; the powers and limitations of the various arms; the principles of organization, maintenance, training and utilization of military forces in peace and war.
 - (c) individual proficiency in soldierly conduct; dress and demeanour; customs of the service; ceremonies; military hygiene; elementary equitation and marksmanship; tactical employment of small units; ability to instruct.

An Act of Congress of 1937 authorized the Superintendent of the Academy

to confer the degree of Bachelor of Science upon all graduates of the Academy; this degree is recognized by the Association of American Universities.

West Point provides a high class professional as well as a good general education. The cadets are in academic subjects as well grounded as University undergraduates. Sir Alfred Zimmern said once: 'I have seldom, if ever, encountered a group of students better disciplined intellectually for the study of international politics.' The Academy Library is well-stocked; there are extensive playgrounds; the gymnasium is well equipped; the laboratories have the most up-to-date apparatus. Camp Popalopen provides a fine summer training area and is an essential part in the training programme. The cadets are a fine and efficient set of young men. Perhaps the discipline enforced is more strict and rigid than it need be. Most of the instructors, even of academic subjects, are officers of the U. S. Army, almost invariably former West Point graduates. But by and large, the Academy satisfies the condition stated in the Harvard report on *General Education in a Free Society* of the aim of education being to prepare an individual to become an expert both in some particular vocation or art and in the general art of the free man and the citizen. As that report says, two complementary forces are at the root of culture: on the one hand, an ideal of man and society distilled from the past but at the same time transcending the past as a standard of judgement valid in itself, and, on the other hand, the belief that no existent expressions of this ideal are final but that all alike call for perpetual scrutiny and change in the light of new knowledge.

The United States Naval Academy

The Naval Academy at Annapolis was established in 1845. The first entrance examination was conducted in October, 1845 when five candidates were reported as qualified in 'Reading, Orthography, and the elements of Geography, English Grammar, and Arithmetic.' The midshipmen were divided into sections in the departments of Mathematics and Navigation, French and English. In 1944-5 the course of instruction included Seamanship and Navigation (with special emphasis on the conduct of ships to any part of the world with safety and precision and the requirements of battle manoeuvres and formation); Ordnance and Gunnery (the fundamental principles and material of modern naval ordnance and fire control systems, supplemented by thorough training in the operation and control of ordnance material and systems); Marine Engineering (warship construction and damage control, representative naval installations); Mathematics (plane trigonometry, spherical trigonometry, differential calculus, integral calculus); Electrical Engineering; English, History, and Government; Foreign Languages—a sound general education together with basic training in professional subjects. The course is of four years. Instruction, drills, and exercises are designed to prepare students for the duties of a junior line officer of the Navy. Successful graduates of the Academy are commissioned as probationary ensigns in the Navy or as second lieutenants in the Marine Corps. The pay of a midshipman is 780 dollars a year commencing at the date of his admission, and is sufficient to meet all his expenses while

at the Naval Academy. Considerable importance is now attached to aviation training in the Academy curriculum. 'By instilling in every future naval officer a respect for and knowledge of aviation and its related problems, closer coordination is guaranteed.' This programme is divided into three phases: In the first is a six weeks' course at a naval air station (included in it are aviation engineering, aero-dynamics, aerial navigation, air combat information, and 16 hours of observational flights in service type aircraft). In the second phase, there is a four-week cruise with a carrier task force; midshipmen come in contact with the practical operations of actual naval aviation at sea; they have first-hand observation of carrier watch standing, fighter direction, damage control, flight deck spotting, photo reconnaissance; then at least three flights in carrier based torpedo and dive bombers. In the third and last phase, they are given flight instruction, including at least 12 flying hours. The proposed air station would ultimately include four runways, two mats, and two hangars, with facilities for 60 trainers, 30 bombers, and various utility craft.

The mission of the Naval Academy, as printed in the Centennial issue of *The Trident*, is 'to mould the material received into educated gentlemen, thoroughly indoctrinated with honour, uprightness, and truth; with practical rather than academic minds; with thorough loyalty to country; with a groundwork of fundamental education upon which experience afloat may build the finished naval officer; capable of upholding whenever and wherever may be necessary the honour of the United States; and withal giving due consideration that healthy minds in healthy bodies are necessities for the fulfilment of the individual missions of the graduates; and that fullest efficiency under this mission can only be obtained if, through just and humane, yet firm discipline, the graduates carry into the service respect and admiration for this Academy.'

The Royal Military College of Canada

This was established in 1876 at Kingston, as a result of an Act of the Canadian Parliament which sanctioned a College for providing 'a complete education in all branches of military tactics, fortifications, engineering and a general scientific knowledge in subjects necessary for a thorough knowledge of the military profession, and for qualifying officers for command and for staff appointments.' Vacancies at the college are allotted to the provinces in proportion to population. The number of gentlemen cadets attending the college during any year does not exceed two hundred; fifty students are admitted annually to a four years' course (reduced to two years during the war). A candidate must have attained the age of 16 years and not have passed his 19th birthday; he must be unmarried. After admission, the cadets have to undergo a strenuous course of training. The syllabus of courses of instruction includes Mathematics and Mechanics (including Analytical Geometry, Calculus, Statics, Dynamics, Hydrostatics, Rigid Dynamics); Physics (including Heat, Electricity, Magnetism, Electrostatics, Sound, Light, Electricity); Chemistry (including atomic physics and physical chemistry); English and History; French; Military History; Imperial Military Geography; Military Organization and Administration; Military Law; Tactics and Topography; Artillery; Military

Engineering; Weapon Training and Equitation. Of these Civil Engineering and Surveying occupy the most important place, Mathematics and Mechanics coming next. These two between them carry about fifty per cent of the aggregate marks for the entire course.

A gentleman cadet on leaving the college after completion of the course, who has not obtained a commission in the Royal Navy, or in the regular land or air forces or in the corresponding naval, land or air forces, of the other portions of the Empire, shall be required to accept a combatant commission in the R. C. A. V. R. or the Non-Permanent Active Militia or the Non-Permanent Active Air Force.

During the War, a Naval Training Establishment was set up at Vancouver.

GREAT BRITAIN

Royal Military College, Sandhurst was intended for cadets for the Infantry, Cavalry, and Royal Tank Corps; and *the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich* for the Royal Artillery, the Royal Engineers, and the Royal Corps of Signals. In 1939, the War Secretary, Mr. Hore-Belisha announced that the Government had decided to merge Sandhurst and Woolwich into the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. The new rules also provide that payment of fees will depend on the parents' capacity to pay; this ensures that a candidate's financial resources will not prevent his admission if he is educationally and physically fit. The period of training has been 18 months in the past. The instruction is for the most part in service or professional subjects; very little education in academic subjects is provided. The cadets are about 18 years of age at the time of admission.

Royal Naval College, Dartmouth gives to potential future officers of the Navy a sound general education of good public school standard, including some elementary instruction and indoctrination into Naval life and customs. The boys are admitted at a young age. The academic instruction is entrusted to civilian teachers.

Royal Air Force College, Cranwell has a two years' course. Candidates for the Royal Air Force receive training in aviation. A certain amount of academic instruction is provided also. Further training, in Aeronautical Engineering, is given at *Henlow* to officers of the R. A. F. who are fully qualified pilots; the course is of two years' duration.

FRANCE

L'Ecole Speciale Militaire, at St. Cyr, has a two years' course. In 1938 there were 780 cadets under training. Candidates for admission must not be below 18 or above 22 years in age. A competitive examination is held for admission. The curriculum includes general military instruction, history, geography, applied science, engineering, legislation, administration, modern languages, riding, and fencing. During the first year the course is common to all cadets. In the second year the cadets are placed in two classes, one intended for those who are to join the Infantry and Tanks, and the other for such as are assigned to Cavalry, Trains, or Gendarmerie.

L'Ecole Polytechnique, Paris, had 468 cadets undergoing a two years' course, which is predominantly scientific. It covers descriptive geometry, analytical geometry, calculus, mechanics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, architecture and modern languages.

On admission to either of these two institutions, a cadet has to give an undertaking that he will remain in the service for six years after graduation. In actual practice, a substantial number of graduates are assigned to semi-military or non-military services. Thus, those who pass out of *L'Ecole Polytechnique* may be sent to the following services apart from Artillery and the Engineers for which they are primarily intended: Service of Powder and Explosives; Navy; Naval Construction Service; Naval Artillery Service; Naval Engineering Service; Air Force; Corps of River and Harbour Engineers; Corps of Aeronautical Engineers; Service of Roads and Brigades; Service of Mines; Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs; State Water and Forestry Service; State Manufacturing; State Railways.

Board and tuition at both institutions are free.

ITALY

There are three military colleges, at Rome, Naples, and Milan. Those who are assigned to the Infantry or Cavalry are sent to the *Infantry and Cavalry Academy* at Modena. Those who are to join the Artillery or Engineers have to attend a two years' course at the *Royal Artillery and Engineer Academy* at Turin.

The two years' course at Modena includes military training, cultural and spiritual education, and moral training; but professional training is particularly emphasized. The professional training comprises; Military Art, Tactical Training, Military History, Technical Means, Explosives and Chemical Agents, Weapons, Elements of Ballistics and Fire, Science of State, Automobile and Motor-cycle Driving and Military Subsistence.

The Turin *Royal Artillery and Engineer Academy* attaches special importance to scientific education. The 'general studies' include algebraic and infinitesimal analysis, analytic geometry, physics, organic and inorganic chemistry, rational mechanics, drawing, topography, portable arms, artillery, fortifications, foreign languages.

The Artillery and Engineering School of Application at Turin was founded in 1739 and was the model followed by many countries which appointed its graduates as instructors.

At all the Academies, there is intensive physical training in gymnastics, fencing, equitation, motor-cycle driving.

GERMANY

There are in Germany five Officer Training Schools called *Kriegsschule*, at Potsdam, Dresden, Hanover, Munich, and Vienna, training altogether 2,300 cadets a year. A candidate for admission must have education equivalent to two years of college; give proof of Aryan descent; submit biography in his own writing. The course at the School is the same for all arms. It comprises:

tactics and appreciation of terrain, military history, customs of the service, weapons, military engineering, signal communications, motors, air force, surveying, and medical service. Drill, physical training, riding and motor-cycling form part of the practical training. After completing this course the candidate is sent for specialized training to one of the following branch schools: Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, Motor, Combat Corps, Pioneers, Signal Corps. Then he joins his regiment as a lieutenant for a period of three months during which he is carefully watched by all the regimental officers. At the end of this period the officers vote on his suitability. If they are unanimous he is certified to the Commander-in-Chief for Commission; if not, the Colonel makes a report on which the Commander-in-Chief, makes his decision.

The following are the regulations governing the training of officer-cadets:

The students are to be trained to become personalities of strong character, who, as leaders and instructors, will be worthy men under all circumstances. The schools must lay the foundation for a unity of spirit and a high conception of their calling within the corps of officers. All teaching staffs must take every opportunity both on and off duty to develop, by personal example and by instruction, the cadet's devotion to duty, sense of responsibility, unselfishness in the treatment and protection of subordinates, understanding, judgment; and a full development of the personality must be emphasized. The student must realize that he is judged upon his innate worth. Unhealthy ambition and seeking after personal advantage are flaws of character which render a man unsuitable as an officer.

The instructors must not consider themselves only as superiors, rather they must be the counsellors to the students in all matters, not only those pertaining to the service. The interchange of ideas in a spirit of comradeship is the best to this end.

The governing spirit of goodwill in the treatment of students must rest upon a strict discipline.

Greatest stress must be placed upon simple living, regularity in financial matters, precision, and meticulous military procedure on and off duty.

RUSSIA

Each of the fifteen military districts has an Infantry School, and many have Artillery Schools. Candidates for admission are between 17 and 21 years in age, and must have either served for a period in the ranks in the Red Army or passed with distinction from a high school. On an average there are 600 cadets in each school. The duration of the course is three years. Practically all the schools have the identical curriculum. The course in the Infantry schools is as follows:

I and II year: Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, German, Russian language and literature, Politics, Military Tactics, and History.

III year: Infantry tactics and technique.

Among the courses at the Artillery School at Leningrad were included: Artillery Tactics and conduct of fire; Elementary Engineering and Camouflage; Elementary Topography; Automotive Engineering; Political History; Foreign Languages; Gymnastics.

JAPAN

There is a *Junior Military Academy* in Tokyo, which trains those who are to become cadets for various branches of the service as also selected warrant and non-commissioned officers. Junior students are graduates of military preparatory schools; or K. C. O.'s under 25 years of age, having the equivalent of high school education; or applicants at large, 16 to 18 years of age. The course is of two years and there are 750 students. The cadet receives free clothes and rations.

Then there is a *Military Academy* which trains students for commission in the various branches of the Army. The instruction is divided into three parts, academic, military, and equitation. Only those who graduate from the Junior Academy and successfully complete 8 months' service with the troops are eligible for admission. The course extends over a year and eight months. After completion of the course the graduate has to serve for four months as sergeant-major or probational officer before he is commissioned as second-lieutenant.

CONCLUSION

Much of the information in this article¹ relates to conditions before the War. The kind of training to be imparted in the post-war period has not, in many countries, been announced. It is obvious that atomic physics will figure prominently in the curriculum. It is likely also that in most countries combined service academies will be set up.

IRELAND IN THE POST-WAR WORLD²

By P. N. S. MANSERGH

WHEN I first received the invitation so kindly extended to me by the Indian Council of World Affairs to speak on 'Ireland in the Post-War World' I felt some misgivings about accepting it. The problems of India, its vast size, its scorched fields burnt up by a merciless sun seemed very far away from a small island whose shores are washed by the Atlantic and whose green fields are nurtured by soft, unceasing rain. But on further reflection I consoled myself with the thought that the political affairs of countries are little affected either by climate or size. Certainly in Ireland the fact that the country is small has in no way lessened the intensity of political feeling or simplified political problems. The complexity of Irish politics is something that cannot be escaped. As soon as one thinks even of the name of the country the intricacy of its political pattern becomes apparent. The name 'Ireland' is now a geo-

¹ A good deal of the information relating to European institutions is based on a valuable publication of the West Point Department of Economics, Government and History.

² An address delivered in New Delhi on 15 April 1947 at a meeting of the Indian Council of World Affairs with Mr. K. M. Panikkar in the chair.

graphical expression. It is not a political reality because at the moment Ireland is partitioned into two parts but it remains a political aspiration.

Of the two parts of Ireland, one is in fact an autonomous republic with its capital in Dublin, externally associated with the British Commonwealth of Nations. It consists of 26 of the 32 counties of Ireland. The other is designated Northern Ireland and consists of the six north-eastern counties. The Constitution of 1937—the Constitution under which the 26 counties of Ireland are governed—proclaims that the name of the State shall be Eire or in the English language, Ireland. Pending the 'reintegration of national territory' the Constitution recognizes that the jurisdiction of the State extends over only 26 of the 32 counties. In day-to-day conversation people often draw a distinction between 'Ireland' and 'Eire.' This is inevitable but it is not accurate. In the same way many people use Ulster and Northern Ireland as synonymous. But they are not. The historic province of Ulster comprises 9 counties of which Northern Ireland includes only 6. All this leads to a certain amount of confusion from which some people have sought to escape by using the terms Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland. But this is really not a solution at all, partly because the most northerly county in Ireland, Donegal, is in Southern Ireland and partly because it suggests that the country is divided into two roughly equal parts which is not the case. There is one further complication inasmuch as from 1921 to 1937 what is now called Eire was called the Irish Free State.

To understand the position of Ireland in the post-war World it is necessary to cast one's mind back to two or three of the turning points in modern Irish history. The first and by far the most important was the Easter Rebellion of 1916. It was a rising organized in large measure by young intellectuals drawn from the left-wing of the nationalist movement who believed that Irish freedom could not be secured by constitutional means. Sixteen of the leaders were executed for their part in the rising. Little or no hope was entertained by any of them that the rebellion would be successful but they felt that the rebirth of a nation could be brought about only by a 'blood sacrifice.' The Easter Rebellion of 1916 in the long run captured the imagination of nationalist Ireland. The Parliamentary Nationalist Party was swept aside by 1919 and Sinn Féin emerged into the forefront of Irish politics as a united physical force party determined to achieve national independence by armed insurrection. And the influence of 1916 on political thought has been even more profound. The 'martyrs' of Easter Week sanctified the name of the Republic and in so doing made compromise with Britain tantamount to betrayal of national ideals.

The next decisive point in the story is the Treaty of 1921 under which the Irish Free State acquired Dominion Status. This compromise solution was not easy to reach. Quite apart from republican ideology it had been apparent for a long time and more than ever apparent since the Republic had been proclaimed in 1916 that the north eastern counties of Ireland, which were mostly settled from Scotland, would never consent to be governed from Dublin. There were many differences between North and South and the difference in which other differences merged and found a partly symbolic expression was the

difference in religion. In the north-eastern counties there exists a strong Protestant majority whilst the remainder of Ireland is predominantly Roman Catholic. That was one thing that stood in the way of an easy solution. Another, perhaps even more formidable, was a division within the ranks of Sinn Féin. The division was between those who felt that a compromise settlement was essential on many grounds and particularly to end the guerilla warfare which was bringing the life of the country to a standstill, and those who felt on grounds of principle, on ideological grounds if you like, that there must be an Irish Republic entirely separate from Britain. On this issue the Party was deeply divided. Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith who led the moderates were prepared for a Dominion solution but their more doctrinaire colleagues were not. So it was that Griffith and Collins signed the Treaty but Mr. De Valera and his followers felt that that settlement was so unsatisfactory that rather than accept it they waged civil war.

The grant of Dominion Status to Ireland even though it did not give the full autonomy which such status confers today in fact gave a measure of independence greater than the nationalist leaders of pre-war Ireland had demanded. In London it was felt to be a generous gesture. Mr. Churchill has subsequently said that the signing of the Treaty, from the British point of view, was one of the most 'hazardous and questionable enterprises upon which a great Empire in the plenitude of its power has ever embarked.' There was more truth in this remark, particularly in the sense of the strategic risks involved, than many people were prepared to recognize until 1940. But from the Irish point of view Dominion Status was looked at very differently. It did not mark an advance along the road which nationalist Ireland wished to travel. In the debate on the Treaty Mr. De Valera maintained that by accepting Dominion Status the Irish Free State would be placing herself in a position of dependence on Britain. The defenders of the Treaty retorted that while Dominion Status might not be the ideal solution it afforded a guarantee of evolution by mutual agreement. Here the clauses in the Treaty which related the status of Eire to that of the overseas Dominions, and more particularly to Canada as the senior Dominion, were carefully considered. But in the debate their real significance was not, indeed, perhaps could not be, entirely realized. What they meant, as the sequel showed, was that the constitutional advances achieved by the overseas Dominions in the next decade benefited Ireland in equal measure so that by a process of constitutional evolution she acquired full autonomy. But in the high emotional tension of 1921 it was not easy to pierce the veil of the future.

What in fact happened between 1921 when the Treaty was signed and 1932 when Mr. De Valera came to power, was that Mr. Cosgrave's pro-Treaty Government in collaboration with the representatives of the overseas Dominions played a full part in transforming Commonwealth relations. Resolutely though Mr. De Valera had been opposed to the acceptance of Dominion Status in 1921 he admitted some twelve years later that, under it, the constitutional evolution of the Irish Free State had progressed in a way that he had not foreseen.

The third decisive development in recent Irish history was the accession of Mr. De Valera and the Fianna Fáil Party to power early in 1932. He has re-

mained in power from that day to this. The programme under which he was elected was a national programme, national in both a political and an economic sense. His first actions on assuming office were to denounce one by one the clauses in the Treaty which implied Irish allegiance to the Commonwealth and to the Crown. In this way the Oath was removed; the appeals to the Privy Council abolished; the office of Governor-General deprived of responsibility and dignity. By 1937 a republican form of government had in fact been established. As a natural counterpart to these revolutionary political developments an economic programme designed to create a self-sufficient State was put into effect. The Economic War caused by Mr. De Valera's decision not to pay the interest on the Land Annuities was used as a means for building up a self-sufficient economy in the Irish Free State. Leaving aside the merits of the Annuities dispute it is probable that Mr. De Valera welcomed it because it enabled him to bring about an economic revolution involving great hardship at a pace that would otherwise have been impossible. The dispute, which involved those farmers who were dependent on cattle grazing in great losses, enabled the Government to pursue a policy of positive encouragement for agriculture. Great attention was paid to the growing of sugar beet and still more to increasing the area under wheat. The economic dispute also enabled the Government to put in hand its plans for decentralized industrial development on a considerable scale. A balanced economy as well as a self-sufficient economy was their aim and they wished to avoid the great concentrations of industry which had occurred in so many countries of Western Europe.

The attempt to build up a balanced economy was undertaken because of Ireland's dependence on trade with Britain. Mr. De Valera stated in so many words that he felt that Ireland should no longer be a 'kitchen garden' for supplying cheap food to Britain. But since exports were essential to balance Eire's very considerable imports of raw materials and manufactured goods an outlet for her agricultural surplus had to be sought if not in Britain then elsewhere. In consequence between 1932 and 1938 great efforts were made to develop trade with European countries, with France, with Germany and with Spain. Results were certainly achieved, but they were on a modest scale. This may best be illustrated by statistics. In 1929, under Mr. Cosgrave's Government, which believed in a laissez-faire economy with the greatest possible trade with Britain, 6 per cent. of Eire's exports went to foreign countries. By 1937 after 4 years of consistent endeavour this percentage had been raised only to 8 per cent. In other words despite the deliberate policy of Mr. De Valera's Government sustained by bounties and subsidy payments, 92 per cent. of Eire's export trade still went to British Empire countries and more than 90 per cent. to the United Kingdom. The lesson to be learnt from this was that the two countries are economically inter-dependent. In other directions Mr. De Valera's attempts to broaden the basis of Eire's economy had in fact achieved a good deal. He had succeeded in establishing a number of comparatively small industries throughout the country; more important he had balanced Eire's agricultural economy by securing once again the large-scale growing of wheat and by encouraging the growth of sugar beet. During the war years the results

were plain. For the first time in her history Eire is now virtually self-supporting in sugar and, provided that there is a reasonably good harvest, nearly self-supporting in wheat. But the measure of Mr. De Valera's success in securing a more balanced economy only underlines the failure of the attempts to secure a redirection of her export trade. This last is not only an economic factor of the first importance; it is also a political factor of the highest significance.

On the political side the conceptions of Mr. De Valera's party were embodied in the new Constitution enacted in 1937. The Constitution, which was ratified by universal suffrage, is believed to be very largely the product of Mr. De Valera's own political outlook. Certainly he played a large part in drafting it and in recommending its adoption to the electorate. The Constitution which contains a declaration of the rights and obligations of Irish citizens also embodies clauses of a non-justiciable character defining the aims of social policy the special position of the Roman Catholic Church and the status of the family. The form of Government follows the accepted Western democratic pattern with a bi-cameral legislature and an independent judiciary. The only point to which perhaps attention should be paid is the decision to have an elected President. Despite the unhappy experiences of continental countries, the President of Eire is elected by universal suffrage and while his powers are limited they are greater than those of the King in the United Kingdom or of the Governors-General in the Dominions or of the French President under the Constitution of the Third Republic. Remembering the notorious 'audacity of elected persons' and in particular the example of Louis Napoleon, one cannot fail to note with some misgiving that the President in certain circumstances is placed in a position in which he could appeal to the people over the heads of the elected representatives of the people. I would not wish to make too much of this and certainly in the last decade there has been no foundation of any kind for the fears that I have expressed. Nonetheless in view of what has happened in other countries it does seem to me that a risk, which is hardly justifiable, has in fact been taken.

The Constitution does not define the form of the State. While saying that it applies to the whole of Ireland, it allows that 'pending the reintegration of national territory' it shall have force only in the 26 counties. It was no doubt with the existence of the partition in mind that the Constitution refrained from saying whether the State is a republic or a monarchy. This was probably a very sound policy. In the first place had a republic been declared in 1937 Northern Ireland would almost certainly have been finally alienated and any hope of ending partition thereby dispelled. In the second place the declaration of a republic in 1937 might have caused unfavourable reactions among other Commonwealth countries and would no doubt at that time have been regarded as finally severing the connexion with the British Commonwealth of Nations. While Mr. De Valera does not, and never has, regarded Dominion Status as a satisfactory form of relationship with the British Commonwealth he has always been anxious to preserve some relationship. The doctrine of External Association which he enunciated in 1921 has in substance been put in operation by the Constitution of 1937. The fact that the Government of the United Kingdom

with the agreement of the oversea Dominions announced that the adoption of the Constitution was not regarded by them as effecting any fundamental alteration in the relationship between Eire and the British Commonwealth, was probably a reaction which was both satisfactory to Mr. De Valera and good policy from the point of view of the Commonwealth as a whole.

During the 'thirties it was clear that in the event of war Eire would remain neutral. For that reason it was surprising that in the agreement reached with the United Kingdom in 1938 just after Hitler had marched into Austria the British Government agreed as part of a general settlement of outstanding economic and political differences to hand over the naval ports which had been retained in the Treaty of 1921 as bases for naval operations in war-time. This step taken by Mr. Neville Chamberlain was applauded in Ireland and it is perhaps fair to record that in that country he still enjoys a high reputation for fairmindedness and statesmanship. It was however a decision which was publicly regretted by Mr. Churchill during the most difficult days of war when the lack of naval facilities on Eire's Atlantic coast enormously increased the burden of maintaining the lifeline to the United States.

Eire's neutrality inevitably created a difficult situation within the British Isles. After France had fallen in 1940 there was always a possibility of a German landing in Eire with a view to an attack on Britain from the west. This danger to Britain was recognized in Dublin and Mr. De Valera reiterated time and again his assertion that he would never allow Eire to be used by any hostile forces as a base to attack Britain. The Irish Army and the Local Defence Force were mobilized to resist any threat to Eire's neutrality but inevitably the resources of a country lacking heavy industries were inadequate judged by modern standards. At the same time the ports and the shipyards in Northern Ireland became, particularly after the American entry into the War, an indispensable stepping stone between the two great democracies.

Eire's neutrality was largely a product of history. Most Irish people felt that no other course was possible and Mr. De Valera's policy was accepted by all parties and at no time seriously challenged. He tried to keep the political temperature low because he feared the possibility of civil war. He was afraid of an insurrection by the Irish Republican Army and felt that if the Government deviated from its chosen course of strict neutrality it would be dividing the country in a way that was wholly indefensible. Mr. De Valera's actual words on the American entry into the War, which brought to Ireland the most critical days of decision, are worth quoting. After recalling the traditional friendly feelings between Ireland and the United States Mr. De Valera went on to say; 'Ireland is a friendly neutral. From the moment war began, there was for us only one policy possible, neutrality. Our circumstances, our history, the incompleteness of our national territory, the partition of our country, made no other policy practicable. Any other policy would have divided our people and for a divided nation to fling itself into war will be to commit suicide.'

Irish neutrality was maintained, not without dignity, till the end of the War. Great, many think too great, attention was paid to the diplomatic niceties. What created more ill feeling perhaps than anything else was the presence of the

Axis Legations, German, Italian and Japanese in Dublin throughout the War. While it would be a mistake to imagine that Mr. De Valera had any sympathy with the Fascist Powers, he did feel that the presence of diplomatic representatives from all belligerents was a condition of the maintenance of absolute neutrality. In 1944 the American Government presented a Note asking for the removal of these enemy Legations because in their opinion their presence in Dublin operated and 'continues to operate' in favour of the Axis Powers. In his reply Mr. De Valera denied these general charges and went on to say—and this seems to me very significant—that the Americans evidently did not understand how much the feelings of the people of Ireland towards Britain had changed since the War began just because Eire's national rights and her neutrality had been so frankly accepted. Whatever one might think of the merits of the particular question at issue this statement seems to me to be literally true. I do not myself remember a time when feelings between ordinary people in Britain and Ireland were more friendly than in the last few years. In the early days of the War the bombing of London and other great British cities, particularly those with a large Irish population, kindled a great deal of sympathy and created much admiration for the endurance of the British people. This sentimental association was reinforced by the fact that a large number of Irish volunteers probably some 50,000 to 60,000 served in the British Forces during the War and won distinctions out of all proportion to their numbers. After all 50,000 or 60,000 out of a population of 2½ millions is a considerable volunteer force and to them must be added the 120,000 to 130,000 skilled and unskilled Irish workers who went over to Britain to work in war factories. The mingling of population between the two countries which resulted can, I think, only have beneficial results on their future relations.

The war-time policy of neutrality was successful, but a condition of this success was the victory of the United Nations. In the post-war period this fact is possibly of less importance than it might otherwise have been because all the majority parties were united in supporting the policy of neutrality. This meant that international affairs in the post-war world have tended to slip into the background of the political scene which in consequence has been dominated by questions of internal policy. Even here the surface has remained comparatively unruffled though there are signs of undercurrents moving beneath the surface which may in time disturb the unwonted placidity of the Irish political scene. Oversea observers frequently suggest that the Labour Party in Eire is the Party of the future. This seems rather doubtful; its record has been far from consistent; it has suffered from deep internal dissension in recent years; and looked at from a broader point of view the Party has shown little or no capacity for consistent expansion. Ireland is a country of small farms and small farmers tend to be conservative economically if not nationally. All the time this fact weighs heavily in the scales against Labour Party prospects. The principal Opposition Party remains the *Finé Gael* Party which under Mr. Cosgrave's leadership controlled the destinies of the Irish Free State in its formative years. This Party, which can count on the support of the larger farmers and many of the greater industrialists, has suffered a slow but steady decline

since 1931. In the election of 1944 General Mulcahy, then leader of the Party, came out in favour of fuller membership of the British Commonwealth but this additional plank in the Party platform failed to improve its position. Divided in counsel, uncertain in leadership, *Fián* Gael seems unlikely to be able to revive its flagging fortunes. Finally there is Mr. De Valera's Party, *Fianna Fail*; under his leadership it has grown from strength to strength and the election of 1944 marked the high tide of its success. Then the Party won 77 seats out of a total of 138 which under the proportional representation system means a great deal more than the figures at first sight suggest. And here it may not be irrelevant to mention that contrary to general expectation proportional representation has not in Ireland created instability of government, though it has produced narrow majorities. In actual fact only two Governments have been in power in the last 26 years; Mr. Cosgrave's from 1921 to 1932 and Mr. De Valera's from 1932 to the present day. Though these two parties are divided by memories of the past and by personal differences between their leaders the gulf that separates them is no longer a wide one. It is now a question of method rather than of principle though *Fianna Fail* as a Party certainly favours a more forward social and national policy than their opponents. In general it may be said that *Fianna Fail* are now more sensitive to criticism and attacks from the Left than they are to opposition from *Fián* Gael on the Right.

The one outstanding problem in Ireland to-day is partition. In 1921 the 6 north eastern counties of Ireland comprising Northern Ireland opted to stay outside the Irish Free State. The population of Northern Ireland, a great industrial centre, is about 1½ million; of that population about 2/3 are Unionists by conviction. They believe that Northern Ireland should remain part and parcel of the United Kingdom. They believe that even Dominion Status separates them too much from Britain and the concept of an Irish Republic is one they view with anathema. In Northern Ireland political and religious divisions coincide very closely. About 66 per cent. of the population is Protestant and just because religious and political divisions coincide it seems unlikely that there will be any radical change in the political outlook of Northern Ireland so far as partition is concerned in the foreseeable future. I have been asked while in India if the relations between Eire and Northern Ireland could not be put on a more satisfactory basis by a comparatively small movement of population coupled with a redrafting of the boundary line. At first sight this seems a very reasonable suggestion but in actual fact it is not one that would commend itself either to Sir Basil Brooke in Belfast or to Mr. De Valera in Dublin. The redrafting of the boundary, if it could be done, so as to exclude the minority from Northern Ireland would in fact reduce the area to so small a size as not to leave it a 'viable' unit politically or still less economically. On the other hand Mr. De Valera would be scarcely satisfied by such alterations. He believes that Ireland is a unit and his objection is to partition in principle just as much as to partition in practice. If the boundary were redrawn with strict regard to political opinions it would assume an air of finality which Mr. De Valera would dislike intensely. Minorities, and their grievances, are very useful things to

have in your political armoury.

My general conclusion is, therefore, that there is no prospect in any immediate future of the ending of partition. When the older generation has died off it may be possible to reach some compromise solution. But on the other hand the difficulties are likely to remain great. In Eire Dominion Status is viewed with doubt because it implies too close an association with Britain; in Northern Ireland it is rejected because it implies too great a degree of detachment from Britain. That difference is the outward sign of a deep gulf in political outlook. On the more practical side there are now very real differences in the standard of social services; Northern Ireland social services are on the same level as those in the United Kingdom whilst in Eire they remain, and because of lack of resources they are likely to remain, on a considerably lower level. The working class in Northern Ireland feel that they are better off economically as part of the United Kingdom and while this is not a decisive factor it is certainly an important one.

Eire's relations with Northern Ireland are part of the wider question of her relationship with the Commonwealth as a whole. As I have already said in the view of the United Kingdom and of the oversea Dominions Eire remains a Dominion, her status not having suffered any fundamental alteration through the enactment of the Constitution of 1937. On the other hand the Irish Government do not think of Eire as a Dominion but rather as a Republic externally associated with the British Commonwealth. In 1945, in answer to a question in the Dail Mr. De Valera stated categorically that Eire is a Republic, fully autonomous with an elected President as head of the State. The situation has, therefore, been reached in which a Republic is for all practical purposes externally associated with the British Commonwealth of Nations the symbol of whose unity is the Crown. But though that is the situation its full implications are watered down by the External Relations Act enacted in 1936 in which it was provided that the King's signature should be used in the appointment of Irish ministers to foreign countries. Mr. De Valera has since stated that this course was adopted as a matter of convenience and can be terminated whenever the Dail should so decide. On the other hand he has also remarked that if the Government of the United Kingdom and of the oversea Dominions wish to consider Eire as a member of the Commonwealth he would not wish to raise any objection. In practice Eire has in fact sent representatives in recent months to the Commonwealth preliminary trade talks held in London before the I. T. O. Conference in Geneva and to a conference of officials on nationality problems within the Commonwealth.

The loose flexible relationship between Eire and the remainder of the British Commonwealth has much to be said for it in practice. At the worst it provides time in which future policy can be considered carefully and dispassionately; at the best it may provide a foundation on which a more lasting and more final relationship can be built. It is clear to the Irish leaders that in the world to-day association with a Great Power or group of Powers has very many advantages. A small country with few industrial resources and a small population cannot well afford to stand alone. The risks of Eire's position were

underlined recently when her application for membership of the United Nations, supported both by the United Kingdom and the United States, was rejected by the exercise of the veto power by Russia. Reinforcing the advantages of co-operation from an international point of view are the economic connexions which underline so strongly the inter-dependence of Britain and Ireland. They in turn are reinforced by the inter-mingling of population which took place during and since the war. The points of national and self-interest which unite the two countries are, therefore, very great indeed and seem to me to make it certain that whatever may be the constitutional relationship established between the two countries in the future it will, for all practical purposes, be very close and intimate.

DISCUSSION

Sardar Gurmukh Nihal Singh:

Why is it that in Ireland proportional representation has not led to instability of Government?

Dr. Mansergh:

The principal reason is the traditional division of opinion on the Treaty issue which has never been bridged. This has favoured a two-party system which has survived till now though there has recently been a tendency for small 'splinter' parties to emerge. Another has been the predominance of personalities which has held the rival parties together. But I would not myself accept the view that proportional representation necessarily tends to produce a multiplicity of parties.

Mr. K. Santhanam:

Can you give an economic picture of Ireland? What is the proportion of the small farmers and what is the proportion of industry in Southern Ireland?

Dr. Mansergh:

An overwhelmingly large proportion of Ireland consists of small farms. Just under 45 per cent. of the farms are under 15 acres in extent. The great bulk, about 93 per cent, are under 100 acres. The industries by deliberate policy were scattered. These decentralized industries had varying fortunes during the war and some found themselves in difficult circumstances. For small industries there was little coal, or fuel and even now it remains extremely difficult, if not impossible, to import sufficient quantities. The industries that have made the most useful contribution to the national economy are those that have been associated with agriculture. For example, the government sugar beet factories established in four provincial centres have given employment during the winter months. During the seasonal unemployment period, they have brought prosperity to small country towns and this is a very great achievement. They have made Ireland for the last six years virtually self-sufficient in sugar.

Dr. Appadoraj:

You have got two kinds of rights in the Constitution, justiciable rights and non-justiciable rights. Clause 45 relates to this. What is your opinion on

the utility of this division since the Irish Constitution was framed?

Dr. Mansergh:

The clauses under Article 45 of the Constitution which are categorically stated to be non-justiciable embody certain broad directive principles of social policy. In the same category may be included those provisions recognizing the family as the fundamental unit group in society and the special position of the Roman Catholic Church. All are in fact a statement either of the position or of the social outlook as it exists to-day. Of their usefulness it is difficult to say anything very helpful after so brief an experience. My own qualified opinion at the moment is that the non-justiciable clauses are the least essential part of the Constitution. They do, however, provide a means of embalming in more or less permanent form the political and social concepts of the framers of the constitution and this is often but not always a good thing.

Sardar Gurmukh Nihal Singh:

Was there any resentment in England during the war against this neutrality of Ireland? I believe at one time it was very keenly felt, especially when Britain needed some bases in Ireland.

Dr. Mansergh:

That was so. The difficult period was late in 1940 or early 1941 when there was much resentment in England because it was felt that the non-possession of these ports might mean the losing of the war. It was more the refusal to make available strategic bases at the critical moment than neutrality that was resented. But in Eire it was maintained that to afford strategic facilities was equivalent to an act of war. So the two seemed in fact inseparable. In the United Kingdom it was felt that the Agreement of 1938 implied that if a war against aggression occurred Eire would take part in it. There was no suggestion of an understanding or obligation. It was just felt perhaps on account of the notable part Mr. De Valera had played at the League that this would be the case. What resentment there was dwindled and indeed almost disappeared partly because of the achievement of the Irish volunteers and partly because the war situation changed. All this gave an enhanced value to the bases available in Northern Ireland.

Sardar Gurmukh Nihal Singh:

What will be the future of this neutrality in the British Commonwealth?

Dr. Mansergh:

Obviously the Commonwealth system depends on rights which are fully understood; on obligations which are fulfilled and above all on a sense of common purpose. There is a very particular background to Irish history which made it extraordinarily difficult if not impossible on ideological grounds for Ireland to participate on this first occasion in a war in which she had a chance of asserting the final right of the sovereign nation. But in view of Eire's application for membership of the United Nations it is not to be assumed that

in a future war against aggression Ireland will be necessarily inclined towards neutrality. I think, therefore, that Eire's neutrality should be viewed more in relation to particular circumstances and less in a Commonwealth context.

Sardar K. M. Panikkar:

I should like to be told the position of the English language at the present time in the Irish Free State. Secondly, after the declaration of the Republic has there been any change in the status of Irish nationals and thirdly I should like the position made a little clearer regarding the elected presidency. I understood from you that you felt grave alarm, at least grave fear, about the elected President setting himself to be as a kind of rival to the elected Legislature and you quoted the instance of Louis Napoleon. As against that I just want to take the President of the United States. We have one hundred and thirty years of American experience where the American President equally enjoys extraordinary executive and other powers, almost of a co-ordinate character, not equal, but all the same the Government and the legislature developing side by side. So that I should like that point cleared as to how the fear arises in your mind so much on the basis of a Napoleonic tradition, in France, considering that there has been no dictatorial or non-democratic tradition in Ireland. Therefore I should like if I may ask for further elucidation on these points.

Dr. Mansergh:

As regards the language, since the new State came into being in 1921 Irish was proclaimed to be the national and official language. But in fact even now only a few communities on the western sea-board speak Irish as a home language. The failure of the attempt to produce a Gaelic speaking nation has been a very great disappointment to Mr. De Valera. Despite the fact that the language is compulsory in schools almost everyone continues to speak English in everyday life. I have personally only once heard Gaelic spoken spontaneously in the streets of any town in the south and east parts of Ireland. But of course if you go to Connemara or Kerry you would often hear the Gaelic language spoken as a mother tongue.

Mr. K. Santhanam:

What is the language in the Irish Parliament?

Dr. Mansergh:

Proceedings are in fact in English though Irish is the official language. Mr. De Valera sometimes makes a statement in Irish, but very few of his colleagues or of the opposition understand what he is saying. Irish is an essential qualification for the Speaker of the Dail but at a guess not more than one in twenty of the Deputies have a real mastery of Irish. Knowledge of Irish, however, is essential for Civil Service and most public appointments. This often means in practice that candidates acquire a smattering of the language to qualify themselves and often as well that the technically best qualified candidate is not appointed. Reviving a language presents many problems and in

Ireland they have certainly not all been overcome. But it is the intention of the government to persevere in their attempts to make the country Gaelic-speaking.

The second question was with regard to citizenship. Mr. De Valera has always favoured the idea of reciprocal as opposed to common citizenship. He does not admit that citizens of Eire are British subjects. During the War an arrangement was made by which Irish citizens not resident in the United Kingdom for more than six months were not liable to conscription. But that was a short-term compromise and what remains to be worked out is a principle defining the basis of reciprocity in the light of post-war circumstances, including Eire's constitutional development. Recently a Commonwealth Nationality Conference of official representatives from the Dominions including Eire met for preliminary consultations. All the time one has to remember the practical problems presented by an extraordinary inter-mingling of population.

The last question relates to the powers of the President. It is a debatable question. To some extent local political conditions influenced me in expressing my fears. There is a wide-spread regard in Eire, outside Labour circles, for General Franco and the system of autocratic, paternal government in Portugal is often held up as a model. There, as you know, the head of the State exercises more than democratic powers. The analogy of the United States Presidency cannot be pressed too far because the distribution of powers as between legislative and executive are so different. The situation in Eire approximates constitutionally more nearly to that in France under the Second Republic and Germany under the Weimar Republic than to that prevailing in the United States. The Cabinet is directly responsible to the Dail. It is a Cabinet system of Government and superimposed on it is a President, who, though he certainly does not exercise powers at all equal to those of the President of the United States, none-the-less enjoys a wider discretionary authority under the terms of the Constitution than a constitutional monarch or a Governor-General does in a Dominion.

Question:

Either he must be elected by the people directly or indirectly; indirect election will make him a creature of the cabinet and the whole thing would be worse. Would you like a President who will sign all that is sent to him? A figurehead?

Dr. Mansergh:

The happier system would be to remove all possibility of conflict between the two powers. Of the two evils I would prefer a figurehead rather than incur the risk of attracting an ambitious man to be the President and once he is President will all the authority of popular sanction behind him to be encouraged to challenge the Prime Minister or the head of the Cabinet.

Question:

Describing the existing position of partition of Ireland into two, the prominent characteristics were the Catholic south and the Protestant north, one favouring union and the other in favour of independence. I would like to know whether the same position did not exist in Canada and whether it was just the

time when Ireland got freedom that was partly responsible for this keenness of feeling.

Dr. Mansergh:

I do not think this internal antagonism was a transient phenomenon though it reached a climax in 1920-2. Sixty years ago the debate took place in the House of Commons on the first Home Rule Bill. Then Mr. Gladstone overlooked the Ulster question altogether. My own opinion is that this really brought about the ultimate failure of his solution of the Irish Question. If my reading of history is correct the answer to your question is that the Northern Ireland problem existed and was strong enough to have prevented the full unity of Ireland sixty years ago. At the same time if politicians then had been fully conscious of Ulster opposition to 'Roman Rule' as it was called, they might have agreed on a compromise which would have avoided partition in the form in which it exists to-day.

Question:

Are there any customs barriers?

Dr. Mansergh:

Yes, indeed! One of the great problems of the War was to prevent the smuggling of things like butter and whisky across the border!

Chairman:

The only thing I should like to say both with regard to the very interesting speech and the very interesting discussion that followed is that Dr. Mansergh's lecture has two very important lessons for us at the present time.

One such lesson is the question which has at all times been of considerable importance to us and that is the question of fundamental rights. The Irish Constitution has been, I am not giving away any secrets, taken as the basis for discussion in the Fundamental Rights Committee of the Constituent Assembly and the division that was alluded to by Dr. Appadorai, that is the directions on which social policy has to be based, that is non-justiciable rights and justiciable rights, also forms the basis of what might be called the draft Report of the Committee. How far that is wise or not wise it is for the Constituent Assembly to decide.

On the question of Dominion Status, I should like to say one thing. It is not so much a question of political power that is involved, in Dominion Status. It is a question of the political concept. I remember a great Irish leader telling me, we cannot be a dominion of the English mother country; we are ourselves a great mother country; so that the doctrine of mother country and dominion is applicable strictly to areas where there is that racial and historical link which binds the communities together. Where there is no such racial and historical link, and in fact the historical link is one of separation and one of continuous resistance from the time of O'Neills to today, then you cannot ask that there should be integration based on the relationship of mother and daughter or mother country and dominion country. That is an essential point which has

got very much wider aspects and therefore I am quoting the words of my friend in saying that where each country claims to be a mother country, there cannot be any relationship of a dominion.

One other point to which I should like to invite your attention (arising out of the very interesting discussion is the economic structure of the Irish Republic. During the War, though an attempt was made to change its character, though an attempt was made to make it self-contained, it became more and more dependent on the English economy for the reason that as Hartington once said, though the St. George's Channel divides Ireland, it also unites. Geographical distances between countries make so much a feature in the development of political relations in modern times that to think in terms of anything but geography; anything but integration based on economic, and political factors arising out of geographical conditions would lead us to very grave complications. The failure that Dr. Mansergh has pointed out, of cultivating the Irish language as a national language for a nation of 2½ millions when they had not only a culture, but had become masters as a nation, a language which was as much national to them as that of any other country, and the failure of the economic policy in which a nation of three millions wanted to make themselves independent, as a friend of mine in the south wants to become independent and free, has many lessons for us and I think it is one which should not be lost on us in deciding for ourselves the future of our country.

On behalf of the Indian Council of World Affairs, I should express our great obligations and thanks to Dr. Mansergh for the most interesting lecture that he has delivered.

WESTERN INFLUENCES IN JAPANESE CONSTITUTION- MAKING

By GEORGE GRASSMUCK

Imperial Rescript—

'I have caused this day the Constitution of Japan to be promulgated. This Constitution represents a complete revision of the Imperial Constitution. It seeks the basis of national reconstruction in the universal principle of mankind. It has been decided upon by the freely expressed will of the people. It explicitly stipulates that the people of Japan renounce war of their own accord; that they desire to see to the realization of a permanent peace founded on justice and order throughout the world, and that having constant regard to the fundamental human rights, they will conduct the national affairs on the fixed line of democracy.

'It is my wish to join with my people in directing all our endeavours toward due enforcement of this Constitution and the building of a nation of culture tempered by the sense of moderation and responsibility and dedicated to freedom and peace.'

—(Read by Emperor Hirohito before the House of Peers at 11-00 a.m. 3 November 1946)

EARLY DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT

In the year 1867, the Emperor of Japan was restored as the sovereign power of his nation when the last of the Tokugawa Shoguns tendered his resignation. Twenty-two years later, just eighteen years after the official end of feudalism, Emperor Meiji promulgated the first Japanese constitution. As steel rails and telegraph poles signified the development of a new industrial Japan, so the constitution served as a symbol of complete political renovation. More important, it provided for a representative assembly.

Efforts to obtain such an assembly consumed most of the political energies of some learned men of public affairs after the event of the Emperor's charter oath. Taken in 1869 before the court and the assembly of Daimyos, the feudal lords, the oath assured the following:¹

1. A deliberative assembly should be formed, and all measures be decided by public opinion.
2. The principles of social and political economics should be diligently studied by both the superior and inferior classes of our people.
3. Every one in the community shall be assisted to persevere in carrying out his will for all good purposes.
4. All the old absurd usages of former times should be disregarded, and the impartiality and justice displayed in the workings of nature be adopted as a basis of action.
5. Wisdom and ability should be sought after in all quarters of the world for the purpose of firmly establishing the foundations of the empire.

That same year the Kogisho met as a sounding board of public opinion. Composed of docile inferior nobles and retainers of the Daimyos, it lasted for one year, then passed into the limbo of lack of interest. But while this first attempt proved unsuccessful, it did not dampen either the hopes or the efforts of those who championed a representative deliberative body. Forming into groups, these innovators, aided by rapid developments in methods of communication and equally rapid newspaper expansion, troubled the government administrators no little.

Strongest among the societies was the Rishisha, composed originally of commercially-minded Tosa² Samurai who later helped form the Japanese Liberal party. The leader of the Rishisha was Count Itagaki who served as an Imperial councillor until 1875 when he resigned; devoting his time to the advancement of the move for a representative body in Japan. Itagaki petitioned the government for the establishment of an assembly in 1873 and again in 1877. The latter request reminded the government that the programme outlined in the Oath of 1869 remained unfulfilled. But the government found its hands full in 1877 as it was engaged in suppressing the Satsuma³ Rebellion. When the

¹ Toyokichi Iyenaga, *THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF JAPAN*, *Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Ninth Series, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1891, Page 455.

² Tosa: a lesser clan located in southern Shikoku, present-day Kochi prefecture.

³ A Samurai rebellion against the government in 1877 led by Saigo, a member of the Satsuma clan of southern Kynshu.

struggle died out a year later the national administrators proceeded cautiously to lay the foundation for a representative parliament by establishing local assemblies.⁴ These served to increase the demand for a national body; a demand swelling in volume year by year along with the economic unrest and dissatisfaction of the middle and lower classes. Dissatisfaction with administrators' manipulation of government sales of land and of property to concerns owned by these same administrators added to the tumult to such an extent that the Emperor, advised by the Genro-in (a type of senate), called his cabinet together in 1881, ordered the sales to be stopped at once⁵ and proclaimed that an Imperial Parliament would be convened in the year 1890. All subjects were charged to make preparations to that end.

The tumult subsided. The major parties, the Jiyuto (Liberal Party) led by Itagaki and the Kaishinto (Progressive Party) directed by Count Okuma, settled down to a programme of organization and preparation. Three years later the Constitutional Investigative Bureau led by Hirobumi Ito began to function as the creator of the constitution and related institutions. In 1885 the newly modernized form of cabinet came into being as a preparatory measure. The Privy Council met for the first time in 1888 under its president, Count Ito. Emperor Meiji attended and watched. The chief item for discussion was the first draft of the constitution.

THE MEIJI CONSTITUTION

Writing in 1930, one of the ardent Japanese proponents of the tradition of his native land chides those foreign writers who:⁶

... have fallen into mistake when they say that 11th of February is a national holiday in Japan in commemoration of the promulgation of the constitution. On the contrary, the constitution was promulgated on that day because of the greatness of that day, the day being the 2549th anniversary of the accession of the first Emperor to the throne of the Japanese Empire.

This author, Dr. N. Mitsunami, Dean of Japan University at the time, was quite correct. In so far as a comparative importance or weight in the national political structure of Japan was concerned, that accession of the first Emperor carried far more significance than the Imperial promulgation in 1889 of the constitutional document fashioned by Count Hirobumi Ito and his co-workers. According to this Meiji constitution, the Emperor, as supreme sovereign, presented his subjects with a recipe for government. It specified structure and function, but did little to establish restraints upon government, or to clarify and strengthen the position of the individual.

In short, the national polity of Japan remained theocratical-patriarchal. The Emperor received his supreme power as an inheritance from his Divine Ancestor through a direct descending line. By this theory the constitution guaranteed theocracy. The Emperor maintained his position as supreme head

⁴ Iyenaga, op. cit., page 477.

⁵ *The Japan Yearbook*, 1943-1944. Tokyo, The Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, 1943, page 73.

⁶ Matsunami, N. *The Constitution of Japan*. Tokyo, Maruzen and Co., 1930 page 9.

of the vast family of the Japanese nation, thereby incorporating patriarchy into the polity and transcending popular controls upon government and governmental processes.⁷ What the document did provide was a statement of governmental structure and relationship. It regularized procedure or provided for laws regulating procedure. Above all it provided a *modus operandi* upon which administration along modern lines could develop. In these respects the Meiji document filled the requirements established by Aristotle and propounded later by Hegel for a constitution.⁸ For Aristotle the constitution referred to the whole order of things in the city. For Hegel, who combined Greek political thought with a belief in the advantages of Prussian bureaucracy, a constitution outlines the broad scheme of the actual organization of government. While the Meiji document failed in many respects to provide the representative assembly with many of the powers anticipated by Count Itagaki, and did not furnish effective restraints on government in the creation or prosecution of law, it did permit government-approved development of discussion groups which might have matured into virile, active political parties. This, in itself, stands as a strong effort toward stimulating continued development of the position of those individuals and groups wishing to influence government.

The constitution further provided a permanent legislative and administrative organization. By so doing it suppressed the Imperial prerogative of creating advisory and deliberative groups at will with the ancillary privilege of changing the structure or composition of those groups as desired by the administrative or executive power. Such a permanent structure was an important innovation for an Oriental nation. It permitted the existence of political parties. These parties prevailed until their abolition in the last decade by positive forces and the welding of all parties into the Imperial Rule Assistance Association along fascist lines.

Classified as ultra-conservative by many, as an adaptation of the Prussian system by some, as an effort to stifle the cries of the political leaders for democratic control by others,⁹ the Meiji constitution provided many procedures in government operation which were comparatively new to the Japanese.

Unlike nations of the western hemisphere, Japan boasts no chronology of successful struggles for uniform and efficient administration, for restraints upon government, for a popular voice, and finally popular control of the State. On the contrary within three decades Nippon almost simultaneously jettisoned much of the superstructure of feudalism (though Japanese agriculture continued to live, so to speak in a climate, of feudalism), adopted a new system of unified economy, accepted the invitation into the commercial world, wedged her way into the political world, and adopted the western garb of constitutionalism. That costume helped Japan blend into the colour scheme of the family of nations, but it did not fit the wearer well.

⁷ Matsunami, op. cit., page 20.

⁸ Friedrich, Carl J. *Constitutional Government and Politics*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1937, page 102.

⁹ Colegrove, Kenneth, *THE JAPANESE CONSTITUTION in The American Political Science Review*, Vol. XXXI, No. 6. December, 1937, page 1049.

Japan's political and social characteristics and measurements were not those which fitted readily into such apparel. The cultural background was one of a social hierarchy which became permanent in the phenomenon of the Oriental family and its importance in the social arrangement of the Japanese people. Sovereignty lay with the Emperor and remained with him according to Article Four of the Meiji constitution. Article Five placed the legislative power in his hands. Articles Six and Seven specified Imperial control of the Diet. Article Fifty-seven directed that 'The judicature shall be exercised by the Courts of Law according to law in the name of the Emperor.'

In all its specifications, the Ito document provided for the establishment of a structure along western lines. But, in all those specifications, no effort was made to recognize the power of the people or to alter the concept of the Emperor as the god, the father, and the sovereign of his country.¹⁰

Defeat in World War II wrested this power from the hands of the usurping militarists and their political friends, placing it squarely in the hands of the conquerors. These conquerors indicate intentions of returning it to the people after having been assured the people will retain it. As to when or whether such intentions will be carried out remains to be seen. If they are, the new constitution will then play its important part.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION—PURPOSES

Promulgated by the Emperor Hirohito on 3 November 1946, the new constitution of Japan¹¹ is the paper result of considerable creative and imitative industry on the part of occupying forces as well as Japanese governmental leaders. As it now stands the constitution represents little more than a plan of government and of governmental action adorned by the flowery phrases of law from the highest to the lowest level.

The Preamble in particular leans heavily upon the transcendental. The intentions seem to be:

1. to prohibit war, making it nearly impossible for government to resort to such activity.
2. to establish the sovereignty of the people.
3. to nullify all previous 'constitutions, laws, ordinances, and rescripts in conflict herewith.'
4. to restore Japan to an honoured position in the international society.
5. to indicate a belief in international obligation as a truly universal responsibility.

Government of, by, and for the people is stipulated as a universal principle of mankind as are laws of 'political morality.' Obedience to such laws is required of all nations according to the last lines of the preamble. The style engendered at the start persists continuously through the lengthy statements

¹⁰ Tanaka, Yudouru, *La Constitution de L' Empire du Japon*. Paris, L. Larose and Forcel, 1899. pages 23-25.

¹¹ The document used in writing this paper is the *Official English Language Translation of new Japanese Constitution* circulated November 19, 1946 by the Far Eastern Commission, State Department, under the short title FEC 087/14.

in the opening paragraphs of the constitution. There is indication of a general effort to weld this document to an existing body of universal principles and laws which are assumed to be accepted by mankind and other entities natural and supernatural and to attribute to the constitution all the dignity of a decalogue.

A major purpose of many preambles to constitutions is not only one of hallowing the things to be said in the bodies of the documents but also one of indicating public opinion and public intent.¹² It is somewhat difficult to believe that the Japanese people would, unprompted, have spoken the mighty phrases which precede the body of their fundamental law, or, for that matter, that any people would express united opinion supporting such generalizations. Perhaps it is the desire of the creators of the constitution to express not what the Japanese now believe but what they are expected to believe in the future. The Preamble thus bears the added burden of being an instrument for the education of the people of Japan. Nor is it the only part of the constitution which appears to be designed for this purpose.

THE EMPEROR

Contrasting directly with the Meiji Constitution, the new document removes the Emperor from his position as the sovereign head of the Empire and relegates him to the status of 'symbol of the State and of the unity of the people, deriving his position from the will of the people with whom resides sovereign power.'¹³ The mechanics of ascension and succession remain, along with obligation to perform many ceremonial or semi-ceremonial functions of State. Chapter I of the constitution specifies his various activities, all of which are somewhat perfunctory. Article 4 in this chapter excludes the Emperor from exercising powers relating to government. His position as a symbol is fairly well assured in so far as written law can create such assurance. However, the importance of the throne as a symbol of authoritative government is not overlooked.

Walter Bagehot, in his discussion of the importance of the monarchy to the English government¹⁴ lays great stress on the value of the monarch as a symbol to which the attention, the allegiance and the obedience of the entire people may be devoted. He is:

1. 'A symbol of government which the mass of mankind, well-versed or not in matters of State, can easily comprehend. (A monarchy, to Bagehot, was an intelligible government whereas other forms might not be.)
2. A support of government through strength in religious leadership.
3. The head of national society.
4. The head of national morality.

¹² Friedrich, Carl J. *Constitutional Government and Democracy*. New York, Ginn and Co., 1946. page 160.

¹³ *The new constitution of Japan*, Chapter I, Article 1.

¹⁴ Bagehot, Walter, *The English Constitution*, Oxford, Humphrey Milford, 1928. page 30 et seq.

5. A disguise allowing administrations to change without loss of a sense of continuity in government.

Under the new constitution all of these rôles can be maintained singly or collectively by the Japanese Emperor. In fact the fifth of Bagehot's characteristics is already much in evidence. A sense of government and of law and order is presumptively allowed to continue to reside with the Japanese people while the old type of rule is overthrown and revolutionary procedure comes into play. The Emperor, although losing his control as sovereign ruler, remains as the unofficial head of national religion, society and morality. In this position he represents a carry-over of characteristics which are prominent in the Japanese polity. It is thus possible that, constitution or no constitution, the Emperor may again serve as the symbol whose capture and control signifies control of government and governmental policy.

BILL OF RIGHTS AND DUTIES

Since the unwilling grant of Magna Carta by King John I to the English barons, the documentation of constitutions of the Anglo-Saxon type has concerned itself in large part with explicit restraints upon government. The constitution, as a development of Western political ideology, grew through the period of the dispute over the social contract until it became a basic expression of the relationship to be maintained between the governing and the governed. As such an expression it has not lost the important listing of restraints. A Bill of Rights continues to hold its position in most governmental agreements as a basic part of the fundamental law.¹⁵

Two basic types of restriction are specified by the Constitution of the United States as well as by Magna Carta: the Petition of Right and the Bill of Rights. In all of these government is forbidden to do certain things, and government is directed to do certain things only in a prescribed and circumscribed manner. Restraints forbidding the entrance of the governing body into certain fields of activity are known as substantive restraints; those which limit the way in which certain activities may be carried on are classified by some writers as procedural restraints.¹⁶

The new Japanese constitution includes in Chapter III, as 'Rights and Duties of the People,' a long Bill of Rights. Chapter III carries much of the burden of guaranteeing a fixed relationship between the government and the governed. It serves as a means of conveyance for many principles. These are the principles which the Japanese people are expected to adopt as guiding axioms for the recreation and sanctification of the political, social, economic and moral polity which is idealized as the new Japanese State. Some thirty articles make up the chapter. They deal with both substantive and procedural restraints as well as with customs, morals and economic principles. The tone, once again, is the organ-like chorale of the Resurrection and the Light being passed on to the

¹⁵ Swisher, Carl B. *The Growth of Constitutional Power in the United States*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1946. pages 6-7.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Japanese people from the political oracles of the world. Article 11 specifies:¹⁷

The people *shall not be prevented* from enjoying any of the fundamental rights. These fundamental human rights guaranteed to the people by this Constitution shall be conferred upon the people of this and future generations as eternal and inviolate rights.

Article 12 charges the people with proper use and protection of the freedoms and rights guaranteed by the constitution, while Article 13 stipulates that the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness shall be the supreme consideration in legislation and other governmental affairs.

The generalizations in the first articles of Chapter III serve as a preamble for the specifics which are prescribed by the remainder of the bill of rights and obligations. Like the constitution as a whole this section is launched only after being christened as an unassailable part of universal law.

It is difficult to determine wherein the value of such a style of presentation and adornment lies. Chapter II, which renounces war and pledges Japan never to rearm, presupposes an 'international peace based on justice and order.' Other segments, later in the document, are comparably worded. It is perhaps intended that the couching of many of the sections in this language will aid in the effort to obtain a position for the constitution as a revered part of the governmental structure and institutional background of the nation.

Begehot classified the parts of the English government into two general types, the *Dignified* 'which excite and preserve the reverence of the population, and the *Efficient* by which the government works and rules'.¹⁸

There are two great objects which every constitution must attain to be successful, which every old and celebrated one must have wonderfully achieved: every constitution must first *gain* authority, and then *use* authority; it must first win the loyalty and confidence of mankind, and then employ that homage in the work of government.¹⁹

Universal law, used both subtly and boldly, may serve to colour the new document with the dignity of eternal age which is much revered by the Japanese. It may also promote a sense of world-wide belief in the Anglo-American type of 'rights.'

One of the important problems under the new constitution is that of creating a status for the Emperor which will be inferior to that of the constitution. According to the Meiji constitution, the constitution was inferior to its grantor, the Tenno. If the Emperor should succeed in morally retaining a superior status the new fundamental law cannot have the effect presumably intended by those who instigated it. The Emperor's traditional position is well known to every Japanese, particularly to the lower classes. He is the head of the State, of morality, of society and of religion in their conception. He represents government. He is the dignified part of government. As such he will tend to continue to seem superior to the newly created constitution now. And in case of controversy between the new document and the time-honoured Em-

¹⁷ The negative form of statement is interesting.

peror whom the Japanese have revered throughout their lives, it seems fairly certain that, barring some added influence, a large proportion of the people will for some time continue to favour the Emperor against their own constitution.

To elevate the new plan of government to a position morally as well as legally superior to that of the Throne will not be easy. It required considerable time and effort and several Acts of Settlement for the British to attain such a relationship. More time may be needed in Japan. The speeches of the Emperor admitting his unspiritual nature caused no great stir on the part of his subjects. His position in relation to them remained unchanged. Likewise the severing of ligaments between the State and Shinto religion caused no philosophic upheaval. The Emperor remains in a strong position as the dignified part of the State. Altering of the Japanese peasant's or labourer's attitude toward the Tenno may take considerable time.

While debasement of the Emperor may have been somewhat successful, the development of a separate superior dignity for the constitution seems more feasible as a means of achieving the desired relationship. The wordy creation of the concept of universal principles vested in the constitution may be directed toward this end.

During the heated discussion of the Draft Constitution in the committee appointed by the House of Representatives of the Japanese Diet, several interpellations were made concerning some of the more specific and extraordinary articles carried in what is now Chapter III of the promulgated constitution. Some committee members were of the opinion that the flexibility of the constitution, and consequently of the government, would be impaired. Changes in the social and economic structure of the nation could not be met by the government without an amendment to the constitution.

The problem brought to light by these interpellations and by examination of the motivation behind advocacy of early adoption which the occupation forces exhibited is not easily solved.

The new constitution carries many of the social and economic reforms desired by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP). These reforms give added import to the constitution. It is not only the fundamental agreement as to relationship between the people and the government, it is a statement of the relationships which SCAP wants to exist between the citizens of Japan. Likewise the reform measures or riders, which will be a part of the fundamental law of the land, in themselves limit the flexibility of the document, create a difficult problem of enforcement, establish an embarrassing task of interpretation, and provide several instances wherein provisions may controvert each other. The constitution is not only a statement of government and its relation to the people, it is also a conveyor of reform resolutions covering moral, social and economic areas. Such measures tend to straight-jacket the nation which, if it resents its fetters, may soon wish to be rid of those portions of the document limiting growth or change. This, of course, assumes that the Japanese will accept the sections of the constitution concerned with the relationship of individuals to individuals as binding with the force of law.

It seems fairly certain that the restrictions placed upon government will be

apt to gain the force of law with more rapidity than those reforming the social structure. One such government restriction, the second paragraph of Article 22, provided that:

Freedom of all persons to move to a foreign country and to divest themselves of their nationality shall be inviolate.

The emigration of the Japanese caused considerable difficulty between that nation and the recipients of an influx of Oriental immigrants at the turn of the century.²⁰ Solution was attained in the 'Gentlemen's Agreement' of 1907 whereby Japan reduced the number of emigrants going to the United States and its possessions by limiting the issue of passports. Such action may be cause for considerable adjudication under Article 122 of the new constitution.²¹ Control of emigration appears to be forbidden to the Japanese government.

The position of the government in relation to the economy of the nation is keynoted by Article 25.

All people shall have the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living.

In all spheres of life, the State shall use its endeavours for the promotion and extension of social welfare and security, and of public health.

Under this article the State can be called upon to legislate for social security, measures improving social welfare and acts advancing public health. The government may be given the burden, found extremely trying by the national government of the wealthy United States, of providing security to a nation which knows no such security at present.

Article 27 specifies that 'All people shall have the right and the obligation to work.' This is a departure from the ordinary type of democratic western constitution established under a capitalistic system. In this respect the Article is far less foreign to a socialist constitution. Article 12 of the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics reads:

In the USSR work is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat.' The principle applied in the USSR is that of socialism: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work.'

If the Japanese Article is interpreted to mean that those who work must continue to work, it can result in the outlawing of the right to strike. This, in itself, is an innovation not found in most constitutions of capitalistic nations. Inclusion of the right to work (not necessarily of the obligation to work) in a constitution is favoured by Carl J. Friedrich who aided in the training of United States Military Government Units as the Director of the School for Overseas Administration, Harvard University during World War II.²² It is his opinion that freedom to work is essential to the freedom of the citizen.

²⁰ Cf. Bemis, Samuel F., *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, New York, Henry Holt, 1938, page 668.

²¹ The Basic purpose of article 22 seems one of preventing state claims of dual nationality.

²² Friedrich, Carl J., *Constitutional Government and Democracy*, page 157.

The second and third paragraphs of Article 27 require that 'Standards for wages, hours, rest and other working conditions shall be fixed by law and that children shall not be exploited.' Once again, government is required to regulate, perhaps even control labour. The proscription of child labour may result from this article. But the problem again is one of the interpretation of the term 'exploited.' Considerable legislation or adjudication or both will be required to put teeth into this provision.

In its totality, Article 27 provides that all people can and should work, and that the length of time they work as well as the pay they receive shall be fixed by law. This interpretation, however, may find direct controversion in the next provision of the document. Article 28 states: 'The right of workers to organize and to bargain and act collectively is guaranteed.' Generally speaking, the things for which labourers do most of their organizing and acting are wages, hours, rest and better working conditions. All of these things will be fixed by law. If such matters come under government control, there seems little reason for organizing except to influence government. It is highly possible, then, that labour in Japan may necessarily fuse itself into a political party to obtain through government those things which would otherwise be the objectives of a strike. Article 27 and 28 seem to have little in common, except to force labour to use its influence on government rather than upon the employer.

Other rights which are most important, and most commonplace to citizens of the United States are incorporated in Chapter III of the constitution. Protection is guaranteed against illegal search and seizure, seizure of private property, inhuman or extraordinary judicial prosecution, double jeopardy, *ex post facto* laws, and illegal detention. Problems of interpretation will arise in the provisions specifying these guarantees as well as in those mentioned previously. In general, the same broad implications are derived from all the parts of Chapter III covering the rights and duties of the people. Many of these restraints upon government as well as upon the social and the economic structure of the nation are entirely new to the people, to the administrators, and to the government itself. They have little or no precedent to follow. Analysis of the discussion of the constitution by the Diet prior to its approval indicates many varied and often irreconcilable concepts of the meanings and significances of the clauses of the constitution. It is quite probable, therefore, that the new fundamental law, when finally effective, will require considerable legislation—far more interpretations which may, in themselves, determine the fate of the new constitution. The importance of those who first legislate and interpret cannot be overlooked. They will determine the tone of the document and control the constitution in action.

THE DIET

The rôle of the Diet under the old Meiji constitution was that of a sounding board. It registered general indications of the public opinion of parts of the nation. In the last decade of its existence the legislative body served to deliver general panegyrics on economy, but not to curtail any administrative expenditures, nor to limit specific activities of the government. The supreme

power in government rested with the Emperor and his ministers. The throne, as revealed in the executive, developed an almost uncontrollable power.

In an effort to create a mechanism of government which affords all the later and better developments in democratic systems, the authors of the new Japanese constitution revised the parliamentary system. Article 41, the first in Chapter IV The Diet, specifies that 'The Diet shall be the highest organ of State power, and shall be the sole law-making organ of the State.' The superiority of the Diet to other organs of government is thus intended to be guaranteed. The strength of the Diet, particularly the lower house, in all the functions of parliamentary legislative body is great on paper. Whether the Diet will turn its potential into kinetic energy remains to be seen.

Several important characteristics of the Diet are ascertainable. •

1. The Diet determines the number of its members, their qualifications for election, and the qualifications required of those who do the electing. Constitutional limitation on voting restrictions, however, restrains the Diet so that it can exclude neither voters nor representatives 'because of race, creed, sex, social status, family origin, education, property or income.'²³

2. The basis of representation and methods of voting may be determined by the Diet and established through passage of electoral laws. Geographic pattern seems required by the wording of Article 47 stating that 'Electoral districts, methods of voting and other matters pertaining to the method of election of members of both Houses shall be fixed by law.'

The concept of representation which developed under Anglo-Saxon governments seems to be based on one or two characteristics which may be products of the long usage of the English and American national systems. Delegates are expected to be apportioned geographically or numerically or both geographically and numerically. As a result of such localization or representation and election, the concept of the parliamentary delegate as a guardian of and deliberator concerning the national interest has fallen into disuse.²⁴ Such an attitude toward parliamentary election is far from universal.

Another type of representation used to advantage in Russia and other nations where economics and government are tied closely together is functional or occupational representation. This system is likewise an integral part of the corporate State as represented by Italy under Mussolini. Such representation can be used to advantage under socialist or syndicalist organization. It is not prohibited by the new Japanese constitution.

Proportional representation and its corresponding electoral system works to advantage in the Scandinavian parliamentary systems, in Ireland and in France and Switzerland. It is based on political principles other than that the representative elected by a plurality expresses the will of the whole of his constituents. Such a system of election could operate in Japan.

3. Parliamentary immunity is specified. Fixed remuneration and freedom from apprehension for political activity are guaranteed to members of the Diet.

²³ *The new Japanese Constitution*, Article 44.

²⁴ Cf. Friedrich, *Constitutional Government and Democracy*, page 399.

4. The Diet must meet in regular session once each year. Special sessions may be convoked by the Cabinet. One must be called when one-fourth or more of the members of either House demand it. Dissolution is by direction of the Cabinet. It occurs in the lower house only, and must be followed by a general election of members of the House of Representatives within forty days. The lower house must reconvene within thirty days after such election. No specific provisions indicate the procedure for adjournment.

5. The House of Representatives has legislative power superior to that of the House of Councillors. In case of disagreement between the two houses the constitution enables the House of Representatives to override the House of Councillors by a majority of two-thirds or more vote. Budget and treaty approval powers belong primarily to the lower house.

6. The House of Councillors may be characterized as maintaining continuity and dignity in the legislative body, while the House of Representatives serves to maintain sensitivity of the government to the 'will of the people.' The relationship of the councillors to the representative is somewhat that of a checking agent with veto power. Such veto power may not be as important, however, as the constitutional procedural restraint upon the lower house requiring deliberation and passage a second time after the upper body rejects a measure.

7. The power of interpellation belongs to each house.

8. The Diet is empowered to establish impeachment procedure through the enactment of laws. The Diet creates the impeachment courts from among the members of both Houses to try judges against whom proceedings are pending.

9. Investigatory power belongs to each house along with power to demand witnesses and records and testimony.

These are but a few of the more notable characteristics of the Diet. Quite apparent is the potential development of strong initiative on the part of the legislative organ of the new Japanese government. In order to check the administration the Diet may demand a special session. It elects the Prime Minister. It has power of questioning that executive and his ministers through interpellation. A majority of the ministers and the Prime Minister must belong to the Diet. The House of Representatives can oust the executive without reference to the House of Councillors. The lower house maintains financial control and may exercise initiative therein. Approval by the lower house is required in the ratification of treaties. The investigatory power enables either house to examine any of the operations of the government and of the administration. Thus the Diet is assured of its position as the highest organ of government, not only by Article 41, but also by all these other powers and privileges and by all these methods of exercising initiative. In fact, a runaway legislature may be possible.

The position of the lower house is that of part of the legislative body. But if it so desires, it may assume a rôle of executive leadership in government by means of overthrowing a type of executive leadership which it does not approve. This risks possible dissolution by the cabinet to be deposed. Therein lies the great gamble between Cabinet and Parliament in London which is

expected to develop in Tokyo.²⁵ According to the theory of Parliamentary organization, when Cabinet and Diet do not agree one of the two is out of step with the desires of the public. The determination of just which one it is depends first of all upon the political acuity of the executive in determining whether the legislature will support its programme, secondly upon the wisdom of the legislature in opposing the executive, and finally upon the political acuity of the executive in determining whether or not the legislature represents the nation correctly in opposing executive policy. It is apparent that the effective operation of the future Japanese government will depend upon the fusion of the legislative and executive functions, as in the case of the British government.²⁶ For it is separation of executive from legislature and failure to fuse which result in stalemate, resignation and dissolution. The legislature must create the executive with the intention of serving its creation as a master and a guide. When that intention disappears, the purpose of the executive is lost. Fusion of executive and legislative operations depends, in Britain, on the strength of the political party. A like situation could easily develop in Japan.

THE CABINET AS EXECUTIVE

Four principles of the constitution guarantee fusion of the legislative and the executive power which is vested in the Cabinet. First, all cabinet members are required to be civilians, thus diminishing the influence of the armed forces (which are abolished by the constitution).²⁷ Second, the Prime Minister and a majority of the Ministers of State must be members of the Diet. The Prime Minister is chosen by a resolution of the Diet with the vote of the House of Representatives serving as the decision of the Diet in case of disagreement between the Houses. Third, major disagreement between the legislature and the executive does not last. Resignation of the Cabinet or dissolution of the House of Representatives results from an impasse between the Diet and the Cabinet. This results in a general election after which the Diet elects a Prime Minister who appoints his Cabinet. Finally, the Diet may question any of the ministers at any time, and the Prime Minister or any members of his Cabinet may carry legislative matters to the floor of either House whenever they see fit.

The Cabinet executive created here parallels closely that of the British. The Cabinet is created by the legislature, but is able to destroy its creator. It is certainly the master and guide of its creator. Its powers, in addition to those of legislative leadership, are chiefly those of the executive of a modern government of parliamentary type. They include:

1. Power of administration including that of preparing and presenting the budget. Control and administration of the Civil Service as well as general control of the housekeeping required in government.
2. Control of Foreign Relations, the foreign services, and affairs of State.

²⁵ Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, pages 115-125.

²⁶ Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, page 9.

²⁷ The clause in Article 66 prohibiting ex-militarists was recommended by the House of Peers sub-committee after considerable deliberation. Cf. *Nippon Times* Oct. 4, 1946, page 1.

3. Power to execute the laws, including ordinance-making power and power to grant amnesty, pardon and restoration of right.
4. The police power.
5. Appointive power concerning the Foreign and Civil Services, judges and justices, and administrative officials.

The position of the Prime Minister in relation to the other members of the Cabinet cannot yet be determined. Actual practice is of the utmost importance in an analysis of such a relationship. Only a forecast can result from examination of the constitution. The wording of that document indicates that the holder of the post of Prime Minister should be a strong leader. He forms the Cabinet and represents it before the Diet. He reports on general national affairs and foreign relations to the Diet and himself exercises control and supervision over the administration.²⁸ He is head of the administration as well as head of the Cabinet. He appoints and removes Ministers of State as he chooses. He therefore seems to be far stronger than any members of his Cabinet or than the entire Cabinet itself. Such strength is dependent, of course, upon the relative political strength of the Prime Minister and the minister with whom he may disagree. The question of whether Prime Minister Attlee of England could remove Foreign Minister Bevin without suffering dire political consequences is one which might stir considerable argument. Yet, theoretically, the British Prime Minister is stronger than any single member of his Cabinet. It is somewhat doubtful that Prime Minister Yoshida, the present leader of the Japanese government, could remove State Minister Shidehara, leader of the Progressive Party whose continued co-operation with Yoshida's Liberals is necessary to the existence of his administration. While party relationships in the English example and the Japanese case are different, the question of Cabinet control remains the same. The same question will exist under the new constitution once it comes into effect. The position and relations of political parties will be of great importance in determining the status of the Prime Minister. Political parties may likewise determine the position of the Cabinet and the Prime Minister in relation to the Diet. If the Prime Minister is backed by a majority party, his policy may correspond in method to that of the Prime Minister of England. If, as now seems probable, he is forced to organize a coalition government, his policy may be similar to that of a Premier in France who finds his Cabinet subservient to a Parliament composed of members claiming allegiance to many parties and many political ideologies.²⁹ The problem of coordinating party objectives into a plan for government action of a unified nature then arises.

Not to be forgotten is the possibility of a divided legislative body. Due to the difference in length of terms for members of the upper and lower houses respectively, and to the possibility of a reversal of the national will as expressed by ballot after the dissolution of the House of Representatives, party relationships in the lower house may differ appreciably from those in the upper. Such

²⁸ *New Japanese Constitution*. Article 72.

²⁹ Friedrich, *Constitutional Government and Democracy*, page 365.

a condition could slow down legislative action appreciably. Even with the power of the lower house to override negation by the House of Councillors, a two-thirds majority of members present is required to override a veto by the House of Councillors. The Prime Minister may find it most difficult to push legislation through such a system if it is cluttered by divergent party wishes and demands. Log-rolling and horse-trading may become very important as political necessities. Political acuity will be essential in sponsoring legislation and in knowing how and when to dissolve the lower house.

Creation and resignation of a Cabinet will probably come about under circumstances somewhat different from those which governed during the period from 1931 to 1941. Refusal of the army to cooperate could cause the fall of a government.⁸⁰ Likewise the great business houses had a power to combine their efforts to impede the programme of a Prime Minister whom they disapproved, so strong was their political as well as economic power. Dissolution may be used by the executive in a truly parliamentary country as a significant tactical manoeuvre. Dissolution over an issue which the public supports to a great extent usually results in the return of a Parliament even more favourable to the Prime Minister than the previous body. Such use of the process has been found in England. But this use is most advantageous to the Cabinet of the government of a two-party country. Its efficiency is diminished in those nations having multi-party systems. Political manoeuvres become too complicated there.

An examination of the working of the 'fused executive-legislative body' and of the probable relations between the separate houses as well as between the administration and the law-makers indicates the importance of political parties in effecting or preventing the successful operation of the new governmental machinery. The Cabinet may be monocratic as in England, or collegial as in France or even Switzerland. It may have a single head or be composed of equals. The legislative body may be divided by cleavages caused by party differences or political variances which result in the halting of law-making processes.

The importance of the rôle of political parties cannot be overlooked.

THE JUDICIARY

The judiciary has been of little significance to the Japanese in the development of a constitutional government. It carried the highest prestige of the three major branches of the national organization for the Japanese but received the least approbation of the three from the occupational forces. Courts of law served as instruments of imperial power and of those who exercised that power. The sovereign served as the foundation of justice.⁸¹ Courts were expected to administer justice by punishing those whom the police forces apprehended. Public sentiment did not influence organization of the judicial system or opera-

⁸⁰ Quigley, Harold S. *Far Eastern War, 1937-1941*. Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1942. pages 151-153. In 1937 the Japanese Army refused to support wild General Ugaki for the premiership to which the Emperor called him.

⁸¹ Matsunami, *The Constitution of Japan*. page 47.

tion of the courts to a great extent. Judicial review of legislative action was not practised. The Ministry of Justice exercised a dominant control of the courts.

With a base of this sort upon which to work, it is extremely doubtful that a western-type judiciary can be easily or successfully constructed. Even the best of technical and professional advice and effort on the part of both occupational and home legalists cannot surmount such a handicap in a period of a few years.

According to the new constitution, the judiciary, patterned along lines similar to those of the American system, is to be an independent body serving as a definite check upon the legislature and the administration. The legislature will necessarily establish the judicial system, so specifies the document, as did the American Congress in the Judicial Act of September, 1789. But judicial processes remain within the discretion of the courts. Article 76 assures the independence of the jurists by directing that 'all judges shall be independent in the exercise of their conscience and shall be bound only by this Constitution and the laws.' Article 77 adds:

The Supreme Court is vested with the rule-making power under which it determines the rules of procedure and of practice, and of matters relating to attorneys; the internal discipline of the courts and the administration of judicial affairs.

Judges are exempt from disciplinary action by any part of the executive. They are assured of adequate compensation to be unchanged during their terms in office. They may not be removed except by public impeachment or because of a vote of disapproval in a reviewing election.

Appointment of judges is a function of the Cabinet. Such appointments are not considered and voted upon by the Diet. Rather, judges of the Supreme Court are subject to popular review at the next ensuing general election following appointment and every ten years thereafter. Popular control of judicial activity is thus written into the constitution. Members of the Supreme Court will follow the elections and the election returns very closely.

The Diet can exercise control over the Court by determining the number of justices, and by altering the retirement age. The original draft of the constitution specified seventy as the age of retirement. An amendment to the draft recommended in the lower house during the constitutional discussion resulted in leaving the age of retirement to the discretion of the Diet. Through these specifications court packing is possible and expedient 'juggling' of the retirement age may occur.

Incorporation of the doctrine of judicial review into the Japanese court system occurs in Article 81.

The Supreme Court is the court of last resort with power to determine the constitutionality of any law, order, regulation or official act.

Under the Meiji Constitution review of ordinances was exercised, but review of laws passed by the Diet did not take place. Judicial review is an Anglo-American development comparatively foreign to the Japanese way of judicial

thinking. Sir Edward Coke's efforts to check the exercise of sovereignty by King James in the early seventeenth century find no counterpart in Japan. The efforts of Tatsukichi Minobe to advance the theory that the Emperor was an organ of the State were choked off in the early part of the thirties by the rise of the Fascist-minded groups who forced him to keep silent.

In the new document, provision is made for both substantive and procedural review by Article 81. The justices of Japan can take over at the point to which John Marshall succeeded after the *Marbury v. Madison* case.³² In this decision he established the American power of judicial review for the Supreme Court of the United States. The question is, can Japan produce a Chief Justice or a Prime Minister or jurists or legislators capable of 'taking over' and operating the constitutional system which the western nations created with her own co-operation. Is there a John Marshall, or Coke, or a Burke or Walpole amongst those who will assume control of the machinery presented to Nippon? One thing seems certain. Whether or not great statesmen remain available in Japan after the purges now in progress, the successful operation of western law as it attempts to maintain eastern order can be achieved only by the Japanese.

FEDERALISM

The English writer on constitutional forms of government, A. V. Dicey maintained that three leading traits characterize completely developed federalism: supremacy of the constitution, distribution among bodies with limited and coordinate authority of the different powers of government and the authority of the courts to act as interpreters of the constitution.³³

Japan has a new constitution which provides for judicial review. Likewise a 'principle of local autonomy'³⁴ is specified by the document. Local public entities are directed to establish assemblies as deliberative organs and create chief executive officers to be chosen by direct popular vote. The division of Japan into a federal system will result, according to this plan: creating local government and organization, and systems whereby local problems will be settled by local authorities in a manner satisfactory to the local electorate. Through such a system the strength of the national government and administration can be limited and curtailed. Decentralization is seen as a means of weakening the national government as well as the spirit of nationalism.

The serious problem in creating a federal structure is the lack of any of the local spirit, knowledge or desire required by such organization. Actually carrying out the letter of the law expressed in Chapter VIII of the constitution may be the most difficult of all the tasks created by the adoption of the new document. It requires development of federalism; a system unknown to the Japanese since the Meiji Restoration. Under the old system of government, administration of Prefectures was the responsibility of the Naimusho

³² *Marbury v. Madison*, 1 Cranch 137, 163 (1803) *U. S. Reports*.

³³ Dicey, A. V., *Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution*. London, MacMillan, 1927, page 140.

³⁴ Articles 92 to 95, composing Chapter VIII of the *New Japanese Constitution* embody the principles of Local Self-Government.

(Home Office) with all local officials serving as members of the civil service. The local spirit was necessarily minimized in the drive for national betterment. To reverse the procedure seems difficult.

AMENDMENT

In his discussion of the amending process, Carl J. Friedrich finds three principles, supported by historical incidents, which are almost maxims of practical politics. To quote directly:³⁵

First, even the most flexible amending process cannot guarantee the constitution against revolution by those wishing to destroy not only the particular system of restraints, but all restraints. Second, a flexible amending process in fact facilitates a *coup d'état* (revolution from within) by a group desirous of destroying the constitution as a system of restraints upon governmental power. Third, a concentration of the amending power in a central legislature invites the application of violence in an effort to coerce such a body into exercising the amending power for the destruction of the constitution. It would follow from these propositions as a maxim of practical politics that constitutional limitations upon the amending power should not take the form of absolute prohibitions, but should provide for a greater diffusion of this power both by making it work slowly and in separate localities.

These principles could have been followed closely by the makers of the new Japanese constitution. Amendments, initiated in the Diet, require a two-thirds or more vote of *all* the members of each house. They are then submitted to the people at a special or general election. An affirmative vote of a majority of all votes cast ratifies the amendments which are promulgated immediately as fundamental law by the Emperor.

In this way diffusion of power to different localities and different constituencies is provided. First, the wisdom of the legislative body comes into play. Two-thirds of all members must favour the proposed amendment. Next the will of the people is checked. A majority of all votes cast in a referendum ratifies the amendment which must then be incorporated into the constitution. Prevention of a quick return of the militarists to power through the ever-possible *coup d'état* may be achieved through this type of amendment system. At the same time the process is not so difficult that it would not serve its purpose with efficiency and speed comparable to the British method of amendment, which likewise requires a general election.³⁶

The amending process serves as a safety valve allowing legal alteration of the fundamental law and providing for changes in the desires of the nation. It is a preventive of revolution, and may serve the basic purpose of an amending process.

³⁵ Friedrich, *Constitutional Government and Democracy*, page 151.

³⁶ Amendment in England is by Act of Parliament, however custom now requires dissolution and reelection of the House of Commons after presentation of a 'constitutional measure' to the Parliament and before the final vote. The main campaign issue at the election is the 'constitutional measure.'

CONCLUSIONS

The discussion presented here is descriptive rather than expository. The statements presented here as conclusions are little more than surmise.

The new Japanese Constitution is open to criticism on the ground that most of its solutions for problems in an oriental setting are handled in an occidental fashion. The document might operate very efficiently for a people already schooled in government by the people. It contains many innovations and combinations of machinery with which no western nation has yet favoured itself. Some doubts may be raised as to its successful operation and application in Japan, where the people lack experience.

Nippon's background of constitutionalism and of democracy is sketchy at best. Little time and effort were expended in their development as compared to centuries of activity which went into democratic growth in the western world. Such oriental development as has existed has left no major imprint upon any but the political characteristics of Japan. The social structure knows little change as yet. The new constitution, then, is not a part of an evolution. It is a mutation of importance—a mutation which may cause complete alteration in the form and the thought of the patient, or which may bring about his death.

An important feature of the new fundamental law is its definite establishment of the status of the Emperor in an effort to prevent use of this device as a means of attaining governmental control. Such use is not modern. It developed under the Ashikaga Shogunate as well as the Tojo Cabinet and its predecessors. The status of the legislature is stipulated and relations between legislative and executive branches are defined clearly and distinctly. The powers of each are specified. The judiciary assumes a western *modus operandi* and becomes a major branch of the structure through its power of judicial review.

Significance now attaches to the Japanese political parties. As in the days of the Rishisha, the stimuli of parliamentary strength will be the political parties. Their relationships and their activities will largely determine the effectiveness of the new government. No other organization serves to educate and inform the voters as well as does the political party. None yet established in democratic States is so sensitive to the desires of the people and so expressive of those desires.

Political parties appear in few of the fundamental documents of parliamentary countries and they are not written into the new Japanese constitution. They are present in the practical operation of governments, serving as an essential part of representative government. Their virility and continuance in Japan are essential, as is their support, to the success of the constitution. The 'dignified' and the 'efficient' stand little chance of sticking without them.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF MAHATMA GANDHI*

IV

POLITICAL IDEAS

By HORACE ALEXANDER

So much has been, and is constantly being, written about Gandhiji and his impact on the world, that some hardihood is required to add yet another assessment. At this hour, however, when India is on the threshold of that independence which Gandhiji has striven for during thirty years, it is appropriate to pause for a moment and to ask the questions: Is this the fulfilment of his life's work? Is his political task accomplished? Must India now turn to other leaders, to a different type of leadership, for the development of her free polity? Or, on the other hand, has his political teaching still some special significance for India and for the world? My own answer would be 'No' to all the first three questions and a very emphatic 'Yes' to the last.

What follows, therefore, is an attempt to restate his political philosophy, (though I rather hesitate to use such a high-sounding word as philosophy) and to suggest some of the things that the world should give special attention to in his teaching, now that we can view it in rather greater detachment from the struggle for Indian freedom, in relation to which it has found expression hitherto. I must add, too, that this is written, not in the light of any systematic and analytical re-reading of his own writings or of the writings of commentators, but rather as the personal reflections of an Englishman who has read most of his weekly writings for some twenty years, and has had a good many other opportunities of drinking from the fountain-source: of one who, moreover, in the course of travels in Europe and America, as well as India, has had many opportunities of hearing what people of many types and nations in many places think of India's greatest son.

In the first place, let us try to assign Gandhiji to his appropriate political grouping. Is he a conservative, or a liberal, or a socialist, or a radical, or a communist, or an anarchist? My reply would be, he is all these things. 'Then,' I seem to hear some impatient critic, who is an ardent adherent of one or other of these political doctrines, say, 'he must be a muddle-headed fool, from whom we can have nothing to learn.' Be patient, my friend, and let me explain why such a summary dismissal of his political teachings is not justified. I believe that in every human being who is not seriously limited in his personality, there is in fact some element of most, if not all of these seemingly contradictory attitudes to life. In my own experience, at least, I have noted again and again that men who are extremely radical in their politics may be ultra-conservative in art or in some aspect of their personal lives. Sincere and devoted communists can at the same time be thorough-going liberal individualists

*See Vol. II, pp. 352 ff., Vol. III, pp. 167 ff., and pp. 274 ff. for economic, ethical and religious ideas.

and so on. Now, the great merit of Gandhiji is that he is such a complete man that he can recognize the need for some element of everyone of these principles in the life of the community. Without being woolly, he can and does strike a balance among them all.

Let us look at the matter a little more closely. In what sense is he a conservative? Surely, in his recognition of the value of the great human heritage, both in religion and in social life. In his attitude to religion, he is in effect constantly saying to us: Here are the things that millions of human beings, including many of the world's greatest sages and seers, have lived by in the past. On these things they have built their lives and their social systems. Surely there must be profound truth in their teachings, even though they may need re-interpreting. Let us beware of simply rejecting it all as if it were mere outworn superstition. So, too, in social life. He sees that the ancient civilizations of India and China have endured through the ages, surviving shock after shock of invasion and of ruthless exploitation and massacre, because the common people have held fast to a social tradition, based on the local production of the necessities of food, clothing and shelter, held together by a tradition of family interdependence and of village self-government. Although his passion for the well-being of the Indian villager is at least equal to that of the most radical reformer of the younger generation, he is still able to see that the traditional life of India's villages contains values that must be preserved. To use the homely metaphor, he warns us against the danger of throwing out the baby with the dirty bath-water. So much for Gandhi the conservative.

Gandhi the liberal. For those who think of his life chiefly in terms of the movements of civil disobedience that he has led against the British Government, it might seem that he is a believer in direct action, rather than in the art of persuasion by reason, which, I take it, is the essence of the liberal creed. But this is a mistaken view. There can be very few men of his political eminence who have spent so many hours of their lives trying to reason with their political opponents. What are his daily prayer talks but appeals to reason? In all his public speaking, he shuns the arts of the orator. It seems that he never attempts to rouse the emotions, still less the dangerous passions, of his audience. 'Be reasonable, be restrained, be patient, think the best of your adversary, try to win him instead of coercing him'—this is his constant theme. And in private, what endless hours he spends in patient reasoning with his adversaries, whether they be critics among his own people or members of opposing parties or British imperialists or anyone else! He can be shatteringly frank, with his intimate friends, no less than with critics. But this frankness is always courteous, often shot through with humour, and he always tries to be fair to his opponent, to give him the benefit of every doubt. He is so far from the kind of temper that kicks a man when he is down that, instead his chivalrous soul leads him immediately to offer a helping hand, so that his opponent may stand up again. 'I am a born cooperator,' he is fond of saying. Surely all this is of the essence of the liberal spirit.

Is Gandhiji a socialist? I have always felt some hesitation in giving an affirmative answer to this question. But he himself seems so emphatic about

it that I think we must accept it from him.¹ As far as I know, he has never committed himself to the acceptance of any rigid socialist doctrine, such as the State ownership of the means of production, but, as a writer in the *Visva bharati Quarterly* has pointed out recently, his writings have a strongly socialistic tendency. He is at least a convinced socializer. He does not exempt any capitalist from the drastic doctrine that a man who consumes more than he needs is robbing the poor—a doctrine that searches the lives of most professed socialists. In so far as a man is a socialist if one of his main guiding principles in politics is that the needs of the community and the service of the poor should always override every selfish or individual interest, undoubtedly Gandhiji can claim to be such a socialist. To suggest that because he makes friends with certain capitalists, therefore at heart he is a supporter of capitalism, is as ridiculous as it would be to cast doubts on the sincerity of his pacifism because he makes friends with soldiers.

Gandhi the radical. Perhaps here it is enough to observe that whenever Gandhiji becomes convinced that an existing institution is evil, whether, for instance, British rule in India, or the social system of untouchability, he immediately becomes the advocate of radical measures. The evil must be cut out from the root, and no palliative or half-measure will satisfy him. He sees that, if an institution is radically evil, minor reforms may even be dangerous, since they delude people into thinking that the evil has been cured, when in fact only the visible growth has been cut down, and the evil root remains alive and hidden in the soil, to spring up again suddenly and unexpectedly as soon as the next rains come.

Is Gandhi a communist? Again, as with his socialism, if the question means, does he accept certain orthodox communist doctrines, such as class-war, dictatorship of the proletariat, the necessity of violent revolution as the only means to a classless society, dialectical materialism or any other materialist interpretation of history? then he is no communist. But if practice matters more than theory, then Gandhiji is much more truly a communist than most of those who call themselves by the name. Those who have lived with him even for short periods have had real experience of a commonwealth in which the principle of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his need' is the practice of daily life.

A rather closer analysis is needed of Gandhi the anarchist. Although I have no direct evidence that Gandhiji has been influenced by the writings of Kropotkin, I should not be at all surprised to learn that he has been. On the other hand, it may simply be that his experience and his own thought have led him to similar conclusions. One is often tempted to think, when reading his comments on public affairs, that he believes that that country is the happiest which has the least government. His ideal seems to be a land of self-governing, self-supporting villages, knit together by the very minimum of central control. His deep faith in the common man or rather, in common men—for it is one of his most singular characteristics that in an age which loves to deal

¹ Cf. for instance his articles WHO IS A SOCIALIST? in *Harijan* July 13 and 20, 1947.

with human beings, as with commodities, in the mass, to Gandhiji every single villager, however humble, however anonymous, is a soul to be respected and treated as an individual—naturally leads him to believe, that the decentralization of authority accords best with the dignity of man. It is here, perhaps especially, that his political outlook seems to be furthest removed from the normal teachings of socialism. To the socialist, it seems essential that the State should be given great authority in order to prevent the masses from being exploited by the power of individual wealth. The anarchist doubts whether the cure will be much better than the disease. Will the citizen whose actions are being checked at every point by an army of bureaucrats really have much more freedom, more scope for living a full life, than the citizen who is a wage-slave? Community control, says the anarchist, does not necessarily mean State control. Let the State, or today even the world unit United Nations or whatever it be called, have necessary powers of co-ordination, let it have powers adequate to prevent undue concentration of wealth in private hands. But this should be combined with the least possible central direction of effort, with the minimum of control over the individual life of the citizen.

Gandhiji seems to hold views that are much nearer to the anarchist than to the socialist view in these matters. But, here again, he is not to be identified with the whole anarchist philosophy; for, alongside his preference for the minimum of essential government, he fully recognizes the necessity for every happy community to accept the rule of law. No conservative could express himself more strongly on this. As a man who has been driven by his conscience to disobey the law of the lands in which he has lived, both in India and South Africa, he has again and again insisted that such a man must be specially scrupulous in obeying every law that his conscience does not reject. He must not get into the habit of thinking that because some laws are so evil that they must be resisted, therefore the citizen is free to resist or evade any law that he may find onerous or disagreeable. Gandhiji emphatically believes in 'going the second mile' even with an alien government whose whole system of government he is challenging, when it is merely a matter of carrying a tiresome load. Disobedience must be reserved for those occasions when you are prepared to die rather than to obey.

Of course, for Gandhiji as for other men, the rule of law in which he believes is primarily home-made law, or perhaps it would be better to call it home-grown law; that is to say the rule of community behaviour which has been found through long practice to accord best with the needs of the society involved: a law, a custom which can be modified by general consent, or by regular legislative procedure, as the pattern of life changes. Yet, so important is respect for law as cement to the life of a people that it is better, except on the rarest occasions, to obey a law fastened on a country by even an alien or tyrannical ruler, than to allow a general tendency towards lawlessness to develop.

Thus, we may see in Gandhiji's political outlook elements that are characteristic of conservatism, elements also of liberalism, of rationalism, of socialism, of communism, of anarchism, but also a high regard for the rule of law. Where is all this leading us?

In the first place, it is not surprising that a great original, as Gandhiji's whole life and character proclaim him, should refuse to fit into the conventional categories. But that does not get us far. What we want to understand is the nature of his originality. It surely consists, so far as politics are concerned, largely in this, that, in an age when people seem to be exceptionally open to the temptation of using any means that may appear to offer a short cut to a desirable goal—in an age when, in other words, ends seem to be everything and means nothing—Gandhiji is far more concerned about means than about ends. This emphasis he justifies on several grounds. The means, he points out, can be controlled for the means are the weapons we use today. The end always remains uncertain. It depends not only on what you and I do, but also on the unknown and largely incalculable action of multitudes of other people. Moreover, it may be doubted whether ends and means can be separated as much as many people seem to assume. Can a moral end be achieved by immoral means? Can freedom be won by coercion? Can a peaceful national life be built through a violent revolution?

Truth and Non-violence have been the watchwords emblazoned on the Gandhian banner throughout his public career. I shall not here attempt to discuss what the principle of truth means in its application to politics, though in fact something of its significance has already been indicated in what has been written above, especially in relation to Gandhiji's liberalism. But, to the world as a whole, Gandhiji is pre-eminently the outstanding man of this generation who has consistently advocated pacifism, non-violent action, as the means that should alone be relied on for settling disputes within or between nations wherever reason and persuasion have proved unavailing in the righting of wrong.

Hitherto, in spite of his own insistence that this is a principle of universal application, most people have in fact regarded it as a technique for the use of colonial peoples in their struggle to free themselves from alien rule. Many, indeed, have thought of it as an ingenious method of undermining the authority of a powerful government in an age when armed revolt is almost impossible, as the armed power that is at the disposal of the modern State is so overwhelmingly strong in contrast to anything the 'rebels' may be able to acquire. What is the value even of a few Bren-guns and some thousands of rounds of ammunition when the government can reply with bombs dropped from aeroplanes? This disparity between government and revolutionaries may soon disappear again if science can put new weapons at the disposal of all and sundry. But at the moment, civil disobedience may seem to be only realism even to those who totally reject the Gandhian teaching of non-violence as a moral principle.

However, in India today, and perhaps outside India, many people are inclined to argue: 'India has now won her freedom, largely through the inspiring leadership of Gandhiji, and largely by means of his clever technique of non-violence. It was the ideal method for the special circumstances of the struggle for Indian freedom, and all who have believed in Indian freedom must be eternally grateful to him. But now his special task is done.' 'His nonviolent technique,' so it is said, 'has no meaning for a free India living in a world of

armed States. Let us put him on one of those pedestals reserved for the world's unpractical dreamers, and let us pass by on the other side and get on with our politics of power.'

Gandhiji himself is well aware that this, or something like it, is the present temper of many of his hitherto avowed followers. In June of this year he was reported as saying: 'The non-violence that was offered during the past thirty years was that of the weak (in other words, I take him to mean, if they had had sufficiently powerful weapons of violence to overcome the British Government, they would have been happy to use them). It must be further admitted that such non-violence can have no play in the altered circumstances. India has no experience of the non-violence of the strong.'

What, then, is this non-violence of the strong? Has it any significance for the world today? And how is it related to the whole Gandhian view of politics as indicated in the earlier pages of this article?

It may be convenient to take the last question first. In many parts of the world until recently the only known way of changing a government that had become unpopular was by force. When such forcible revolution was successful, usually the chief men of the deposed government were imprisoned or executed. Under modern democratic procedure, it has been found more convenient to devise means of testing the popularity of governments by peaceful procedure, and even when the majority of the people have shown their desire for a change, the government that has been dismissed suffers nothing more severe than the loss of their ministerial salaries. Indeed, the practical-minded if illogical English have exalted the defeated minority to the status of 'His Majesty's Opposition,' and the leader of that Opposition receives an official salary to enable him to oppose His Majesty's Government more effectively.

True toleration, springing not out of indifference, but out of genuine respect for those who sincerely hold principles different from one's own, is the very antithesis of totalitarianism. It is at this point that Gandhiji's non-violence is connected with what I have ventured to call his anarchism. A few years ago it was customary to contrast socialism with fascism, as if these two political doctrines were completely opposed to each other at every point, and as if the world had to choose between them. Fascism meant concentrating power in the State on behalf of a small group of privileged people, socialism meant State control exercised on behalf of the community in general. But Gandhiji challenges the whole principle of such concentration of power, even on behalf of the general community. Both are apt to become forms of centralization, in which the citizen is unduly and unnecessarily ordered to act in conformity with some general pattern.

It may fairly be argued that totalitarianism, as we have seen it recently in the west, has grown from the seeds sown by Napoleon's system of conscription. The State begins by forcing every young man to spend a year or more in training to defend the country, in other words training to kill. Thus, at the most formative period of a man's life he and his fellows are put into a machine, out of which most of them come so moulded as to be the slaves of the State. Not only do they subconsciously imbibe the principle that every man must be pre-

pared to be a soldier, to engage in mass slaughter; they also come to assume that the State, usually the national State has absolute authority over them, body and soul, and can at any time command them to absolute obedience. Such doctrines, whether put forward by a capitalist State, a socialist State, or any other kind, are utterly abhorrent to the Gandhian, both because they are a blasphemy against human personality and because they give a distorted idea of the true duty that a man owes to the community. It is not the freedom of the unmitigated individualist that the Gandhian is claiming, but the freedom for each to perform appropriate duties to the community, not servile duties to the State. (In passing it should be noted that the whole idea of identifying the nation State with the community is as dangerous and false as the assumption that the only real conflict in the political world today is the question on whose behalf the State shall exercise its grossly exaggerated claim to authority.) There is a great deal to be said for enacting general obligations for all young men, and possibly women too, to give service to the community. But in most cases such service can best be planned by the individual in consultation with local authorities. Some may give their service by working on roads or railways, some in mines, some in the mercantile marine or as dock labourers, some in the fields. As far as possible each should be enabled to give the service that fits him best, for which he has some aptitude. Universal service thus organized would help every man to become a good citizen, healthy in body and mind, without making him a slave of the State or a menace to international friendship.¹

Complete renunciation of war and military training is only possible for a community whose citizens accept and rejoice in the rich variety of human types, and who have learnt the true principle of toleration.

Gandhiji is suggesting to the world that it is high time to apply this principle and method of mutual toleration to the relations of States, even when they find themselves in conflict. Armament of one State against the rest, as if the barbarous foreigners could not be expected to respect any argument except the threat of force, really suggests, not that the foreigners are barbarous, but that we are. As I understand the Gandhian view of international relations, it is something

¹ Just after writing this I read the following paragraph in Aldous Huxley's *Essay—SCIENCE, LIBERTY AND PEACE*:

'In discussing the possibility of abolishing war, another important point to be remembered is that the preparation for war and sometimes even war itself are things which a highly centralized government finds very useful for its own totalitarian purposes. Thus, peacetime conscription is always justified on the ground that it constitutes an insurance against war, or at least against defeat in war. In actual fact, of course, nations which have adopted peacetime conscription have found just as many wars as they fought before adopting it, and have suffered just as many defeats. The real, the unavowed reason for peacetime conscription must be sought in the all too natural desire of a powerful, centralised government to regiment and control its subjects by placing them, actually or potentially, under martial law and by arrogating to itself the right, whenever it so desires as for example, during an inconvenient strike, to call them to the colours. In these days of atomic weapons, mass armies would seem to have become something of an anachronism. Nevertheless, no country which imposed peacetime conscription in the past shows any inclination to relax its grip upon the masses of its people. Moreover, in countries where peacetime conscription was previously unheard of there are many high military and civilian officials who advocate the imposition of permanent military servitude upon the masses.'

like this; just as the world needs men of conservative mind, men of liberal mind, radicals, socialists, communists, anarchists, in order to ensure the right balance between the different forces that must interact for the harmonious and fruitful development of the whole community, so the world needs the varied contributions of Russians, Chinese, Africans, Americans and all the rest: if they would but learn to treat one another with mutual respect, the whole world would be enriched by the variety of their contributions. But there will be quarrels. What then? First, as rational, civilized beings, we must try to settle such quarrels by rational methods, such as direct conversations, what is called in the diplomatic sphere, negotiation. If that fails, let some world court be appealed to, or some disinterested party be called in to arbitrate. And if the worst comes to the worst, and some country falls under the rule of bad men who are determined to overrun and conquer their neighbours by violence, let the civilized peoples show their superior civilization by resisting, not with counter-measures of violence, but with disciplined refusal to cooperate with the aggressor.

Today, most thoughtful people in all lands will agree with all the above except the last sentence. All nations in a world community: good. Negotiations and arbitration instead of war: good. But non-violence in the case of aggression: no. Sadly they turn away, saying either, 'That is unrealistic,' or 'It is too hard for us.' Perhaps, even, they will say to Gandhiji: 'Yes, you may well call it the non-violence of the strong; but we must admit that we are not strong enough.'

The most obvious argument in its support is that the opposite method, namely, of meeting force with force, has been tried all through human history, and it has brought mankind nearer and nearer to the abyss of total destruction. The history of mankind seems to support the view expressed by Milton: 'What can war but endless war still breed?' This is not to say that no good has ever been achieved by war. It may be argued, for instance, that the liberation of the American negro-slaves, the union of Italy and her freedom from Austrian rule, and other good things have been achieved through war. These things might conceivably have come before very long through non-violent agitation, and it is probable that if they had been so achieved they would have left behind them far less bitterness than in fact has followed these and other wars of liberation. But this is a matter of speculation. What is certain, and what no honest pacifist ought to attempt to deny, is that there have been wars of true liberation; that war, therefore, can be the means of achieving ends normally considered good.

But, although pacifists, like other people, are apt to overstate their case, I do not think it is really part of that case to assert that war has never achieved any good. The case is, rather, that war inevitably involves such frightful evils, and always leaves behind so much bitterness, hatred and debasement of the moral courage that, even at the risk of enduring injustice for a longer time, more civilized and manly means must be found to resist injustice, domination and even armed aggression.

Mahatma Gandhi has spent his life in evolving just such alternative means of peaceful struggle. Have they any real validity for the modern age?

The sceptic will, no doubt, point out that no form of mass civil resistance can have the smallest effect against atom bombs. The bombs will drop equally on the pacifist and the militarist. But it may justly be pointed out in reply that, just as civil resistance is futile against atom bombs, so are conscription, battleships, submarines, machine-guns and all the rest of the traditional paraphernalia of the armed State. Why waste half of a nation's revenue on these ridiculous anachronisms, when the atom bombs and poison gas that can be suddenly released in the middle of the night from some remote hostile country will shatter them all in a few hours? Indeed, the pacifist case, even on the ground of expediency, is stronger even than this. For the unarmed country is far less likely to be the victim of atomic aggression than the well-armed State. Here again, let me not over-state the case. A small State, like Switzerland, may escape invasion because it is armed. But such States are not likely to be the victims of direct invasion. The real conflict today is a competition for power among some half-dozen great States, of which India will inevitably soon be one. Now if war threatens between France and Germany in Europe, or between Russia and India in Asia, a small State, such as Switzerland in Europe, or Afghanistan in Asia, may possibly be left neutral because neither of the great opposite powers thinks it worth while to add the small Swiss or Afghan army to its enemies. Yet even this is a most precarious security, as the recent history of Belgium shows. The Swiss probably owe their immunity more to their mountains, which make their country difficult for invaders, than to their militia.

In any case, the atom bomb has altered the whole strategy of war, and it may be argued with more force today than ever before that, in a world where no amount of armed preparation can possibly give security against sudden attack by the latest weapons, the safest policy is to have no armament at all, thereby demonstrating to all the world that here is one country at least that is prepared to rely on justice and honourable dealing, not on threats and sabre-rattling.

The conclusion each of us will reach at the end of this argument will depend on our conviction as to the nature of man. Is man at bottom a moral being, capable of living on good terms with his neighbours, fit to become part of a great world society? Is man fundamentally trustworthy? Or is he an untamable wild beast, whose greed and selfishness will always sooner or later get the better of him, and who must therefore be kept under severe restraint? In each of us, no doubt, there is something of the beast and there always will be; but also something of the angel (without the wings). When we think of ourselves and our friends, or our fellow-nationals, we are fairly confident of the angelic qualities, sure that we and they are fit to be free citizens of a free State. We never harbour these hideous thoughts of aggression against other nations, no, not even to increase our trade and our profits. But the other fellows. There's the rub. As we read our newspapers, and shudder with horror at the frightful deeds there recorded from distant (sometimes not such distant) places, we feel that we could not sleep securely in our beds at night if our government did not provide for our security against these monsters of foreigners.

But alas, that is just what every other nation also thinks, when it compares itself with the other nations.

It is surely one of Gandhiji's greatest qualities that he always believes that other men can be, and at heart really are, as good as he is. Perhaps that is the real foundation of his pacifist faith. We must trust the other nations, he says, to behave as well as we expect of our own nation.

There is, indeed, one great difficulty about extending the application of pacifist doctrine from domestic policy to the life of States. Whereas, in the sphere of non-violent resistance to injustice within a country, one man alone, or even a few, can start such a resistance alone, and so demonstrate its value, the disarmed State, which has resolved to live courageously in a world of armed States, can only come into being when there is a very wide-spread conviction among its people that such disarmament is good and right. The whole level of public morale must be raised to something far above what any nation has yet reached, before the great majority of a nation will be courageous enough to face the world unarmed. But that, after all, is all the more reason why students of world affairs, and all who care for world peace (and who does not care?), should give this matter their most earnest attention. The world does indeed seem to be faced with a choice between life and death. The old ways will take us surely to death. The Gandhian way the courageous way, using moral means to achieve the grand moral purpose of 'One world,' may bring life to mankind.

Let Gandhiji himself have the last word. 'Tit for tat,' he writes¹ 'is the law of the brute or unregenerate man. Such men have had their day. The world is sick of the application of the law of the jungle. It is thirsting for the brave law of love for hate, truth for untruth, tolerance for intolerance. If this law of regenerate man is not to rule the world, it is thrice doomed.'

RECENT POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN INDONESIA

By P. R. S. MANI

INDONESIA's political development is now closely tied-up with the interests in that region of Australia, U. S. A., Britain and to a lesser extent of China besides those of the Dutch. Recent debates in the Security Council have shown such interests to be not far from conflicting. Between Dutch willingness to abdicate their privileged position and delimit their sovereignty and Indonesian anxiety to moderate their aspirations for national expression, the interests of other countries have now to be integrated. Hence, the complexity of the Indonesian problem today and its little scope for a speedy and peaceful solution.

¹ *Harijan*, 22 June 1947.

The earliest political institutions in Indonesia are known to have been on a tribal basis. Latterly, in Java, village republics on the Indian model appear to have existed. Even today, the 'dessas' (villages) form vital units in the polity of the country.

When the first Dutch traders arrived in 1602, Indonesia consisted of a number of petty kingdoms with mutual jealousies. With their mastery of sea communications and superior weapons, the Dutch soon established overlordship. As in the case of the British East India Company, the Netherlands Government formally took over political and administrative control of the colony on 1 January 1800. Feudal institutions, which largely remained during the Company's time, were retained but the powers of the native chiefs were curtailed and more areas came under direct Dutch administration. For a brief period of fifteen years till 1815, the British held sway over the Indies. But when it was restored to the Dutch, the colonial government gradually came under increasing scrutiny of the States General. The Decentralization Law was passed in 1903 and a number of Residency and Municipal Councils were established for local administration as part of a scheme of devolution of powers from the Hague to Batavia.

Like elsewhere in the East, Japan's defeat of Russia early in the century produced a new psychology and gave stimulus to Indonesian nationalism. The Sarekat Islam, the earliest political party founded in 1911, and based on Islamic conduct gradually attained popularity. Soon, under the impact of leftist parties, it shifted its emphasis from Islam to nationalism and from unwavering loyalty to the Government to a demand for self-government for Indonesia. Their objective to establish a union of the Netherlands and Indonesia in cooperation with the government was also changed to one of complete independence to be attained by peaceful and constitutional means.

Realizing the increasing political consciousness of the people and pressed by the international situation, the Netherlands Government instituted a 'Volksraad' (People's Council) in May 1918 to enable the Indonesians to gradually assume full control over the colony. With 22 of its 60 members nominated by the Government and a President appointed by the Crown, the rest were elected on a limited franchise. The Governor-General, who was appointed by the Crown, had veto powers over the Council other than plenary powers. Indonesians, who were 97% of the population, had only 30 seats in it while there were 25 Europeans (0.4%) and 5 Indigenous Asians (2.3%).

Several attempts were made by Indonesian political parties to achieve their objective through the Volksraad. In December 1918, a motion was brought before it with a view to change it to a representative and popular body with legislative powers and making departmental heads responsible to it. The motion was lost and the more radical section of the Sarekat Islam, disgruntled and disappointed, formed the Communist Party. The new party grew in influence and between 1923 and 1927 launched successfully many strikes and lock-outs which brought the heavy hand of the Government on them. The prohibitive measures promulgated by the Governor-General caused bitterness and made the Council's work impossible.

At this juncture emerged the powerful orator, Ir (Engineer) Soekarno, with his sway over the masses, his eloquence, rhetoric and courage mixed with humane feelings for the common man. He founded the Indonesian National Party on Marxist lines but with 'Merdeka' (Complete Independence) as the only objective for the present. Besides Java and Sumatra, it caught the imagination of the masses in the Outer Islands also and for the first time a unity of conception was established. Under its banner, he forged a united front and organized an agitation against the new provisions of the Criminal Code enacted to stifle the political and labour movements. The popularity of this dynamic party was watched closely by the Government, who, in December 1929, arrested Soekarno and after a historic trial lasting for nearly a year, sentenced him to four years' imprisonment. He was, however, released after serving two years.

Then followed a period of agitation inside the People's Council and local councils. Indonesian members belonging to moderate groups formed opposition parties to the Dutch groups. In 1934, the NEI Government had once again to take strong measures and they exiled Soekarno to the Flores Island and Dr. Hatta to Upper Digul in New Guinea. Soetan Sjahrir, who now came on the scene as a labour nationalist, also shared the same fate and joined Dr. Hatta in exile.

In 1936, the Indonesians again attempted constitutional progress. A motion in the Volksraad petitioned the Netherlands Government to convene an Imperial Conference to discuss the best method of promoting self-government for Indonesia. Two years later, the Queen replying to it said that such a conference was not consistent with the existing constitution which did not provide for the right of Indonesia to self-government within the kingdom.

The storm and fury in Europe did not fail to have its effect on Indonesia where at an All Parties Conference late in 1939 Indonesians pledged the support of their people to Netherlands if their demand for a representative parliament owing allegiance to the Crown was satisfied. A year later, after discussion by the States General, it was turned down on the grounds that at the moment, when the world was threatened by fascists, it was inopportune and that the demand was confined to the intelligentsia without the backing of the masses.

The Japs took over Indonesia when the Dutch surrendered at Bandiong in Java on 9 March 1942. The Japanese, with their slogan of 'Asia for Asiatics,' were able to draw much initial support from the Indonesians. Towards the end of 1942, Premier Tojo announced his Government's intention to liberate all colonies formerly under European domination and in August of the next year, Lt. Gen. Harada, Jap Commander of Indonesia, spoke in similar terms and proclaimed that the time had come to leave the country to the care of her leaders.

He set up a Provisional Government, comprising a Dewan Poesat (Central Council) and several other local councils, with Soekarno as President of the Dewan. Although it was clear that the Japs intended it to subserve their war interests, with a fair measure of autonomy that was conceded to their

administration, Soekarno and Hatta successfully staffed the entire administrative machinery with Indonesians and enabled the quick training of Indonesian technicians by the Japanese. By clever propaganda, they appear to have intensified the political urge of the people. But they failed to prevent the extortionate demands of the Japanese war machine in men and material.

In Feb. 1944, as the war swung out of their favour, the Japanese quickly dissolved the Dewan Poesat and tightened their grip over Soekarno's administration. They trained an army of more than 60,000 Indonesians on fascist lines but at the same time fearing a revolt as their decline became known, they attempted to keep the Indonesians in check which was popularly resented. Quite a number of bloody skirmishes took place between armed Indonesians and the Jap forces. Also, anti-fascist underground groups under Sjahrir and Amir Sharifuddin began to function with greater vigour. Indonesians today claim that a united front to face the returning Dutch was gradually forged between them and the group cooperating with the Japanese.

The Japanese surrender on 15 August 1945 came so suddenly. Immediately Indonesians created a Preparatory Committee to declare their Independence. When arrangements were ready for a proclamation, they found the Jap military authorities hostile to the idea although several Japanese showed their sympathy. Ignoring the Japanese prohibitory order, thousands of Indonesians assembled in Batavia on 17 August when Soekarno read the proclamation of Independence. Indonesian youth claim to have rescued Soekarno and Dr. Hatta for the occasion from Japanese custody. The proclamation itself was short: 'We, the Indonesian People, hereby declare our Independence. Acts concerning the transfer of power, and so on, will be executed with exactness and as soon as possible. Djakarta 17th August 1945. On behalf of the Indonesian People, (signed) Soekarno-Hatta.' A preamble to a Provisional Constitution, *inter alia* mentioned: 'Since Independence is the right of every nation, any form of subjugation in this world, being contrary to humanity and justice, must be abolished.'

It is a unitary constitution providing for a republican form of government. The Preparatory Committee elects the first President and Vice-President who are to be elected, thereafter, every five years by a broad based Peoples Congress. The first Congress will also draw up the Constitution. On matters submitted by him, a Council of State is to advise the President and the concurrence of the Council of Representatives is required for every legislation. In his executive task, the President will be assisted by a Council of Ministers. But since 14 November 1945, the President has handed over the responsibility for the policies of Government to a Cabinet headed by a Prime Minister. Pending the framing of a Constitution, all powers are vested in the President, who is assisted by a National Committee.

The Republic also issued a political manifesto stating its right to freedom under the terms of the UNO Charter and its desire to serve the cause of peace and humanity.

Indonesians were not slow to take over control of all essential services from the Japanese, who, in some cases, resisted but mostly were content to collect

themselves in camps ready to effect surrender when the Allies arrived. Considerable confusion prevailed in Allied camps owing to the sudden surrender of Japan and when Gen. MacArthur assigned Indonesia to Admiral Mountbatten immediately after, the British found themselves quite unprepared and had few reports of conditions in Indonesia. The delay enabled the Republic to consolidate their position

Nearly six weeks after the Jap surrender, when the first British (Indian and British) troops landed at Tanjeongpriok near Batavia on 28 September they were greeted with freedom slogans in English and Indonesian, taken from Lincoln, Roosevelt and the Atlantic Charter and written in bold letters across the quayside. Indonesian red and white flags greeted the visitors from the top of every roof, warehouses and offices and young Indonesians stood by wearing helmets and bearing arms.

The next day Admiral Mountbatten, as Supreme Commander, S. E. Asia, issued a proclamation from Singapore announcing the Jap surrender and to the effect that Allied troops had arrived in Batavia to effect the surrender of Jap troops in NEI and to maintain law and order till the NEI Government was functioning again. He also added that Allied troops would gradually extend from Batavia to all over Java and that Japs were responsible for the maintenance of law and order till the Allies took over. Although the British were helpless, it was neither fair to the defeated enemy to use them as a police force nor a proper gesture to the people whom the Allied troops were liberating after more than three years of Jap occupation. But the same day, Lt. Gen. Christison, commanding the Allied Forces in NEI, struck a more realistic note while declaring at Batavia that British imperial troops had no interest in local politics and the Indonesian Government would not be expelled but would continue the civil administration in areas unoccupied by the Allies. Making a very friendly gesture, he said that Indonesian troops would not be disarmed and their flags could continue to fly and that he hoped to bring the Indonesians and the Dutch together. The reason for Gen. Christison's departure from the proclamation was that he quickly acquainted himself with the prevailing conditions in Java while the SEAC HQ had very poor intelligence reports from Java.

The forthright statement of the British Commander received a quick rebuff the next day from the Hague when the Netherlands Government stated that they would not recognize or negotiate with Sockarno's Government which they termed as a 'Japanese puppet government.' The position of the British was no doubt delicate. There was the obligation to their Dutch allies to restore their sovereignty over the Indies. There was also the realization of the strength of nationalist feelings in Java heavily supported by arms and the fear of repercussions in India and other British colonies at any attempt to stifle Indonesian freedom. The bulk of the British forces in NEI were Indian. Moreover, there was the responsibility to UNO and world opinion.

Gradually, the British took complete control of Batavia but the NEI civil administration came in their wake. A Dutch Army HQ was also set up, and more Dutch troops began to trickle in. Buildings taken over by the

British were handed over to the Dutch and the British abetted Dutch political infiltration into Batavia, at the same time taking great care not to offend Indonesian sentiments to any great degree. The difficulty of the problem was also aggravated by Dutch internees evacuated by the British. While the Dutch in Holland were oblivious of the changes that had taken place in the Indies as a result of Jap occupation, these internees were not aware of the immense change in men's minds all over the world, due to the last war. The Dutch failed to appreciate and repeatedly cast doubts on British intentions and sharply sniped at British policy. Since they were not ready militarily, the Dutch expected the British to weaken the Republic with their Indian troops. In this atmosphere, provoked also by armed extremist elements on the Indonesian side, frequent small-scale clashes occurred in Batavia and other areas occupied by the British. Literally, there was peace and order where there were no foreign troops.

Then, the NEI Governor-General, Dr. Van Mook, a liberal administrator with a deep affection for the Indies and quite in touch with moderate Indonesian opinion, making the first move on 15 October, announced to the press that his Government was willing and anxious to negotiate with the Indonesian leaders on the basis of Queen Wilhelmina's declaration but not before the 100,000 European and Eurasian internees (including women and children) were evacuated without being held as hostages. He maintained that military compulsion prevailed in the Republic but agreed that the colonial system should go.

The Queen's declaration in Dec. 1942, made in grief over the loss of the Indies, provided for a Round Table Conference of representatives from Holland and all parts of the Empire and envisaged a Commonwealth in which the Netherlands, Indonesia, Surinam, and Curacao would participate 'with complete freedom of conduct for each part regarding internal affairs, but with the readiness to render mutual assistance.' This being unacceptable to the Indonesians, they rejected the proposals of Dr. Van Mook. However, they indicated willingness to meet the Dutch in conference under the chairmanship of Gen. Christison, of whom they demanded that no more Dutch troops should be allowed to come in and that till the Indonesian question was reviewed by an international authority, Soekarno's Government should be recognized as the '*de facto*' administration.

British policy was succinctly stated in the House of Commons by Premier Attlee on 17 October when he assured the world of British intention to remain neutral in Indonesian politics, emphasized the strong moral obligation of Britain to her ally the Netherlands to protect her sovereignty in NEI till she was able to take over control and also promised to withdraw British troops at the earliest. But at Batavia the British were negotiating to be chosen as mediator between the two parties.

On behalf of the Republic, Amir Sharifuddin, Minister for Information and an anti-fascist resistance leader, issued a statement on 25 October expressing willingness to open negotiations but only if the right of self-determination for the Indonesian people was acknowledged. He also, stressing the need for

a third party as mediator, added: discussion of the question could be fruitful and ensure lasting peace only if held on an international platform.

Meanwhile, the military situation deteriorated considerably all over Java and in the last week of Oct. 1945, pitched battles were fought in Soerabaya between Indonesian youths and an Indian brigade under Mallaby, who was killed by a grenade thrown by his own troops at two of his assailants in the midst of a truce negotiation.¹ The provocation was definitely on the British side and was one of lack of tact. The British Brigadier thundered to the highly sensitive and well-armed Indonesians; 'I am the ruler of this place and all of you have to take orders from me,' which started the trouble.

Since they were anxious to withdraw, British pressure on both parties to meet each other increased. On 30 October President Soekarno met Dr. Van Mook at Gen. Christison's residence and the next day, Dr. Van Mook delivered his proposals. Stating that the Netherlands Government appreciated the legitimate aspirations of Indonesians, he proposed a central government for NEI to consist of a democratic representative body with a substantial majority of Indonesians and a Council of Ministers under the Governor-General as the Crown Representative. Indonesia was to become a full partner in the Kingdom as a Commonwealth with control of internal affairs and he promised an economic policy of rehabilitation for the benefit of the people. These proposals were negatived when the Hague announced on 3 November that Dr. Van Mook was negotiating against the expressed wish of the Netherlands Government.

The Potsdam assignment to the British, the evacuation of Jap prisoners and internees, had made little progress. The British felt that armed Indonesian extremists were hindering this work by clashes with British troops. So, they occupied several coastal towns and a few in the interior by limited military operations. But in Soerabaya, they waged a full-scale war, supported from the air and sea.

The Republic suffered a set-back owing to the clashes of their extremists with the British troops. These gave the impression that the Republic exercised meagre control and that Japanese-inspired elements were still quite strong in their political life. The Dutch were still adamant in their refusal to negotiate with Soekarno on the ground of his having cooperated with the Japs. The extensive powers of the Indonesian President also tended to give the impression of a totalitarian régime. On British efforts and realizing its international effect, Soekarno agreed to the formation of a Cabinet responsible to the National Committee. The choice of the Premier naturally fell on Soetan Sjahrir, President of the Committee and an anti-fascist who had led an underground movement against the Japanese. He formed a government on 13 November and promised to democratize the government and eliminate vestiges of Japanese influence.

In order to smoothen the atmosphere, Dutch troops were temporarily

¹ The writer was one of those who went through the thick of the fighting there and the Indonesians claimed him a prisoner.

withdrawn from Java. But clashes continued between British troops and armed Indonesians causing much embarrassment to Sjahrir's Government. But the events were only symptomatic of the violence generally associated with the transition period in any country emerging to freedom.

A promise to withdraw British troops once their military objective was attained was made by Bevin, the Foreign Minister, in the House of Commons on 1 December. He stressed Britain's obligation to her Dutch ally but added: 'We do not want to fight the Indonesians.'

Three days later, Sjahrir said his Government was ready to submit the Indonesian question to the UNO for arbitration and to the Dutch, he added: 'If the Dutch recognize our right to independence, then we shall accept Dutch cooperation in the economic and technical spheres. We should even be ready to give them a privileged position in view of their special interests and long association with the Indies.'

The end of November found the British no nearer the accomplishment of their Potsdam tasks. It involved conflicts with Indonesians quite unappreciated both in India and the U. K. Then, Mountbatten resolved to seek the assistance of the Republic for the evacuation of the internees and the Jap prisoners. At a conference in Singapore on 5 December Dr. Van Mook reluctantly agreed to it since his government had not enough troops at the moment to relieve the British. Alternating between clashes and protests, the Indonesian Army assisted in the tasks; for their efficiency, there was no lack of appreciation from the British HQ. As a result of this evacuation operation, more cordial relations developed between the British and Indonesians much to the chagrin of the Dutch which was reflected in an abortive attempt on Sjahrir's life by Dutch troops in Batavia.

After a conference Premier Attlee held at Chequers on 27 December with the Dutch Prime Minister accompanied by Dr. Van Mook, the Dutch felt relieved and fresh moves were made. Gen. Christison was relieved by Gen. Stopford and Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, previously British Ambassador to Moscow, arrived in Batavia on 1 February 1946, to promote an understanding between the Indonesians and the Dutch Government. Dr. Van Mook gave to Sjahrir proposals which had already been shown to the States General. Based on the Queen's declaration of 1942, it envisaged a Commonwealth of Indonesia composed of units with different degrees of autonomy, as a partner in the Netherlands Kingdom, its domestic affairs being managed independently by its own institutions. The partnership was to last for a limited period and its extension was to be decided either by conciliation or arbitration. A representative democratic body was to be created for the Commonwealth with a majority of Indonesians in it and a Cabinet was to be formed with a representative of the Crown as the Head of the Executive, who would be invested with special powers to guarantee fundamental rights under Article 73 of the UNO Charter. Both Indonesian and Netherlands citizens were to exercise civic rights all over the Kingdom.

Negotiations commenced under the chairmanship of Sir Clark Kerr on 23 March after prolonged discussions. Indonesians were unwilling to proceed

on the basis of the Queen's declaration and protested that the Dutch proposals aimed at self-determination for Indonesians within the Netherlands Kingdom while in actuality Indonesians were already independent. They suspected in the elasticity of the transition period a device to reimpose colonialism. A dispute over the question of sovereignty was averted on Clark Kerr's suggestion to Van Mook to concede, in relation to actual facts, '*de facto*' authority to the Republic in Java, Madoera and Sumatra and in other areas, the question was to be determined by a plebiscite. Since he had no authority to negotiate on such a basis Van Mook desired to take it to the Hague whither Clark Kerr and an Indonesian delegation (as observers) accompanied him. In spite of the British Envoy's special efforts, the Netherlands Government did not accept the proposals and declined to deviate from their statement of policy of February.

Meanwhile, the heated debates in the UN Security Council in Feb. 1946 on Indonesia raised the morale of the Republicans and strengthened their attitude. The Ukrainian resolution, which was defeated, said that the use of British troops against Indonesians was neither just nor right, the use of the Japanese in such actions was inadmissible, Indonesians should be accorded the rights established in the UNO Charter and a UN Commission should be sent to Indonesia to enforce the rights.

There was once again a stalemate in Indonesia but consultations with the parties were pursued by the British both at Batavia and the Hague. On 2 May Prof. J. H. A. Logeman, Dutch Minister for Overseas Territories, made a lengthy statement of policy in which after analysing the Japanese influence still permeating Indonesian society and polity, he conceded for the first time an autonomous Indonesian Republic as part of a Federal Commonwealth of Indonesia in those areas where the Republic exercised '*de facto*' authority, which according to him, were those areas of Java and Madoera unoccupied by Allied troops. He specifically excepted Sumatra and his statement was approved by the States General on 7 May.

Frequent private meetings were held between Van Mook and Sjahrir, On 6 June Sjahrir submitted the Indonesian counter-proposals. They were mainly demands for the conclusion of a treaty according '*de facto*' recognition to the Republic, the Netherlands to guarantee cooperation in the establishment of an Indonesian Free State which would enter into an alliance with the Netherlands and to cease hostilities with *status quo* restored. These proposals were rejected by the Netherlands Government.

In the end of June, as part of a wave of political unrest gripping both Java and Sumatra and dissatisfaction caused by the Republican Government's negotiations, a group led by Tan Malacca, a Communist of repute but who had ceased connexions with the local Communist Party, and Dr. Seebardjo, ex-Foreign Minister in the first Government under Soekarno, attempted to capture power by first kidnapping Sjahrir and some of his colleagues on 27 June. The plot was frustrated by loyal troops. Declaring an emergency and a state of siege, President Soekarno assumed all powers himself. After four days of his making a nation-wide appeal to help find Sjahrir, the latter was

released by his captors, a few soldiers who were ignorant of their charge. Since further talks with Van Mook were impending, Sjahrir was appointed Foreign Minister by the President.

At a conference convened by Dr. Van Mook in Malino in Makassar on 16 July select representatives from Celebes, Borneo, Banka, the lesser Sunda Islands and the eastern part of the Archipelago resolved to set up a United States of Indonesia with a federal government, within the Netherlands Kingdom for a limited period (the period being fixed by a Round Table Conference) and expressing desirability of permanent cooperation between the United States of Indonesia and the Netherlands. The conference also desired cooperation with Sjahrir and his supporters. An analysis of the results of the conference reveals that agreement was obtained at this conference on the very points rejected by the Republic.

The British were now committed to evacuate their troops by 30 November. With only four months before them, they pressed for another effort at agreement. On 6 August Sjahrir was again asked to form a government by President Soekarno. Holland also desired another effort before despatching more troops. The same month, the Dutch Parliament empowered a Commission General to Indonesia with plenipotentiary powers to seek a solution with the Republic. Simultaneously, Lord Killearn, Special British Envoy in S. E. Asia, deputed by HMG to study the prospect of truce between the Dutch and Indonesians, arrived in Batavia. Chosen by both the Republican delegation and the Commission General as Chairman, he assisted in evolving a joint truce declaration, the cease fire order for which was issued early in November. But more Dutch troops poured in as the British handed over more areas to the Dutch. The perseverance of both Sjahrir and Prof. Schermerhorn to achieve a political settlement prevailed over mutual suspicions. Lord Killearn again presided over the final discussions. Finally, a draft Indonesian-Dutch agreement was initialled by both parties at a village called Linggadjati near Cheribon on the north coast of Java. It was to be signed after ratification by both governments.

Under the agreement, the Dutch agreed to recognize the Republic as exercising '*de facto*' authority over Java, Madoera and Sumatra. The entire territory of Indonesia was to be organized as a sovereign State on a federal basis known as the United States of Indonesia. There was to be a Netherlands-Indonesia Union under the King (Queen) and the new State was to be set up before 1 January 1949. Defence, foreign relations, finance and subjects of an economic and cultural nature were to be regarded as interests common to both units. Armed forces were to be reduced by both parties and a joint committee of both delegations was to continue and work out the cooperation envisaged in the Agreement. Any dispute undecided by joint delegations was to be taken for arbitration either by a mutually agreed Chairman or a Chairman nominated by the President of the International Court of Justice. The Republic also recognized the claims of all non-Indonesians to the restoration of their rights and the restitution of their goods within the territory over which it exercised '*de facto*' authority.

The position of the Dutch King (Queen) in the Agreement was strongly opposed by a section of Indonesians. Opposition to it was much greater in Holland where it was regarded as a violation of the terms of the Queen's declaration of 1942, since it created a new State outside the Kingdom. After Prof. Jonkman, Minister for Overseas Territories, had given an assurance that 'Union' meant in reality 'within the Kingdom' and Prof. Romme had incorporated in the motion, 'it had never been the intention to bring down the Crown to a mere ornament. It stipulates that in this union, the Crown is given a position in accordance with its present position in the Netherlands,' the agreement was ratified by the States General.

Early in March 1947, the Agreement was ratified by the Indonesian National Committee (Provisional Parliament). After heated discussion, approval was given on condition the Government did not accept the interpretations given in the States General. Meanwhile, the cease fire order was broken and the Dutch, extending their perimeter from Sourabaya, occupied Modeekarto. Although explanatory letters had been exchanged between them on the interpretations given in the Hague over the Agreement, Sjahrir refused to sign it till the *status quo* in Modeekarto was restored. Demilitarization of the zone was agreed to as a compromise and the Linggadjati Agreement was signed by both on 25 March with the reservation to hold their own interpretations to the disputed clauses.

Meanwhile, the military situation also began to deteriorate with frequent clashes in Java and Sumatra and a new wave of resistance to Dutch authority in the Outer Islands. More Dutch reinforcements also began to arrive. On 27 May, the Commission General presented a memorandum to the Republican Delegation inviting their cooperation for the early formation of an interim government for the United States of Indonesia and to implement the Linggadjati Agreement. The main proposals were: (a) the interim government will have at its head a representative of the Crown, who, during the transition period, will have decisive powers over the Government which will aim at reaching decisions unanimously; East Indonesia and Bornco will also be invited to assist in the formation of the interim government and to share in its work; (b) during the transition period the '*de jure*' powers with respect to the interim government will continue to be exercised by the Netherlands Government through the Minister for Overseas Territories who will be advised by a Council on which Indonesia will be represented; (c) to administer the foreign affairs of Indonesia during the interim period, a Foreign Affairs Council is to be set up with the head of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Netherlands Foreign Ministry as its Chairman and two representatives from the Republic, one from East Indonesia and one from Borneo as its members, Indonesia is to appoint a Commissioner in the Netherlands; (d) a joint *gendarmerie* is to be formed for maintaining law and order and to guarantee safety of persons and property, including the person and property of foreigners; (e) an administrative council is to be set up to administer import, export and foreign exchange, and to create a central organization for the sale of estate produce and the early return of estates, industries and goods belonging to non-Indonesian owners without any conditions being

attached to them. The Commission General demanded an answer within fourteen days failing which they threatened to discontinue discussions and report to the Netherlands Government for further action.

On 7 June the Indonesian Delegation in their reply stated; (a) the Linggadjati Agreement should be worked out integrally and not clause by clause and hence for this reason, they accepted the early formation of the interim government for the United States of Indonesia; (b) during the interim period, the '*de facto*' status of the Republic should remain unchanged; (c) they were prepared to recognize the State of East Indonesia although it had been created unilaterally in Dec. 1946 by the Dutch at Dan Pessar in Bali, in contravention of the spirit of cooperation agreed to in the Agreement; (d) the title 'Governor-General' should be changed to High Commissioner; (e) at least half the members of the interim government should be nominees of the Republic, its decisions shall be by a majority vote and its tasks shall be to prepare for a Constituent Assembly to draft a Constitution for the USI to settle current matters and to transfer the authority of the Netherlands Government to the federal organs and to the authorities in individual States; (f) soon after the formation of interim government, the Netherlands should take steps to sponsor Indonesia as a member of the UNO and to arrange for separate representation of Indonesia in other countries; (g) as regards military matters, though they would accept aid in the shape of advisers and material, they stressed that law and order in their territory were a responsibility of the Republican police and not of the Netherlands Army; (h) as regards economic matters, they were prepared to return all foreign property except those which they proposed to nationalize but required that returning foreign owners should take note of changed conditions between labour and capital in Indonesia.

In a letter addressed to the Republican Delegation on 20 June the Commission General expressed disappointment at their reply of 7 June and complained that it showed distrust of the Netherlands stand. In their opinion, the Republican Delegation had rejected in practice many of the important points of the Linggadjati Agreement and were unwilling to cooperate further in the spirit of that Agreement.

Meanwhile, Sjahrir as Chairman of the Indonesian Delegation wrote to the Commission General the same day (their letters crossed in transit) stating that the Indonesian Delegation accepted (a) the formation of an interim government and that discussions regarding its formation should start immediately so that it could commence functioning before the middle of July; (b) the '*de jure*' and formal position of the Crown Representative as proposed in the Commission General's note of 27 May; (c) and the stipulation that the task of the interim government shall be the formation of federal bodies as mentioned in the note of 27 May.

On 21 June, the Commission General wrote back to Sjahrir asking if his letter of the previous day meant acceptance of the proposals of 27 May in their entirety. On 23 June, Dr. Van Mook handed over to Sjahrir an *aide memoir* from the Netherlands Government in which it made a last urgent appeal to the Government of the Republic to accept the proposals of 27 May.

This pressure politics was, however, too much of a strain for the infant Republic and it tended to break down. Sjahrir who had conceded qualified agreement to all the Dutch proposals in his letter of 20 June to the Commission General, was apparently aware of impending Dutch military measures and the approaching crisis of war. His attitude appears to have been that if he could ward off the crisis which threatened the safety and the very existence of the Republic, he could later redouble efforts inside the interim government to strengthen the Republican viewpoint and ultimately bring about a United States of Indonesia of their conception. Unfortunately neither the strong leftist group nor other parties in the Working Committee of their provisional parliament appreciated his viewpoint. On the other hand, his conciliatory gesture was interpreted as an unworthy concession, although, for the time being, in reality it was a concession. When the matter came up before the Working Committee, he found all-round opposition to his attitude and resigned on 27 June.

Immediately, under a special decree, President Soekarno assumed all powers but retained the old Cabinet as advisers. The same day, replying to the Dutch *aide memoir*, he said, among others things; (a) there was complete agreement regarding the formation of the interim government; (b) the points regarding implementation were to be handled by joint delegations of the Republic and the Commission General; (c) the '*de facto*' authority of the Republic during the interim period should continue; (d) there was no objection to a Dutch representative in the interim government; (e) the Republic would not accept a joint *gendarmérie*; (f) the removal of present demarcation lines and the withdrawal of armed forces in those areas to their barracks were essential; (g) there must be an immediate and substantial reduction in troops on both sides in order to break the tense atmosphere; and that (h) in the spirit of the Linggadjati Agreement, a beginning should be made for the practical execution of it forthwith.

Early in July, the U. S. Consul General in Batavia presented an *aide memoir* on behalf of his Government to the Indonesian Government which urged them to cooperate immediately in the formation of an interim government on the basis that the Netherlands was to retain sovereignty and ultimate authority in Indonesia during the transition period, as agreed upon in the Agreement. They also promised financial aid to rehabilitate Indonesia after the formation of the interim government. The British Government also urged them to accept the Dutch proposals of 27 May.

On 3 July, a new Indonesian Cabinet was formed with Dr. Amir Sharifuddin as the Premier. On 8 July, the Republican Government presented a note accepting all the Dutch proposals in substance except the one of a joint *gendarmérie*. The Republic resiled from its original stand on all the points. They now were prepared to recognize the '*de jure*' authority of the Netherlands Crown Representative in the interim government during the transition period, accept Crown representatives on the interim government and to promise unconditional restoration of foreign property.

On 10 July speaking in the States General, the Dutch Prime Minister

Dr. Beel revealed that a military campaign was contemplated if the Republic did not accept all the Dutch proposals of 27 May. On 15 July, Dr. Sharifuddin had talks with Dr. Van Mook and compromise proposals over joint *gendarmerie* were discussed but no decisions were arrived at. The same day the Dutch gave a 24-hour ultimatum to the Republic to cease hostilities. On the 17th, the Republic replied to the following effect: (a) a general cessation of hostilities was to be ordered by high military officers on both sides, (b) measures should be taken to stop hostile propaganda and restore mutual confidence; (c) demarcation lines were to be abolished and a joint control police force was to be established and troops were to be withdrawn two kilometers from the existing demarcation lines; (d) troops not required were to be ordered to return to the barracks; (e) the Federation was to have a joint police force but the Republic should have a mobile police force to maintain peace within its own territory; and (f) the Republic strongly opposed the entry of Dutch troops into its territory and hence could not accept Dutch proposals of a joint *gendarmerie*. The Republic also asked for a postponement of the 24-hours ultimatum. As the tension mounted, the U. S. offered their good offices to the Dutch which was not accepted. Britain also indicated willingness to offer their good services. On 17 July, the United Press reported from the Hague that Van Mook had been given all powers to use force against the Republic if it still did not agree to the Dutch proposals. On 19 July, the situation reached a complete deadlock. The next day at midnight, the Dutch commenced their 'police action'. The last Republican note recommending peaceful negotiation and arbitration for solution of Indonesian-Dutch differences sent on 19 July, was not replied to by the Dutch.

With their well-equipped and well-trained army, the Dutch had little difficulty in occupying large portions of west and east Java but in Sumatra, owing to the terrain, their progress was little.

At the instance of India and Australia, the state of war in Indonesia as a threat to world security and peace was raised in the Security Council early in August. On 1 August, the Council asked the Netherlands and Indonesia to stop fighting immediately and to settle their dispute either by arbitration or by other peaceful means and to keep the Security Council informed about it. At a further session on the same question on 26 August, the Security Council decided that the Consuls in Indonesia should supervise the cease fire order and that the Security Council would offer its good offices to the parties by the appointment of a committee of three countries. France used her veto to stop a proposal to send UNO Commission to investigate the dispute.

It is expected that the question will come up again before the General Assembly session of the UNO this year. This would mean that it has taken nearly two years since the first request of the Republic to discuss the dispute on an international platform for the world to take cognizance of it, during which time the people of the country have gone through several wars, distress and travail and the world had to wait for all the essential goods, particularly food, that Indonesia could offer with her ready stocks.

INDIA AND THE WORLD

PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND COMMITTEES

THIRTIETH SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE
GENEVA: 19 JUNE, 1947

THE Indian delegation consisted of Jagjivan Ram, Gulzarilal Nanda, S. Lall (Government), N. H. Tata (Employers) and N. M. Joshi (Workers) together with their Advisers. The agenda included the consideration of the following subjects: (1) Director's Report (2) financial and budgetary questions (3) minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories (provisions suitable for a Convention) (4) organization of labour inspection in industrial and commercial undertakings (5) employment service organization and (6) Report on the application of Conventions.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram spoke laying special emphasis on the far-reaching changes taking place in India and Asia and demanded a regional approach for the solution of the problems in backward Asia. In regard to the question of minimum standards of social policy in dependent areas, the Indian delegation pressed the need for improving productivity and living standards of workers therein. Mr. Tata suggested that the Conference should declare its faith either by way of a convention or resolution or recommendation in the system of private enterprise besides defining the limits of nationalization. But the Director rejected the suggestion as it was beyond the purview of the I. L. O. The Indian delegation suggested that new self-governing territories should be independently associated with the I. L. O.

Among the Conventions discussed was one which related to labour inspection. The functions of the inspectorate under this Convention were limited to enforcement of legal provisions and technical advice to workers and employers. Mr. Nanda's suggestion for the inclusion of a third category of functions relating to the detection of defects of labour legislation was accepted by the Conference. As regards employment service organization, the Committee on Employment Service Organization presented their proposals which included registration and collection of information. The Indian workers' delegation proposed an amendment insisting on the strict observation of neutrality by the Service in the case of strikes or lock-outs and demanding that workers should not be placed in employments where wages or other conditions of work were below standard. All unwarranted discrimination between workers should be avoided. The Conference rejected this amendment. In regard to the question of freedom of association and industrial relations, the Committee on Freedom of Association prepared a resolution affirming its faith in the sacred human right to establish organizations, draft constitution and rules and form federations and emphasizing that these organizations were not liable to dissolution by administrative action. Mr. Joshi welcomed the resolution pointing out the necessity to improve its practical utility by a deletion of the words 'lawful exercise' from the draft. In this connexion he referred

to restrictions on certain fundamental rights in India and stated that in the absence of such deletion, there would be enough scope for repressive laws encroaching upon freedom of association. In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding on the position of civil liberty in India, Mr. Nanda pointed out that while the transitional political and economic position in India necessitated some emergency legislation, there was no intention to deny the workers' right of association in this country. The Indian delegation championed the cause of social security in dependent countries. Condemning the clause which provided for higher remuneration to imported workers, Mr. Lall stated that this would nullify the effects of other beneficial provisions besides depressing the standard of living of the workers in these areas. He withdrew his amendment for the deletion of this clause in favour of an Australian amendment which retained the essence of the Indian amendment. But for lack of the required quorum the amendment was not adopted.

SPECIAL CEREALS CONFERENCE: PARIS: 9 JULY, 1947

The Conference was sponsored by the F. A. O. and was attended by 33 delegations. The Indian delegation consisted of Dr. K. N. Katju (Leader), Sir S. V. Ramamurti (Alternate leader) Habib Ibrahim Rahimtullah, Bhagwan Sahay, W. R. Natu and B. M. Piplani. The object of the Conference was to discuss the methods of collection and distribution of cereals in the coming months in order to ward off the food crisis threatening the world. The Conference confined its attention to the situation in the 12 months from July 1947 to June 1948 and discussed mainly the position relating to wheat, rye, maize and coarse grains. The question of rice raised by the Indian delegation was left to be dealt with by the International Emergency Food Council (I. E. F. C.), but the Conference generally agreed that all recommendations made specifically with reference to wheat should be applicable to rice also.

Addressing the Conference on 10 July, Dr. Katju drew attention to the serious disturbance caused by the war to India's national economy and urged that food must be made available for deficit countries at reasonable prices. The Conference adopted unanimously all resolutions relating to intensified collection and economic consumption. It left to the I. E. F. C. the problem of reconciling the 50,000,000 tons of grain imports requested with the 32,000,000 tons reported available in exporting countries. Several resolutions were passed regarding the steps which the importing countries should take in regard to diverse uses of cereals. At the instance of the Indian delegation a resolution was passed impressing on exporting and importing countries that every effort should be made to intensify and improve the procurement of cereals so as to maximize supplies both for internal consumption and export for deficit countries. Several delegations turned a blind eye to the question of food prices, but the Indian delegation persuaded the Conference to pass a resolution on international food profiteering which would come up before the I. E. F. C. As regards the principles governing allocations, the Indian delegation suggested that the Conference should prescribe certain criteria on which allocations should be related to the sources of supply and that both time and shipping factors

should be taken into consideration. The Conference agreed that there was considerable force in the Indian viewpoint and referred the question to the next meeting of the I. E. F. C. They also urged on the Conference the need for meeting Indian requirements of fertilisers, tractors and other equipment. The Conference recommended that the F. A. O. or the I. E. F. C. should make every effort to consider at the earliest opportunity the needs of countries in this respect.

FIRST SOUTH-EAST ASIAN REGIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE CONFERENCE
SINGAPORE: 19 AUGUST, 1947

Lord Killearn, Special Commissioner for South-East Asia, convened the Conference with a view to evolve some form of international machinery for international co-operation in social affairs in S. E. Asia. About 60 delegates represented the various territories in this area and voluntary international welfare agencies like the International Red Cross, Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. Mr. J. A. Thivy, Representative of the Government of India in Malaya, participated in the Conference as Observer on behalf of the Indian Government.

The Conference decided that Social Affairs should be one of the functions of a government, the functions of the Social Affairs Department including the collection and dissemination of full information and statistics on social questions available to all concerned, and co-ordination with governmental activities those of approved voluntary agencies working for the good of the people. The Conference recommended a series of measures for the protection of orphans, the aged, juvenile delinquents, destitutes and mental and physical defectives for implementation by the governments of the S. E. Asian countries. Mr. Thivy succeeded in securing the inclusion of 'widows' along with the above in connexion with protective help. Pressing for this inclusion, Mr. Thivy drew attention to the helplessness of the widows due to their previous seclusion and urged for Widows' Homes as in India. The Conference also recommended the establishment of an Eastern Bureau of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to take the required steps for the suppression of traffic in women and children in this area and the development of facilities for preliminary training of social workers, together with the establishment of a training college for social workers in S. E. Asia. It also resolved to maintain the contact established with the United Nations through representatives at this Conference. It requested Lord Killearn to take appropriate steps to establish an international machinery for international co-operation in social affairs in S. E. Asia, though it was agreed that countries which wished to make separate approaches to the U. N. O. could do so. These steps are expected to transform Lord Killearn's office in Singapore from a branch of the British Foreign Office into a considerably important international liaison office in S. E. Asia.

F. A. O. THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE: GENEVA:
25 AUGUST, 1947

The Indian Delegation consisted of A. N. Sinha (Leader) S. Y. Krishnaswami (Alternate Leader), Col. Bashir Hussain Zaidi, Shyam Nandan Sahai, O. Veera

Basappa, C. Bali Reddi (Associates), Dr. K. Ramiah, N. R. Natu, Dr. Patwardhan and S. M. Srivastava (Advisers). 49 nations were represented at this Conference whose main object was to hammer out plans for a permanent World Food Council to advise the governments and aid them in implementing measures to increase agricultural production and improve distribution, and to discuss and decide on the Report of the F. A. O. Preparatory Commission.

Opening the Conference on 25 August, Sir John Boyd Orr, Director-General of the F. A. O. expressed the hope that the annual conference would become a 'World Food and Agriculture Parliament' where nations would consider how best to co-operate in dealing with food problems. The Conference decided on 26 August not to take any decision at present on the Spanish application for admission to the Organization. Australia, Siam and Finland were admitted to its membership. On 27 August the Conference admitted Pakistan to the membership of the F. A. O. The Indian Government's proposal submitted with Pakistan's support that the latter would share with the former the Indian contribution of 4.25 per cent of the F. A. O.'s total budget was approved by the Administrative and Financial Commission of the F. A. O. It was left to the two States to decide what proportion of the required £212,500 each would take upon itself. The Conference appointed a Sub-Committee to consider whether the payment of contributions might be made in currency other than American dollars.

On 4 September Mr. A. N. Sinha urged the setting up of a World Food Council. Pleading for collaboration between the F. A. O. and the I. T. O. (International Trade Organization) he said that the final word on all commodity agreements relating to food and agriculture should await the F. A. O.'s guidance. Mr. Natu also pleaded that F. A. O. should have the exclusive right to deal with agricultural products. Mr. Krishnaswami was elected Chairman of the Constitutional Commission which adopted the suggestion for the establishment of a regional office of the F. A. O. in Asia, the Near East, Europe and Latin America as soon as possible.

On 11 September the Conference unanimously decided to establish a World Food Council to replace the present Executive Committee of the F. A. O. Sir John Boyd Orr proposed that the World Food Board should have authority to create a World Food Pool for the purchase, sale and distribution of food-stuffs on a world-wide basis. 'Council of the F. A. O.', as laid down in the recommendations evolved at the Conference, would be only an advisory body designed to aid in co-ordinating national and international policies in relation to food. The strength of the new council lies in the fact that its members would be Government spokesmen. Lord Bruce, former Australian Premier, was elected first Chairman of the Council. Mr. Krishnaswami said that the urgency of the present plight would not permit polished and perfected plans and so immediate action was necessary.

The Council held its first meeting on 13 September and cabled to the International Monetary Bank and Fund asking for immediate assistance.

THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE
CANBERRA: 26 AUGUST, 1947

Delegates from Britain, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan and Burma attended the Conference. The Indian delegation consisted of Sir B. Rama Rao (Delegate), K. L. Panjabi (Adviser) and K. R. Damle (Secretary). The objective of the conference was exchange of views on the Japanese peace treaty as a preliminary to the 11-nation talks later in Washington. Dr. H. V. Evatt of Australia was elected Chairman of the Conference. Speaking during the opening session Sir Rama Rao said: 'I can assure you that as a result of the magnificent gesture by Great Britain all racial feeling in India is practically at an end today. We can look forward to a period of cordiality in all spheres of activity.'

The delegates were agreed that the 11-nation Conference on the Japanese peace settlement should be held as soon as possible and that all the United Nations which contributed directly towards the success of the Pacific war, including Pakistan, should be represented therein. The procedure at the peace conference should be based on a two-thirds majority of the 11-nations represented on the Far Eastern Commission and not on a veto. It was officially stated that the delegates were agreed that Japan be given virtual self-government after the peace settlement. The general attitude of the delegates was in favour of setting up a Control Commission to succeed the Supreme Command of the Allied forces in the Pacific, the Commission interfering as little as possible with the Japanese Government and stepping in only when the Japanese showed an inclination to depart from the spirit or letter of the peace settlement. The Conference discussed the strategic and economic effects of trimming Japan to its home island and the question of disarmament of Japan. It was agreed to ban Japanese armament manufacture including the building of aircraft and warships and atomic research, to discontinue the system of State subsidies for Shinto shrines, to make Japan pay reparations for all property looted by her and to charge the occupation cost to the Japanese Government. The Conference concluded that restrictions on Japanese economy should not be such as to thwart the improvement of the people's living standards or affect their progress to democracy. After completing discussion on the supervisory machinery to be established in Japan to implement the terms of the peace treaty, the Conference ended on 2 September. Addressing the final session Sir Rama Rao said: 'India desires that enmities and hatreds engendered by the last war should be buried and forgotten. And it is in this spirit that India will participate in any future conference.... We have all worked together towards the attainment of a common important objective—the establishment of a just and lasting peace in East Asia and the Pacific.'

U. N. E. S. C. O. CONFERENCE ON FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION
NANKING: 1 SEPTEMBER, 1947

The Conference was organized by the U. N. E. S. C. O. and was attended by delegates from 12 Asian and S. Pacific countries including Australia, China, Ceylon, Malaya, the Philippines and Siam. India was represented by K. G.

Saiyadain and B. S. Jha. Dr. Chu Chia-hua, Chinese Minister of Education opened the Conference. In his message Gen. Chiang Kai-shek said that China had always a very high regard for education and culture.

The Conference passed three major resolutions on improving fundamental educational standards by favouring compulsory education for adults, better working conditions, including higher salaries for teachers, and improvement in methods and technique of fundamental education.

WORLD STATISTICAL CONGRESS AND 25TH SESSION OF THE
INTERNATIONAL STATISTICAL INSTITUTE
WASHINGTON: 8 SEPTEMBER, 1947

Over 650 delegates from 53 nations attended the Congress whose object was to discuss common methods of attacking the statistical problems of the post-war world and devise ways for promoting closer co-operation in the international statistical world with special emphasis on the work of U. N. Social and Economic Council in this field. The Indian delegation consisted of Prof. Mahalanobis (Leader), Dr. P. V. Sukhatme, Prof. R. C. Bose, Prof. K. B. Madhava, Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao, and S. Subrahmanyan (Secretary).

As a prelude to the main Conference, the twenty-two American nations met among themselves to plan a 'Hemispheric Census' to measure the Western Hemisphere's cultural groups, literary and educational level, the labour force by occupation, nationality, place of birth, living standards and health, agricultural resources and development, trade and financial operation.

The Conference discussed, apart from mathematical subjects, problems relating to population, national income, statistical organization etc.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST
NEW YORK: JULY 1947

Mr. R. K. Nehru represented India. He urged that all Asian countries should have membership on the Commission and that nothing should derogate from the right of any State in the area which might afterwards become a member of the United Nations to claim admission to the Commission. The Soviet Union proposed that non-member States be admitted by the Commission as consultants when questions of particular concern to them were being considered. Mr. Nehru objected to the Soviet proposal for mere consultative status and added that it was not necessary for States to be members of the United Nations to be admitted to the Commission. On 14 July the Indian resolution that States which were not members of the United Nations be admitted as full members of the Commission was defeated. The Commission adopted the principle of the British proposals that territories within the geographical scope of the Commission but not members of the United Nations should be admitted as Associate Members of the Commission. It was decided to hold the next session in November in the Philippines. The Commission approved the agenda for the proposed International Conference on Trade and Employment to be held in Havana on 21 November, 1947.

Speaking on 31 July on the Commission's Report Mr. Nehru demanded that the U. N. Social and Economic Council should approve the principle of full

membership of the Commission for all countries within the Commission's geographical scope. Pointing out to the fact that only four Asian countries were now represented on the Commission, he said: 'Countries such as Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and the so-called Indo-Chinese Federation—are not represented.... We cannot accept colonial proprietorship or representation as a basis for determining the membership on our regional commission.'

U. N. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC COUNCIL
NEW YORK: JULY-AUGUST, 1947

India was represented by R. K. Nehru and B. R. Sen. In the absence of Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, the Chairman of the Council, Mr. Jan Papanek, Czechoslovakian delegate, presided.

On 1 August the Council adopted the Indian proposal to invite the Indonesian Republic to participate in the U. N. Conference on Trade and Employment in Havana in November 1947. A special committee of the Council approved on 4 August an Indian proposal that the forthcoming Conference of the United Nations on Freedom of the Press and Information should consider recommending measures to prevent cartelization of news agencies as they might endanger the freedom of the press. The Committee recommended the item for inclusion in the World Conference Agenda.

Another Indian proposal providing for consideration of such measures as may be provisionally necessary to foster the development of national news agencies until they are capable of meeting international competition was left over for consideration and rewording by the Indian delegation in conjunction with the U. S. and British delegations. The Council decided that voting rights at the World Conference on Trade and Employment should be confined to members of the United Nations. India proposed full voting rights but was defeated. The Council also decided to send invitations to the following non-member States—Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Eire, Finland, Hungary, Italy, Pakistan, Portugal, Rumania, Switzerland, Trans-Jordan and Yemen. Mr. Nehru pressed for inclusion of Pakistan as it had already signed a general agreement on tariffs. Invitations would also be sent to Burma, Ceylon and Southern Rhodesia through the United Kingdom, since these countries possess full autonomy in the conduct of their external relations.

A last minute Dutch move to make the Council reverse its decision to invite Indonesia to the World Trade Conference was defeated. Mr. Sen made a vigorous defence of Indonesia's right to attend the Conference and told the Council that its prestige would suffer if its decision was reversed.

PREPARATORY COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE CONFERENCE
GENEVA: JULY-AUGUST, 1947

The Committee continued its deliberations during the quarter under review. There was a debate on the British proposal for extension of membership to semi-independent countries such as Burma, Ceylon and Southern Rhodesia. The proposal made was referred to a sub-Committee. On 18 August a Special Commission of the Preparatory Committee approved the principle of British

Commonwealth preference. The Commission accepted Article 14 of the draft Trade Charter which also confirmed the other existing preferences. India's application for a permanent seat on the Executive Board of the proposed International Trade Organization was supported by the U. S. and China and recommended by the Preparatory Committee. India will get the seat on the approval of the recommendation by the Havana Conference in November. Speaking during the final meeting of the Committee on 23 August, Sir N. R. Pillai declared that the draft Charter held a new significance for India in view of the emergence, in the creation of two independent Dominions, of conditions favourable for an early development of the country's economy. He also expressed the feeling that an acceptable basis of agreement on voting and membership could only be found at the World Conference.

The Indian delegation made two important reservations on articles dealing with investments and governmental assistance to economic development. The Charter, on the whole, represented the widest field of agreement reached between the representatives of 17 nations. It is hoped that at the Havana Conference the Charter would be further fashioned into a powerful instrument of harmony in the sphere of international commerce.

SECOND SESSION OF PERMANENT AGRICULTURAL COMMITTEE OF THE I. L. O.
GENÈVA: 4 AUGUST, 1947

The Committee on which the Government of India has a seat held its first session in February 1938 but could not meet later during the war. Though its constitution was revised to suit the changed circumstances, the object of the Committee remains the same, i.e., 'to act as a body responsible for collaboration and consultation with a view to facilitating the decisions of the Governing Body of the I. L. O. and developing the work of the International Labour Conference in connexion with agricultural labour.' The Committee includes representatives of organizations of agricultural employers, workers, farmers and small holders as well as experts in social questions connected with agriculture. Mr. V. Narayanan of the Ministry of Labour represented India.

The agenda for this session included a review of the developments since its first session and a discussion of the order of priority for considering the problems of agricultural labour, minimum wage regulations in agriculture, medical examination of children and young persons for fitness for employment in agriculture, the raising of live-stock and a preliminary discussion of security of employment in agriculture.

SECOND SESSION OF THE IRON AND STEEL (I. L. O.) INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEE
STOCKHOLM: 19-30 AUGUST, 1947

Mr. V. Narayanan of the Ministry of Labour represented the Indian Government and Taraprasanna Sinha and Manindra Kumar Ghosh represented the workers. The Committee discussed the (1) General Report dealing with (a) action taken in the various countries to give effect to the decisions of the first meeting, (b) steps taken by the I. L. O. to follow up the studies and enquiries proposed by the Committee but not placed on the agenda for the second

meeting; (c) recent events and developments in the industry; (2) regularization of production and employment at a high level; (3) Minimum income security (annual and other wage system) designed to provide assured earnings and (4) Labour-management co-operation.

4TH SESSION OF THE INTERIM COMMISSION OF THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (W. H. O.): GENEVA: 30 AUGUST, 1947

Lieut.-Gen. Mani from the Directorate-General of Health Services represented India. 11 nations including Britain, U. S. A., India, China, Egypt and France were represented at the Conference. Dr. Andriya Stamper of Yugoslavia who presided over the Session told the delegates that so far only 14 members of the United Nations had ratified the constitution document out of the required 26. He expressed the hope that a sufficient number of States would ratify to facilitate the establishment of the Organization by next spring.

The draft Agenda for the Session included (a) approval of the Minutes and Summary Reports of the Third Session; (b) preparations connected with the W. H. O.; (c) adherence and ratification of the signatures to the Constitution, selection of site for the head-quarters of the W. H. O., reports on rates of contribution to W. H. O.; (d) W. H. O.'s technical operations like unification of Pharmacopoeias, biological standardization; (e) relations with international organizations like U. N. O., I. L. O., F. A. O., U. N. E. S. C. O., etc; (f) administration, finance and general operation and determination of the Secretariat and personnel of W. H. O., time and place of the first World Health Assembly and (g) consideration of the reports of the Committees on Epidemiology and Quarantine and Priorities.

SECOND SESSION OF THE METAL TRADES (I. L. O.) INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEE : STOCKHOLM: 3-13 SEPTEMBER, 1947

The Government of India was represented by V. Narayanan. The employers were represented by David S. Erulkar and the workers by K. N. Joglekar and Ranch Sen. This Committee also discussed (1) the General Report dealing with (a) action taken in the various countries to give effect to the decisions of the first meeting; (b) steps taken by the I. L. O. to follow up the studies and enquiries proposed by the Committee but not placed on the agenda for the second meeting; and (c) recent events and developments in the industry. (2) regularization of production and employment at a high level (3) minimum income security (annual and other wage systems) designed to provide secured earnings; and (4) labour-management co-operation.

SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND BANK : LONDON: 11 SEPTEMBER, 1947

Nearly 200 experts on high finance from 45 nations attended the meeting. Sir C. D. Deshmukh, Ramnath and N. Sundaresan represented India. Opening the meeting of the two Boards of Governors of the Fund and the Bank, Dr. Daltorf stated that the world was confronted with seriously unbalanced trade, urgent problems of financing international payments and even of main-

taining consumption standards. Submitting his report to the meeting, Mr. John, J. McCloy, President of the International Monetary Bank, described food, fuel and man-power as the three major bottle-necks impeding European reconstruction.

Sir Deshmukh drew attention to Indian independence and partition so that the Bank and Fund might register formal recognition of the fact. On the proposal of the U. S. Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, the Financial Committee of the Fund decided not to decrease the quota payable by India despite her partition. M. Camille Gutt, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, presented the annual report for the fiscal year ended 30 June, 1947. The meeting decided to have a fourteenth Executive Director of the Bank to vote on behalf of Australia, Syria, the Lebanon and if it was admitted as a member nation, Finland. It was also decided that although the two, Bank and Fund, had now split up into seven different sub-committees, there must be closest liaison between them at all times.

Mr. O. K. Yui, Governor of the Central Bank of China, was elected Chairman of the International Bank and Fund. Mr. N. Sundareshan was elected one of the four vice-Chairmen of the Board of Governors. Pending the calling of the third annual meeting of the Board of Governors in Washington in September 1948, a joint procedural committee to be held in readiness was appointed for consultation. It consists of the Chairman, the four vice-Chairmen and one member each from Australia, Colombia, Denmark, Italy, Poland and Turkey. On 19 September the World Bank Advisory Council recommended that nine persons representing various international industrial, scientific and agricultural organizations be selected to serve as Counsellors to the Bank for a period of two years. Sir C. V. Raman was one of the nine so recommended.

DELEGATIONS AND MISSIONS

THE INDIAN SHIPPING DELEGATION TO BRITAIN

LONDON: 21 JULY, 1947

The delegation was sponsored by the Indian Government to discuss with the British shipping interests the recommendations of the Indian Shipping Policy Committee and to explore the possibilities of effecting satisfactory arrangements for participation of Indian shipping in India's overseas trade to the extent of 50 per cent. and reservation of Indian coastal traffic for Indian shipping as recommended by the Committee. The delegation consisted of Walchand Hirachand (Leader), Sir B. P. Singh Roy, M.A. Master, N. E. Dinshaw, J. C. Kumarappa, Shoorji Vallabhdas, Mohammed Ali Habeeb and R. Doraiswami.

The negotiations came to an abrupt end after barely three hours sitting owing to the refusal of the British delegation to negotiate with the Indian delegation collectively demanding the latter's credentials. They declined talks on the ground that they could not agree in principle to the validity of Indian aspirations for an adequate Indian merchant navy but could only consider sympathetically concrete proposals from individual Indian shipping lines which had the necessary tonnage available at present. The Indian delegation,

on the other hand, was deputed by the Indian Government to negotiate for Indian shipping interests as a whole on the lines of the recommendations made by the Shipping Policy Committee which were endorsed and approved by the Indian Government and were specifically precluded from discussing on behalf of the individual companies. Thus the Conference convened as a result of negotiations between H. M.'s Government and the Indian Government and at the instance of the British Government dispersed after only two sessions.

THE INDO-BRITISH GOODWILL AND CULTURAL MISSION TO INDIA: SEPTEMBER 1947

The Mission arrived in Bombay on 18 September. It consisted of Swami Avyaktananda of the Ramakrishna Mission and Indian Cultural Unity Movement in Britain, (Leader), (Miss) V. Jenkins of the Society for Cultural Fellowship with India, (Mrs.) Margaret Fine of the League for the Federation of Mankind, Mr. Robert Horniman of the Vedanta Society of London and Mr. Bright of the International Animal Service. The object of the visit was to tour India and Pakistan with a view to establish contact and exchange ideas with cultural institutions in India and organize an Indo-Pakistan Cultural Fellowship Convention and arrange for a group of representatives of Indian culture to visit Europe.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS OF INDIA

FINANCIAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SIGNED IN LONDON ON 14 AUGUST, 1947

The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (hereinafter referred to as 'the Government of the United Kingdom') and the Government of India.

Being desirous of making a temporary arrangement for dealing with the sterling balances of India

Have agreed as follows:—

Article I

For the purposes of this Agreement the sterling assets of the Reserve Bank of India shall be taken at the figure of £ 1,160 million.

Article II

1. The Reserve Bank of India shall open with the Bank of England a new account (hereinafter referred to as the 'No. 2 Account'), to which the balance of the total assets referred to in Article I above, remaining at the close of business on the date of the signature of this Agreement, shall be transferred.

2. The No. 2 Account of the Reserve Bank of India shall be operated upon in accordance with the provisions of Article VI of this Agreement and any sums standing to the credit of the said Account shall be available only for the purposes prescribed in that Article.

Article III

1. There shall also be established at the Bank of England in the name of the

Reserve Bank of India a new account (hereinafter referred to as the 'No. 1 Account') to which any sterling received after the date of this Agreement by the Reserve Bank of India in respect of current transactions and any sums transferred from the No. 2 Account shall be credited.

2. The Government of the United Kingdom shall not restrict the availability of sterling standing to the credit of the No. 1 Account for payments for current transactions in any currency area or for the purpose of any payment to residents of the sterling area.

Article IV

1. There shall be transferred forthwith from the No. 2 Account to the No. 1 Account £35 million less the amount by which the total of the Reserve Bank of India's sterling assets, as established by Article I of this Agreement, exceeds the amount transferred to the No. 2 Account in accordance with paragraph 1 of Article II of this Agreement.

2. There shall also be transferred from the No. 2 Account to the No. 1 Account the equivalent of any sums paid from the No. 1 Account after 15 July, 1947 in respect of:—

- (i) the transfer of ownership of military stores, equipment and fixed assets in India from the Government of the United Kingdom to the Government of India on 1 April, 1947;
- (ii) the settlement of any matters outstanding under the Defence Expenditure Plan and of any other accounts relating to transactions which were connected with the War and took place prior to 15 July, 1947;
- (iii) payments outside India as a result of Agreements for the release of assets which were vested in the Indian Custodian of Enemy Property;
- (iv) pensions paid outside India by or on behalf of the Government of India or any Provincial Government in respect of which an eventual capitalization scheme is contemplated;
- (v) such other items as the two Governments may agree.

3. There shall be transferred from the No. 1 Account to the No. 2 Account the equivalent of any sums paid into the No. 1 Account after 15 July, 1947 in respect of:—

- (i) the settlement of any matters outstanding under the Defence Expenditure Plan and of any other accounts relating to transactions which were connected with the war and took place prior to 15 July, 1947;
- (ii) such other items as the two Governments may agree.

Article V

1. In addition to the transfer provided in paragraph 1 of Article IV of this Agreement there shall also be transferred forthwith from the No. 2 Account to the No. 1 Account a sum of £ 30 million as a working balance which may be drawn upon from time to time to meet any temporary shortage in India's available means of payment abroad.

2. The level at which the working balance provided for in this Article has been maintained during the currency of this Agreement shall be taken into consideration in the consultations referred to in Article XI of this Agreement in the light of such data as may then be provided.

Article VI

(a) The No. 2 Account referred to in Article II of this Agreement shall be credited with—

- (i) the assets referred to in Article II of this Agreement including the proceeds thereof at maturity or on realization;
- (ii) the proceeds at maturity or on realization of any investments purchased in accordance with established custom with funds standing to the credit of the No. 2 Account;
- (iii) transfers from the No. 1 Account, being transfers provided for in paragraph 3 of Article IV and paragraph 2 of Article VIII of this Agreement;
- (iv) such other transfers as may be agreed between the two Governments.

(b) The No. 2 Account shall be debited with:—

- (i) transfers in accordance with paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article IV, paragraph 1 of Article V and paragraph 2 of Article VIII of this Agreement;
- (ii) payments in respect of investments made in accordance with established custom;
- (iii) such other transfers as may be agreed between the two Governments.

Article VII

The Government of India shall not restrict—

- (a) the acceptance by residents of India, in settlement of payments for current transactions, of sterling at the disposal of residents outside India;
- (b) the availability of any Indian rupees arising from permitted current transactions and accruing to residents of the sterling area for any payments inside India or for the purchase of sterling.

Article VIII

1. Such transfers of capital from India to the rest of the sterling area and *vice versa* as may be agreed to between the Reserve Bank of India and the Bank of England shall be subject to the provisions of paragraph 2 of this Article.

2. The Reserve Bank of India and the Bank of England shall consult together at agreed intervals in order to establish, by reference to the best statistical data available to them, the net capital movement from India to the other countries of the sterling area, or *vice versa* as the case may be, resulting from the agreed transfers of capital. Thereafter an amount equal to the net capital movement so established shall be transferred from the No. 2 Account to the No. 1 Account if the movement is one from India to the other countries of the sterling area or from the No. 1 Account to the No. 2 Account if the movement is in the reverse direction.

3. Notwithstanding anything in this Article the two Governments shall

not restrict transfers of capital from India to the United Kingdom representing:—

- (a) remittances of savings belonging to persons of United Kingdom origin leaving India in order to take up permanent residence in the United Kingdom; and
 - (b) the voluntary repatriation of investments by persons regarded as resident in the United Kingdom for purposes of exchange control in the United Kingdom.
4. Transfers of capital falling within the description in sections (a) and (b) of the preceding paragraph shall be included in the computations for which paragraph 2 provides.

Article IX

1. The two Governments shall as often as may be necessary consult together with a view to ensuring the smooth working of the present Agreement.
2. The Reserve Bank of India and the Bank of England shall be entrusted with the technical execution of this Agreement and shall consult together as often as may be necessary in order to ensure its smooth working.

Article X

For the purpose of the present Agreement—

- (a) in relation to events happening on or after 15 August, 1947 references to the Government of India shall be construed as references to the Governments of both the new Dominions set up by the Indian Independence Act 1947, or to the Government of either of them, as the circumstances require, and the expression 'India' shall continue to denote the territories included in that expression immediately prior to 15 August, 1947.
- (b) the expression 'sterling area' shall have the meaning from time to time assigned to it by the Exchange Control Regulations in force in the United Kingdom. After the coming into force in the United Kingdom of the Exchange Control Act 1947, the expression 'sterling area' wherever it occurs in the present Agreement shall be deemed to have been replaced by the expression 'scheduled territories' which shall have the meaning from time to time assigned to it in the aforesaid Exchange Control Act, 1947.
- (c) the expression 'payments for current transactions' shall have the same meaning as in Article XIX (i) of the Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund.
- (d) in paragraph 2 of Article IV the expression 'pensions' shall have the meaning assigned to it in the Indian Independence Act 1947.

Article XI

The present Agreement shall come into force on 14 August, 1947. It shall terminate on 31 December 1947. Further consultations shall be held before the termination of this Agreement with a view to extending it or replacing it by another Agreement or other Agreements.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THE NEW ITALY. By Muriel Grindrod. 1947 (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs. 5 Sh. Net).

BARRING probably Greece no country in Europe has since the War presented such extraordinary fluctuations in its situation as Italy. This book which covers the period from Italy's entry into the war upto the election to the Constituent Assembly in 1946, is a brief but complete survey as well as an analysis of the country's political and economic forces. Despite these shifting changes, some of which were no doubt evanescent and some deep-rooted, there are reasons to think if one views the Italian scene in perspective over the quarter century from the March on Rome to the signing of the Peace Treaty that this also marks the end of a chapter—the long drawn out one of fascism and its end. Were it not for the stern terms of the Peace Treaty, one would hardly recollect today that Italy actually formed one end of the Axis that embroiled the entire globe into a catastrophic war. For Italy was not only the weak end of this Axis—it was an unequal partner of Germany. She was not only completely over-shadowed but made a pliable tool by Germany. It was only the superficial snobbery of Mussolini which could have led him into such an alliance which obviously his most important colleagues deeply distrusted and disliked and which ultimately proved his and his party's undoing; while, on the other hand, pretty soon Germany found Italy to be more than a weak link—a positive liability.

The period following the collapse of Mussolini at the end of July 1943 and the final liberation in May 1945, has been greatly shrouded in confusion. For one normally expected that when the Badoglio Government signed an armistice with the Allies in 1943, there would be a complete transformation in the scene and it would see the end of fascism in Italy. There is no doubt the Italian people themselves expected something of the sort; at any rate, they were hopeful of opting out of the war. Nobody anticipated the return of Mussolini and his hated gang and eighteen weary months of veritable hell for northern Italy specially under German occupation. This book tries to unravel some of this tangle though not all. The responsibility for failing to time this lies largely with the Allied Command as the painfully slow progress of the Allied army up the Peninsula meant prolonged agony for the Italian people, in the North due to direct German control and in the South, the economic and social dislocation caused by the splitting of the country into two—the North under Mussolini's fascist régime and the South under the Italian Government, but both in any event under two foreign military controls.

No reference is made in the book to the reactionary policies the Allied régime persisted in maintaining through the Badoglio Government after liberation. It was after a great deal of struggle on the part of the people led by the various political parties that eventually led to changes. Though much is said, no doubt quite pertinently, of how the internal conflict amongst the various parties was

a factor in retarding the return to a democratic political régime, nowhere is it indicated that the prolonged Allied occupation and the encouragement its policies gave to anti-democratic forces were also powerful factors which effected a similar result.

Developments in Italy are of tremendous importance, for they are bound to have great influence on the whole balance of power. It had become more than a loud whisper that the Allies tried to use their occupation of Italy to build up their position in the Mediterranean sector. Even as late as June Americans were busy unloading war material day and night and whole sections as, for instance, in Coscine were being requisitioned to accommodate American troops. Up to the eve of the signing of the peace, British troops supported by Polish units and even German prisoners of war were ruling some of the countryside. In fact the arrogance of the Germans collaborating with the occupation powers made one wonder who were the vanquished and who the conqueror. It is a pity none of this finds a place in this book which would have made the picture complete.

POLAND AND RUSSIA 1919-1945. By James T. Shotwell-Max M. Lasser. 1945 (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, \$ 2.25).

Poland has figured as much in the war as in the post-war. In fact it was Hitler's attack on Poland that ultimately set off the European powder keg, although Poland was not by itself the cause of the World War. But just as Poland came to play what one might call a strategic rôle in this World War, so did it in the last. For even when World War I came ostensibly to a close on 11 November, 1918, actually the war went on and this time in all its nakedly true colours, shorn of the camouflage of high-sounding phrases. It was a stark counter-revolution, the forces of reaction trying to beat back the rising tide of progress. Poland became one of these war fronts and an instrument of reactionary power. It was used as a buffer to push back the spread of communism. But the tide of human affairs had begun to turn and not all the military might could claw the continued flow of advancing revolution. Still even though the tussle ended in a victory for Soviet Russia, actually the final settlement left in the body politic of Russo-Polish relations, the seeds of another clash, the embers of another world conflagration.

The causes of a world war may be many but in essence they boil down to one—the competition between world powers for domination, a scramble for greater areas and spheres of exploitation. The smaller countries more or less become pawns in this dangerous game. Nevertheless often like balancing votes, their attitude becomes decisive. Had Poland not been a military dictatorship dominated by antiquated feudal interests, she may have fostered friendlier relations with Russia and proved a buffer against Nazi Germany. But since the conflict of 1918-20, in spite of avowed pacts, the two continued to remain suspicious of each other and eventually as Germany embarked on her expansionist adventure, Poland joined hands, and even came to lay hands on

some Czech territory and would even have invaded Lithuania were it not for Russia. Britain who had originally supported all moves directed to off-set Russia's growing strength, naturally could not persuade Poland at this late stage to perform a psychological somersault and chum up with its ancient enemy. What followed is now part of recent history, the opening chapter of the tragic tale of World War II. Had Poland agreed to some military agreement with Russia, even if the war could not have been averted, certainly some of the initiative could have remained in other hands than Hitler's. Not only Poland but a good many other countries too paid for such blind follies—trying to hold back the tide of change and strengthening totalitarianism.

Poland and Russia is a study under the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. It is primarily an analysis of the attitudes of the parties to the present dispute and of those interested in its settlement—although the Polish question seems fundamentally a territorial one, it is not wholly so. For these questions, though apparently one of geography, are really far more of historical implications. Obviously there has to be a territorial settlement with the largest measure of agreement before at least one cause of threat to peace is eliminated. But the question is not quite so simple for when nationalism runs riot as in these days, what seems right to one seems all wrong to another. A genuine settlement is possible only when it is realized that security can no longer be found in power politics.

Nowhere has nationalism played a stronger rôle than in Poland, yet no one can realize better than Poland that no boundary, however well defended, is a sure guardian of a nation's territory but rather its good standing with other nations, particularly its own powerful neighbours. For Poland lost her very existence because of the aggrandizing ambitions of her three neighbours in 1795, Russia, Prussia and Austria. If Poland has faced another threat of effacement, it has again been from her neighbours. Equally, she owes her liberation and restoration to the Red Army.

The book narrates each of these various phases of the country's history as a background to the very lucid and objective analysis of each of its problems. The two most important and closely interlinked are Poland's relationship with Russia and the Slav minorities in Poland. Although no solution as such is offered—for the book is free from biased and categorical emphasis—each analysis opens up fairly clearly vistas through which each interested reader can make further journeys into this realm. It is a valuable and informative book which succinctly and clearly unfolds the crux of Poland's problem and its vital relationship to international peace.

(MRS.) KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

WAR OR PEACE? By Lionel Curtis. 1946 (London: Oxford University Press, 3s. 6d.).

Lionel Curtis returns in WAR OR PEACE to the eminently topical thesis of his earlier more elaborate WORLD WAR: ITS CAUSE AND CURE. The

War indeed has ended, but peace seems nowhere in sight. The world prospect is bleak; recrudescing fighting in Indonesia is clearly portentous.

The context of empire has altered irrevocably for Britain. With the potential to defend her far-flung Dominions, Britain had made wars on her own and nearly footed the bills. This was in the nineteenth century. But the last two global wars pressed into service Dominion strengths compulsorily; the Dominions quite naturally demand a share in the framing of peace. Britain, herself, too war-weary to shoulder the liability of empire, has become doubly vulnerable in an atom age. Curtis, therefore, appeals for a defensive get-together, for a form of World State.

The Treaty of Versailles was an ignominious failure. It certainly did not 'make the world safe for democracy' and World War I was fought in vain 'to prevent further wars.' World War II was the lineal descendant of World War I. Future wars, cast in the atomic perspective, are terrible to contemplate. They may well end in the total destruction of all the belligerents. Peace, therefore, is of immediate and supreme moment, a number one priority. World thinking is focussed on the outlawry of war for all time.

These good intentions have paved the way to the United Nations Organization. But power politics are in saddle again, riding peace rough-shod. Ideologies clash with frequent deadlocks. Curtis is right; the UNO bids fair to become another League of Nations, as effete for peace as the ill-fated League. The Allies, welded for the nonce against the German scourge, are riven sharply today; the Western democracies have drawn up in an aggressive phalanx against a potential Soviet thrust. Russia of course does not want war, but 'war is something that comes to you.' Indeed, the Soviet is counted out of Curtis's international State; his idea is rather to pit the consolidated military might of the democracies against a possible Russian attack.

The *modus vivendi* of the World State is a progressive accession of the European democracies, the British Commonwealth blazing the trail. America's entry would finalize the process, but, Curtis warns, any attempt at finality is a certain road to failure. In this pattern for peace none but the democracies have a place, because sheep and wolves cannot abide together.

The international State will require, as a pre-condition of success, the merger of financial and political controls vested in it. This is in accordance with British and American experience; without it, there can be no question of a centralized defence. Apportionment of costs among member States is no insuperable problem; the amounts, related to taxable capacity, can easily be assessed, subject to quinquennial revision, by an international Commission. This contribution to the common fund will determine the representation of member States in the lower house of the bicameral Union legislature. In the purely advisory upper house representation would of course be equal.

The Union Government will have powers relating to Defence, Foreign Affairs, Colonies and Air Transport. Union conflicts with residuary State jurisdictions there must arise; these will be resolved by a Supreme Court.

It is Curtis's hope that the World State will take over the 'White man's burden,' Britain's especially, and ensure a square deal to backward races. In this

the supernumerary technical talent of Europe, freed from the obligations of home defence, will be cut out for a reconstructional rôle.

Curtis really begs the question in postulating his World State, because he will be up immediately against jealous national sovereignties which will brook no infringement. A referendum on the issue to the popular will is Curtis's counsel of despair. Chauvinism is rather on the ascendant today and inter-statal co-operation in his Utopia is extremely problematical. The world has yet to awaken to the alternative to atomic destruction. Meanwhile, the author's question-mark to his thesis must remain.

(Miss.) V. A. MADHAVI

A NATIONAL LABOUR POLICY. By Harold Metz and Meyer Jacobstein. 1947 (Washington: Brookings Institution. Price not stated).

'Labour is getting out of hand. Something must be done about it'—that expresses the attitude of many people these days, that is the view of the authors of this book who have collected evidence to confirm what is only a vague general feeling. The book is, of course, entirely about the United States but many of the arguments and conclusions can be applied to countries, which have a labour force strongly organized into trade unions.

The authors point out that just as the State and employers have a duty to labour, labour also has a duty to the nation; and it is not fulfilling this duty when it threatens to paralyse the economy of the country—by going on nationwide strikes. They try to show that the labour laws in the U. S. A. do not stop with protecting the workers' right to organize but actually go so far as to actively promote and encourage the formation of trade unions. In their opinion, the legal position of trade unions is much too invulnerable for the public good. Thus they claim that there are no laws laid down to restrict the activities of trade unions, however harmful these may prove to be; the legal position is therefore such that labourers can strike work even if they themselves have no grievance against their employers causing them to suffer for no fault of their own (e.g., in sympathy with other workers in other industries). They are allowed to strike on causes which are sometimes definitely injurious to the public interest and sometimes in violation of State Law. Again, they may go on strike if they feel they cannot submit to the arbitration award of any Board the government may set up, and so on. Evidently the State has not yet followed any clear and definite policy, in dealing with labour problems.

The authors suggest that laws be passed to remedy these defects. They claim that there parties need protection against labour when it chooses to abuse its power to strike. The parties are (i) employers, especially when innocent of blame (ii) labourers who belong to unions other than the union in question and (iii) the general public. They suggest also that the State should differentiate between strikes which are a necessary part of bargaining, and strikes which are not because other ways of settling the disputes in question have been provided by the authorities. They believe that labour disputes should be settled by collective bargaining as far as possible: Compulsory arbitration by Com-

mittees appointed by the State, they feel, is a method beset with difficulties though none of those mentioned seems insuperable.

This is, as all will agree, a highly controversial topic and to write anything on it which has even the semblance of impartiality must be a difficult task. The book is on the whole fair to the reader. The facts and arguments leading up to a conclusion are presented to him and he is given a chance to agree or to disagree intelligently. That there is definitely a problem, no one can deny. But it does not seem possible to come to a satisfactory settlement merely by adjusting the balance of power between labour and capital. Some of the methods suggested for dealing with the labour problems leave one with a feeling of dissatisfaction. One doubts whether they will prove really adequate. But though the authors themselves have not indulged in much original thinking they stimulate the reader to do so.

(MRS.) SARASWATI KRISHNA RAO

MARSHALL TITO. By Michael Padev. 1944 (Bombay: Thacker & Co., Ltd., Re. 1/12/-).

One of the most outstanding leaders of Europe who fought in the War of Liberation against Hitler is undoubtedly Marshal Tito, leader of the Yugoslav Partisan Army. Ivan Tito rose to fame from the post of a hand-compositor in a press to that of the leadership of the Yugoslavs during World War II. It is Marshal Tito that has welded the heterogeneous people of Yugoslavia into a nation, determined to fight the Nazis and free their country from the thralldom of Nazi domination. Marshal Tito married a Russian and fought in the defence of Moscow where he won the coveted title of 'Hero of the Soviet Union.' Mr. Padev's book gives a lucid account of Marshal Tito's struggles for freeing his country from Nazi yoke.

Mr. Padev gives a graphic description of the way how Tito spent his life underground, organized the Yugoslav Partisan Army, and took it from victory to victory shouting the battle cry 'Death to Fascism! Liberty to the people!' How Marshal Tito brought together the diverse elements of the Yugoslav people is an epic in the annals of modern freedom movements. His fight with Marshal Mihailovich for the leadership of their country is really a tough one, and Mr. Padev elaborately gives the tussle both the leaders had for the leadership of the people of Yugoslavia.

Marshal Tito's recent victory in the first free elections by a 90 per cent. vote in his favour is proof positive of his popularity as leader of the people. Tito is a statesman as well as an outstanding leader and in the words of Mr. Churchill, 'glorious in the fight for freedom,' as well as an architect of democratic government. Like Alexander, he will go down in history as one of the greatest Macedonians of all time. Mr. Padev has done the job of a novelist and his book reads like a romantic novel of the Second World War.

LANKA SATHYAM

FOREIGN BOOKS ON INDIA

AN AUSTRALIAN IN INDIA. By The Rt. Hon. R. G. Casey. 1947
(London: Hollis and Carter, 3s. 6d.).

Mr. Casey has tried to give an objective account of the Indian problem, but has failed. The fact that he was chosen Governor by Winston Churchill always seems to lurk in his mind. He does not comprehend the significance of Gandhi, although he had very exceptional opportunities for doing so. That Gandhi may have a philosophy never occurs to him. He simply says: 'Like all of us, I suppose, Mr. Gandhi has some fixed ideas. It is a waste of time, as I discovered, trying to argue against his views on the subject of home spinning and weaving.' He goes on to say that 'he (Gandhi) can command expressions that mean something different to each group within his following that reads them. . . . He knows those things which will advance his cause and those that will not.'

On the subject of Jawaharlal Nehru he is not so bad. Mr. Casey says what is too obvious: 'There is no doubt of the fact that Mr. Nehru bitterly resents the continued presence of the British on Indian soil.' He goes on to give a long testimonial to Pandit Nehru, in the course of which he declares that his ability is 'undoubted,' that his capacity for expressing himself is 'of a high order,' that his comments on public affairs are 'very much to the point.' Towards the end of the book the ex-Governor has a long and unconvincing explanation for the white Australia policy. There is a patronizing note throughout the book. There is, however, an occasional word of criticism, which is to be welcomed, if only because it does not smack of Colonel Blimp. He says of Nehru: 'He is reliably said to be intolerant of opposition, or even of critical comment, even from his friends. It may be that, in spite of his many gifts, this intolerance will make it difficult for him to command the full co-operation and loyalty of his colleagues over a period of time.'

Mr. Casey does not have more than average ability himself, and he therefore confines himself to stating the most obvious truisms. As his readers are supposed to be Britishers and Australians, perhaps much that he has said will be new to them. But he has an unfortunate way of putting words and phrases like 'no doubt,' 'undoubtedly' and 'without doubt,' every now and then.

Throughout the book, Mr. Casey refers to himself as being British, and only once mentions that he is an Australian. Perhaps that is what every Australian does.

VELUVALI PRASAD

BACKGROUND TO INDIAN LAW. By Sir George Claus Rankin. 1946
(New York: Cambridge University Press, \$2.75).

A CONTINENT OF EXPERIMENTS. By Lt.-Col. C. B. Birdwood. 1946
(London: Skeffington, 21/-).

OTHER BOOKS

INDIAN PARTIES AND POLITICS. By S. Natarajan. 1947 (Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs No. 41 As. 6).

This admirable pamphlet is an attempt at stock-taking of the present position of Indian political parties on the eve of the transfer of power from Britain to India. No political movement of any significance in the period since 1885 has been omitted from this account. The subject is, however, far too vast to be compressed within the pages of a pamphlet of this sort and the pamphlet is all too brief and sketchy. It would have been of great help to know *why* our parties have assumed their present shape and why communalism and a narrow outlook have succeeded in some cases and not in others. One hopes that Mr. Natarajan would write a full length account on this theme which he is so well qualified to write.

14 August, 1947

N. SRINIVASAN

INDIA'S NATIONAL PLAN. By K. T. Shah. 1947 (Bombay: Vora & Co. Rs. 3/12/-).

The book is a summary of the author's personal views on how planning should be conducted in India but not the arguments leading up to them. Perhaps because of this, the general tone tends to be rather dogmatic.

The general objectives of planning put down, are those which all are agreed upon—a minimum standard of life for the masses, progressive increase in national wealth, and a harmonious development of industry and agriculture, resulting as far as possible in national self-sufficiency.

The State is to own and operate industries, vitally important to itself (such as Banking, Defence and Electrical power), industries which are less important are to be aided financially, and controlled by the State while even those run by private enterprise are to be subject to strict supervision. Gradually the State is to take over all the really important industries.

The machinery necessary for planning is then laid down. Here the author does not mince matters. He opens up before us a whole vista of Planning Boards, Councils and Committees of government departments—Central, Provincial and local; of checks and counter-checks in the administrative system of the country, which will all become necessary, naturally, when the government takes charge of the economic life of the country.

Now, it is obvious, that once we have decided in favour of State socialism, we have also decided that government departments should administer the economic life of the country. After all they do it in Russia, and quite efficient they have proved themselves to be. It is also obvious that in a Federation, both the Central and Provincial Governments will have to do their part. The details of the planning machinery, as the author himself points out, will be settled gradually as the plan is put into operation and cannot be a matter of set rules. The important question, therefore, is not whether we should have government departments (for that is settled) but how we are to ensure their

efficiency. One feels that practical suggestions for the recruitment and training of government personnel would have been welcome here. Practical suggestions on how to supervise and control industries which will be run by private enterprise may not, also, have been out of place.

It is true, as the author points out, that war-time controls have accustomed the people of India to State regulation of economic life. They have, however, also made them acquainted with governmental inefficiency and corruptibility. Standards of efficiency and honesty have without doubt gone down during the war; if we want a socialist State, they must be brought up again. It may be true that we cannot root out inefficiency and corruption altogether; but they can be lessened to a great extent if we give a little thought to these problems, and if we are not afraid to take strong action where it is necessary. We must think not merely of the machinery for planning; we must think also of those whose responsibility it will be to run the machinery.

It may be gathered from this that the book is more about what things should be done than about why or how we should do them. For the rest, the author gives us a good idea of how the planning departments of a socialist government would work. An interesting feature is the chart on planning appended to the book.

(MRS.) SARASWATI KRISHNA RAO

HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS VOL. I (1885-1935). By B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Reprinted 1946 (Bombay: Padma Publications, Rs. 15/-).

HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, VOL. II (1935-47). By P. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. 1947 (Bombay: Padma Publications, Rs. 25/-).

Vol. I is a reprint of what was published in 1935 in connexion with the Golden Jubilee of the Congress. As Vol. I, Vol. II also constitutes a monumental work on the historic rôle of the great national organization. As a reference book, the two volumes are invaluable and the author has put the country in perpetual gratefulness to him for the indispensable public service he has done in presenting her with the two volumes on the momentous events particularly during the last twenty five years. However, a careful study of the volumes makes the reader feel that, while the pages constitute no burden upon his mind owing to the stirring nature of the events still fresh in public memory, they do not illuminate his mind as he wades through them in regard to the forces which decisively influenced the course and fortunes of the national struggle for freedom under the banner of the great organization. As an informed, faithful and brilliant record of the historic rôle of the Congress the two volumes constitute a unique achievement.

THE INDIAN WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE. By Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. 1947 (Bombay 2: Phoenix Publications, Rs. 15/-).

This is the first authorized and public edition of the famous work relating

to the first Indian military revolt against the British rule in India in 1857 which came to be miscalled 'the Sepoy Mutiny.' The author, an erstwhile revolutionary, portrays the various stages of this war for national freedom in different parts of the country together with a vivid delineation of the thrilling personal episodes of the heroic leaders of the movement. The story of the part played by Lakshmibai of Jhansi in particular arrests one's attention and compels his admiration. With interesting illustrations and attractive get up, the publication is bound to prove a popular and valuable contribution to the literature relating to the first Indian war for national freedom.

C. K.

THE STORY OF ANCIENT INDIA. By B. G. Gokhale. 1947 (Baroda: Padma Publications, Rs. 3/8/-).

ARTICLES ON INDIA IN FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Cultural and Social

THE INTER-ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE. *The Round Table* June 1947.

A tendentious account of the origin and deliberations of the conference as evidenced by such obviously misleading affirmations as 'It was a conference sponsored by the Congress Party . . . It was the aim of India to acquire implicitly, if not explicitly, some form of leadership in Asia.'

THE INTER-ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE. *The World Today*, June 1947.

A factual review of the objectives, deliberations and achievements of the historic Conference. There is, however, an attempt to over-emphasize the difference between the bigger Asian countries like China and India on the one hand and smaller ones like Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia etc., on the other.

THE INTER-ASIAN RELATIONS CONFERENCE. By Hugo Bergman, *Jewish Frontier*, June 1947

An objective and sympathetic appraisal of the aims, deliberations and the achievements of the Conference. It is also a concise review of the various conceptions of the future Asian pattern advanced by the leading delegates and a critical assessment of the work in the Round Table groups.

THE WOMEN OF INDIA TODAY. By Mrs. Grace Lankester, Lady Pares and Miss Dorothea Lankester, *The Asiatic Review*, July 1947.

A sympathetic survey of the achievements of Indian women in international conferences and committees and in Indian legislatures and Services; of the origin and growth of the All-India Women's Conference and its manifold social and humanitarian activities together with an interesting description of the Akola session of the Conference; and of the active part in public work and non-communal political consciousness of the younger generation of Indian womanhood.

Economic

REPLY TO INDIAN READERS. By N. Baltusky, *New Times*, 6 June, 1947.

Clumping replies to the letters addressed by the Indian readers of 'New Times' regarding the relation between democracy and nationalism, capitalist *versus* socialist industrialization and between one party State with classes having antagonistic interests and one party State with no classes and consequently no class antagonisms.

TOWN PLANNING IN INDIA. By Sir Walter Gurner, *The Asiatic Review*, July 1947.

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REPORT FROM NEW DELHI. By Phillips Talbot, 16 June, 1947.

A vivid delineation of the popular Muslim, Hindu and Princes' reactions to the Mountbatten partition plan for India.

THE INDIAN POLITICAL SCENE. By Sir Frederic James, *International Affairs*, April 1947.

An intelligent survey of the various factors which would facilitate an understanding of the explosive Indian situation in relation to the British declaration to withdraw from India not later than June 1948—factors including the increased tempo of the national feeling since the end of the war, the general policies and attitude of the Congress, the Muslim League and the Indian Princes. The author clinches the issue when he observes: 'some of the difficulties confronting Indian leaders today are not wholly of their making. Their causes lie in history, and in British distrust, indifference, ambiguity and tardiness in the past. The very pattern of her administration has been woven by the accidents, compromises, conquests and cupidities of former generations.'

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The author attempts to assess the probable developments, as a result of partition of India, in India's defence and foreign policies particularly in relation to Empire manpower resources in the event of war and the use of India as a strategic and supply base. He forecasts economic and industrial supremacy and the loss of political influence in the case of India and the pursuit of a radical socialist policy by Pakistan and the emergence of communism in both in the place of communalism as the first enemy of stability and progressive evolution.

INDIAN BOYCOTT. By Colin Legum, *The New Statesman and Nation*, 12 July, 1947.

An illuminating criticism of the sinister racial and other implications of the organized boycott of Indian traders by Whites in South Africa in the name of 'a sacred Christian crusade against the threat of Mahomedanism and Hinduism which threatens to engulf us.'

THE FUTURE OF INDO-BRITISH RELATIONS. By P. D. Saggi, *The Asiatic Review*, July 1947.

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BEHIND INDIA'S CRISIS. By B. Shiva Rao, *The Nation*, 14 June, 1947.

A succinct and revealing account of the various circumstances and factors which contributed to the acceptance by the contending Indian parties of the Mountbatten plan for India.

TROUBLED TIMES IN INDIA. By B. Shiva Rao, *The Nation*, 12 July, 1947.

An extremely informed and interesting appraisal of the dangers inherent in the Balkanization of the country and her Armed Forces, the continued presence of thirty million Moslems in the Dominion of India an equal number of non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan and in the spirit of antagonism sedulously fostered by the Muslim League as a negative force.

PROGRESS IN INDIAN STATES. *The Asiatic Review*, July 1947.

An enthusiastic survey of the constitutional, economic, industrial and educational developments in the three States of Hyderabad, Travancore and Mysore.

SCRAMBLE FOR POWER IN INDIA. *The Economist*, 10 May, 1947.

Comparing the British Premier's declaration to withdraw from India not later than June 1948 to shock tactics as a political technique, the Bombay correspondent of *The Economist* says that the drawback of such tactics was here also the unpredictable nature of its results. This was, according to the writer, evidenced by the Indian reaction which proved to be not coalition, but fission and a mad scramble for power and consequent utter confusion in the Punjab, N. W. F. Province and Bengal and widening of the cleavage between the Congress and the Princes.

AGREED DIVISION. *The Economist*, 7 June, 1947.

A closely reasoned commendation of the new British Government's Indian partition plan which received acceptance of the Congress, the League and the Sikhs. Referring to the provision for referendum in N. W. F. P. and Sylhet, it is affirmed 'There does not seem to be any good reason for either of these referenda.'

IS IT WELL WITH INDIA? *The Economist*, 19 July, 1947.

Attention is drawn to the untenable nature of Mr. Jinnah's appointment as Governor-General while continuing to be an active party politician bent on retaining his political leadership, to the explosive situation in connexion with the boundary question in the Punjab and Bengal and to the factor of disequilibrium added by the extravagant claims of Hyderabad and a few other States for Independence.

THE INDIAN PRINCES. *The Economist*, 2 August, 1947.

A historical account of the origin of Indian Native States and their attitude in regard to accession to the proposed Federation under the Government of India Act 1935 and to the Mountbatten Plan. The article ends with an expression of the conviction that 'the Princes would be very ill-advised to stand on their purely legal rights, in the face of both economic and political facts.'

INDIA: QUITTING INDIA. *The Round Table*, June 1947.

An informative exposition of Premier Attlee's declaration of 20 February, 1947 and the reception given to it by the Congress and the Muslim League and

a rapid survey of Lord Mountbatten's talks with the Indian leaders and of the demands for the partition of Bengal and the Punjab. Referring to the League's reaction the writer observes: 'To Moslem eyes it once again looked as though by waiting and adopting an attitude of rigid non-compliance they would ultimately benefit from a bigger and better share-out. They calculated that before June 1948 the pressure of events would reconcile both Britain and the Congress to the inevitability of Pakistan or something very like it.'

DEATHBED OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE. *The Round Table*, June 1947.

An interesting discussion, in relation to the increased communal tension and a general deterioration of administration encouraging forces of disorder, of the practical implications of Premier Attlee's statement of 20 February, 1947 fixing the date for the withdrawal of the British power from India together with a brief recapitulation of the Cabinet Mission Plan and the events succeeding it.

THE PROSPECT IN INDIA. *The World Today*, July 1947.

An informed appraisal of the possible consequences of the British Government's decision to advance the date for the transfer of power in India from 1 June, 1948 to 15 August, 1947—consequences likely to result from the absence of any true central power in India and of the fundamental army unity and from the uncertain character of the future of the Indian States.

NOTES AND MEMORANDA

PROBLEMS OF THE ARAB WORLD

By WASFI TELL

LIKE any other country in the early stages of its revival, the Arab world has many problems which must be adequately solved before it can achieve a sound progressive future.

THE POLITICAL PROBLEM

The political problem, i.e., foreign domination is the gravest, for in addition to its many evils, it has deprived the Arab world of an important tool of reform, namely the State. It has also tended to weaken the natural ties of unity between different Arab countries and finally it has absorbed all the energies of the Arabs in a continuous struggle to overthrow it.

The Arabs turned first towards political liberation because independence is a practical necessity as it will place in Arab hands an indispensable tool of reform and progress by which they can accelerate the solution of their internal problems. The struggle for political liberation has had from the start two objects in view: the removal of all kinds of foreign domination, and the establishment of closer ties between the different Arab countries.

The fact that the Arab countries, as a result of foreign rule, were placed under different régimes and that many artificial frontiers were created with the result that many States came into being afterwards is a standing problem which must

be solved, for besides the spiritual and historical urge for unity, the Arabs realize that it is difficult for them to launch a large-scale reform plan and solve the different problems in every aspect of Arab life, as long as the Arab countries are a number of small isolated units. Each Arab country by itself has not got the finance nor the means by which it can adequately deal with its problems. Moreover to unify or synchronize its efforts with those of the other Arab countries will involve many administrative complications which might retard the process itself. The lack of complete political unity between the Arab countries involves other evils such as the waste arising from the existence of several governments with separate armies and diplomatic representation which could all be amalgamated into one, thus releasing large funds to be spent on positive development schemes. There is also the imminent danger that the presence of different administrative, fiscal, educational and judicial systems in different Arab countries might weaken the feeling of unity between these countries, and so increase the danger of an isolationism which would only tend to keep countries as they are now with all problems remaining unsolved or left to the very slow pace of natural development in each country. The formation of the Arab League was a first step towards the long desired unity for which the Arabs have struggled since their awakening. As the movement towards unity has developed in proportion to the degree of political freedom attained by the different parts of the Arab world, it may be expected that further progress towards closer unity will now take place and that some immediate objectives may be soon achieved, such as the abolishing of all artificial barriers between the Arab countries, the adoption of a single cultural policy, the co-ordination of economic policy, the adoption of one tariff policy, and closer cooperation in the political and military spheres.

With increasing political responsibility, political problems of a new nature confront the Arabs, such for example, as that of deciding on what type of political system best suits the Arab peoples. Of the seven independent States which form the Arab League, two are ruled as absolute monarchies, namely Saudi Arabia and Yemen, while Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan and Iraq have democratic constitutions, but owing to the fact that they are not yet adequately trained in democratic forms, the mass of the people in the Arab world do not ultimately have a decisive influence on who is to rule the country and how the country is to be ruled.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The fact that political problems are the most pressing problems of the Arab world does not mean that other problems are less important. Owing to the Arabs' awareness of their own tradition on the one hand and to the impact upon them of western civilization, new social issues have begun to take shape in the Arab countries. It is being gradually realized that political liberation though desirable for its own sake, must be a means to another higher end, namely social and moral reform.

THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM

The Arab world includes a large number of religious minorities belonging

to different creeds and sects, but the vast majority of the Arabs are Moslems. It is to be noted that the majority of the non-Moslem religious groups are Arabs in the sense that Arabic is their mother-tongue and their customs and traditions are Arabic, while indeed a good many of them are of pure Arab stock. Yet until the rise of the Arab National Movement, the predominant principle of allegiance and motive power in political and social life in the Arab world was the religious and not the nationalist, and this tended to create fears and suspicions in the different communities. It is now essential to remove all these fears and suspicions between the different communities, and this can only be achieved by the creation in the Arab world of a spirit of freedom, tolerance and national unity.

THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL INJUSTICE

The Arab world has inherited from the periods of decay, a social system which is unfair and unreasonable. The economic basis of this system is the concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few people, and this divides the population into landlords and tenants. This system (which however exists to a lesser degree in Palestine, Transjordan and Lebanon than elsewhere) has the most damaging social, and economic effects. Socially it divides the country into two classes with a great gulf between them and deprives the majority of a decent standard of living and education. Economically it reduces productivity and causes a great loss of man-power. Although feudalism is breaking down now in the Arab World, decisive measures are still needed to liquidate it completely and ensure a more just distribution of land among the population.

CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL PROBLEMS

The present Arab world not only inherited communal differences and a bad social system but also a decay in intellectual life. The Mongol invasions followed by that of the Turks in the 16th century destroyed the love of learning which characterized Arab civilization. The intellectual life of the Arab world was not merely brought to a standstill, but actually reduced to a lower level. With the decay of intellectual life, a process of moral decay also set in. This state of affairs constitutes a serious problem which necessitates a large-scale and far-sighted attempt to re-educate the Arab world on the basis of a synthesis of the best elements in its own rich tradition—a synthesis which would link up the Arabs once more with the main stream of world progress and enable them to become again active contributors to world civilization.

Those are the major problems of the Arab world, and if adequately and wisely solved the Arab world may hope to avoid most of the ills, economic and otherwise, from which the western world is suffering. But again any movement of reform necessarily requires that every part of the Arab world should be completely free from any form of foreign domination and closely united with all the other parts so that the Arabs may be able to launch one large coordinated campaign by which every aspect of Arab life could be reformed and re-established on a sound basis.

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